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*James Butler, Duke of Ormonde
1st Duke of Beaufort*

Engraved by W. Freeman from an Original Painting in the Royal Collection

A

HISTORY OF IRELAND

IN THE

LIVES OF IRISHMEN.

EDITED

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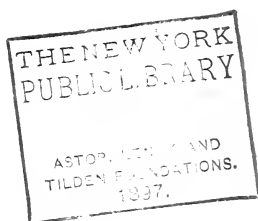
VOLUME III.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON AND EDINBURGH:

A. FULLARTON & CO.

FULLARTON, MACNAB & Co., NEW YORK.



EDINBURGH:
FULLARTON AND MACNAB, PRINTERS, LEITH WALK.

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

FOURTH PERIOD.

1.—POLITICAL SERIES—*continued.*

	PAGE
1. Miles Bourke, Viscount Mayo, . . .	1
2. Sir Robert King, . . .	11
3. Robert Dillon, Second Earl of Roscommon, . . .	14
4. Charles Moore, Second Viscount Drogheda, . . .	16
5. Connor Macguire, Baron of Enniskillen, . . .	19
6. Sir Robert Stewart, . . .	21
7. Robert Stewart of Irry, . . .	25
8. Richard Butler, Third Viscount Mountgarret, . . .	25
9. Owen O'Neile, . . .	34
10. Letitia, Baroness Ophaly, . . .	67
11. Randall Macdonell, Earl of Antrim, . . .	71
12. Ullick, Fifth Earl of Clanricarde, . . .	75
13. Roger, Earl of Orrery, . . .	79
14. Murrough O'Brien, Earl Inchiquin, . . .	97
15. Sir Charles Coote, Earl Mount- rath, . . .	101
16. James, Duke of Ormonde, . . .	105
17. Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory, . . .	254
18. Sir Philip Perceval, . . .	261
19. Theobald Taaffe, Earl of Car- lingford, . . .	266
20. Arthur Chichester, First Earl of Donegal, . . .	271
21. A. Forbes, Earl of Granard, . . .	281
22. Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyr- connel, . . .	289
23. David Cairnes, . . .	323
24. Sir W. Stewart, First Vis- count Mountjoy, . . .	331
25. Rev. George Walker, Gover- nor of Londonderry, . . .	335
26. Robert, Second Earl of King- ston, . . .	357
27. Gustavus Hamilton, Viscount Boyne, . . .	358
28. Robert Fitz-Gerald, . . .	361
29. Patrick Sarsfield, . . .	402
30. Colonel Richard Grace, . . .	407
31. Goddard de Ginckle, Earl of Athlone, . . .	412
32. John, Ninth Earl of Clancar- carde, . . .	444
33. Henry, Eighth Viscount Dillon, . . .	445
34. Colonel Mitchelbourne, . . .	450
35. James, Second Duke of Or- monde, . . .	454
36. William O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin, . . .	470
37. Sir John Norris, . . .	471

LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED IRISHMEN.

Miles Bourke, Viscount Mayo.

DIED A. D. 1649.

OF the ancestral history of the family of Burke, Bourke, and de Burgo, common variations of the same illustrious name, we have said enough in these pages. The nobleman whom we are here to notice was the representative of the MacOughter branch. It is known to the reader, that near the middle of the 14th century, William de Burgo, earl of Ulster, was assassinated by his own people. His countess, with her infant daughter, took refuge in England. The possessions of the earl were left unprotected. In the north they were seized by the O'Neiles; in Connaught by two collateral descendants of the De Burgo race. To escape a future demand of restitution, these ancient gentlemen, embraced the laws and manners of the surrounding septs of Irish, and assumed the names of MacWilliam Eighter and MacWilliam Oughter. Of these, the latter, and we suspect the other also, were descendants from the second son of Richard de Burgo, grandfather to the murdered earl.

The viscount of this family, whom we are now to notice, demands this distinction on account of the very peculiar and unfortunate circumstances of his history. He sat as viscount Mayo, in the parliament of 1634. When the troubles of 1641 commenced, he was appointed governor of the county of Mayo, conjointly with viscount Dillon. By virtue of the authority with which he was thus intrusted, he raised six companies of foot, and during three months kept the county in a quiet state without any aid from government.

As, however, it was not long before the convulsions in England threw a cloud of uncertainty upon every question at issue between parties; the rebels were soon divided into factions, each of which contended, and was ready to fight for the shade of loyalty or of opinion maintained by itself. It is not easy now to settle with precision, by what strange course of previous politics, or from what reasons of right, real, or supposed, the lord Mayo acted in direct opposition to the

principles, on the understanding of which he had been employed. Many of the circumstances are such, indeed, as to ascertain a feeble, uncertain and complying character; and indicate a degree of timidity and subservience, which it is necessary to assume as the most merciful excuses for unprincipled compliances; of which the result must have been foreseen by a little common sense, and guarded against by an ordinary sense of duty.

The accounts of the dark and bloody transactions in which this nobleman's name has been implicated, have been considered worth re-statement by Lodge,* with a view to clear his memory from the unjust imputation of having been a party to their guilt. From such a stain, we can have no doubt in declaring him free; but our voice must be qualified by some weighty exceptions.

The approach of the rebellion was early felt among the remote and wild mountains and moors of the county of Mayo. The condition of the peasantry was poor, their manners barbarous, and their minds superstitious: their preparations for the coming strife were rude, and being under comparatively loose restraint, but little concealed. Early in the summer of 1641, their smiths were observed to be industrious in the manufacture of their knives or skeins, well known as an ancient weapon of the rudest Irish war. And these rude implements were soon to be employed. The time quickly came, and the work of plunder and destruction began. As the incident here to be related is one of the most memorable which disgraces the annals of this period, and has been made the subject of much comment with which we cannot concur, we shall preface it by a few brief remarks to recall to the reader's mind that the principle upon which we have hitherto endeavoured to frame our statements, has been to give the facts as they have occurred, with an entire disregard to all uses which have been made of them. If we admit that the crimes of lawless and ignorant barbarians, which is the unquestionable character of the lower classes of the 17th century, may indirectly be imputed to the *cause* of which they were the instrument, yet we do not assent to the further implication that those atrocities can be charged directly to the principles of that cause or, (unless in special cases), to its leaders and promoters. One distinction will be found to have a general application, and may be adopted to its full extent; the conduct of the actors in the multifarious and complicated maze of crime, suffering, and folly, which is to occupy the chief portion of this volume, will be observed to be conformable to the personal characters of the agents, and not to any abstract principles or special dogmas. In this we do not mean in any way to vindicate the soundness of these supposed opinions, but simply to maintain that so far as our assertion is applied, they are utterly unconcerned. We do not mean to say that they who could place the

* We are unwilling to find fault with Lodge, or indeed (knowing as we do the difficulties of our history) with any writer on the score of confusion. But on this as in many other instances, we have had reason to lament the perplexity of arrangement which renders it hard to mould a clear narrative from his statements. In the long note from which we have drawn the facts of this memoir, there is a disregard to the order of events, such as to give a strange confusion to a narrative written in clear and simple language, and full of strong facts.

assassin's knife in the hands of lawless men, for the purpose of maintaining any principle, are to be acquitted: the truth of God is in higher hands—than those of the assassin. But we are far from assenting to the zeal, which for the sake of effect, would charge the worst falsest tenets with the crimes of men who would have sinned in the defence of the best and truest: the impulse, in whatever principle it originates, is propagated from its centre by means of the natural love of adventure, spoil, and lawless indulgence, common to those who have nothing to lose, and little but the fear of law to constrain them. Whether the zeal of opinion, or party animosity, move the centre—whether the cause be righteous or unjust—if its partisans be low, rude, and unimpressed by moral restraint, it is but too sure to be maintained by demonstrations, by which the soundest cause would be dishonoured;—robbery, murder, and the wanton cruelty of the passions and lusts of the most base and depraved minds: for it is unhappily these that float uppermost in such times. On this, we are here anxious to be distinctly and emphatically understood: often as we are, and shall be compelled to repeat accounts, which have been as the battle-fields of parties, contending in rival misrepresentations, and anxious as we are to stand aloof from the feelings by which the narratives on either side are more or less tinged; and at the same time to state these facts which we regard as inductive examples in the history of man, fully, and as they appear to our indifferent reason. We find it expedient to accompany them with the precaution of our most guarded comment. We cannot agree with those writers, who have manifested their desire to be held liberal by useless attempts to qualify, misrepresent, and understate such facts as have an irritating tendency: neither do we concur with those bold and zealous assertors, who are desirous to make them bear more than their full weight of consequence. Had such been silent on either side, the truth would be an easy thing, and the comment straight and brief. We, for our part, reject the statements of the first, and the heated and precipitate inferences of the latter: so far as they are directed to convey reproach to the general character and principles of action of their antagonist party.* We cannot assent with some of our fellow-labourers in the mine of Irish history, (a mine of sad combustibles,) that the most fierce and inhuman outrages were not committed by the peasantry in the name of their church and creed; but we are just as far from imputing the murders and massacres of an ignorant and inflamed populace who knew no better, to any church or creed. The insane brutality of O'Neile, the fiend-like atrocity of MacMahon, are no more to be attributed to a religion (in which they had no faith,) than the monstrous and profligate crimes of Nero and Caligula are to be imputed to the religion of Brutus and Seneca. We do not here mean to deny, or in any way to advert to any direct charges against the church of Rome as a church: with the effects of a fanaticism we are also well acquainted. Neither of these form the *gravamen* of

* We do not mean to disclaim party opinion in our individual person. But as editor of these Lives, we are earnestly desirous to keep self out of view. Whatever we may *feel* under the influence of these excitements, of which the world is composed, it is our desire and study to express it, in the discharge of a duty of which impartial justice is the end, and indifference the principle.

the alleged imputations: the massacres of 1641, committed, as crime is ever but too likely to be committed, under holy pretences, and in duty's name, were committed by miscreants, whose actual impulses were neither those of religion or duty. Moore committed neither robbery or murder: nor Mountgarret or any of the noble lords and gentlemen whose various motives led, or impelled them to take up arms in the same cause. But when the whole lives, the recorded declarations, the preserved correspondence, and the well-attested courses of conduct of the leaders in crime are viewed; and when the state of the people is considered, it will be easy to see that they would have done the same in the name of Jupiter as for the Pope; for the creed of mercy as for the church of Rome. One more last word, and we shall proceed: we would remind many of our humane and philosophical contemporaries, that nothing is gained by attempting the charge of exaggeration, when the statements do not very strongly justify such a qualification: if thirty were butchered, the crime was just the same in degree as if it had been a hundred—having been only limited by the number of the victims exposed to the mercy of popular fanaticism. The reader will we trust excuse these tedious distinctions, as a preface to facts that demand them.

The rebellion in the county of Mayo commenced with the robbery of a gentleman of the name of Perceval. He brought his complaint to lord Mayo, and sought that redress which was to be looked for from one of the governors of the county. Lord Mayo marched out to recover the property of this complainant, whose cattle had been driven away and lodged within a mill near Ballyhaunis. This building the robbers had fortified, and while his lordship was considering what to do, he was visited by messengers from an armed rabble, who had collected at a little distance, with the avowed design of supporting the robbers in the mill. Several messages passed between them, and we are compelled to assume, that his lordship, on due consideration of his forces, found himself not prepared for a more spirited course: he "granted them a protection," a proceeding which each of the parties seem to have understood in a very different way. The crowd on this came forward, and mingled among his lordship's followers, "with much shouting and joy on both sides;" and no more is said about the mill and the property of Mr Perceval. In the midst of this motley course, his lordship next moved on to the abbey of Ballyhaunis, where the whole were entertained for the night. The friars of this abbey had been deprived of their possessions in the former reign: and on the first eruption of disturbance in the kingdom, a party of friars of (we believe,) the order of St Augustine, had returned to take possession of an ancient mansion of their order, which the approaching revolution that they expected, would, they hoped, enable them to secure. Altogether different in principles, opinions, and public feelings, from the secular clergy of the church of Rome, these men had no home interest in the community, with whom they had no relations: they were the faithful and unquestioning instruments of a foreign policy, and if they had any individual or private object at heart, it was to secure their newly acquired possession. These were not the persons most likely to act as moderators in the outset of demonstrations on the

course of which their whole dependance lay. They are in general terms accused of taking the occasion to aggravate the impulse by the excitement of the people. We see no reason to dissent from this statement, but we think it fair to add that the deponent from whose testimony the accusation is made, was precisely under those circumstances of terror and alarm, when small incidents assume a magnified form, and reports exaggerated by alarm carry fallacious impressions. To this consideration we must refer the inference by which Mr Goldsmith seems to have connected the hospitality of the friars with the general increase of violence. By their instructions, affirms the deponent, Mr John Goldsmith, the people "then broke forth into all inhuman practices, barbarous cruelties, and open rebellion." It is however plain, that this incident was a consequence of the practices of which it is assumed to be a cause. The rebellion in its progress had reached them, and such was its beginning in that county. From this time the violence of the country people of the surrounding country became wild, unrestrained, and dangerous to all but those who were their counsellors and abettors.

Mr John Goldsmith, from whose deposition the following particulars are mainly drawn, was a protestant clergyman, the incumbent of the parish of Brashoule. From the disturbed state of the country, of which his narrative contains a frightful picture, he was early compelled to seek refuge under the roof of the noble lord here under notice. His statement, though neither as full or clear as we should desire, is especially valuable for the authentic insight which it affords into the character and true circumstances of his noble protector, and for the lively glimpse which it presents of the terror and distress, which the lawless state of the country impressed on every breast and propagated into every circle. The interior view of the family of Belcarrow, may, we doubt not, stand for many a trembling family and home beleaguered by fear and apprehension. Lord Mayo is himself represented as "miserably perplexed in the night with anxious thoughts." His lordship was, we have every reason to infer, a man of honour and humanity, but of that unfixed principle and ductile temper that takes its tone from the reflected spirit, or the influence of harder and firmer minds. He had the misfortune to be drawn by opposite feelings and in different directions. The menaces, flatteries, reproaches, and representations of the crowd and of their leaders, had a strong effect on his naturally ductile and feeble mind: rebellion raged all round, and her thunders and gay promises, her lofty pretensions and high-breathing illusions, formed an atmosphere without his gates, and met him wherever he went: within the walls of his castle he was surrounded by a protestant family, who were zealous and earnest in their faith; his lady, like all true-hearted women, was thoroughly in earnest about her religion, and by her authority and influence maintained the same spirit in a large household. At the time that this narrative refers to, the family of Belcarrow was augmented by several protestant fugitives, of whom the principal were Mr Gilbert and Mr Goldsmith, both clergymen, with their wives and families, besides several of the protestants of the neighbouring country, who in their general alarm found at Belcarrow, a compassionate host and hospitable board,

and the free exercise of their religion, at a time when, according to Mr Goldsmith, it had nearly disappeared from every other part of the county. Thus collected by fear, the situation of this family was one of the most anxious suspense; they lived under the excitement of daily rumours of the most terrifying description, and were harassed by frequent though vague alarms. Of these, an example is given by Mr Goldsmith. One night the family, thus prepared to draw alarming interpretations from every noise, or terrified by some frightened visitor's report of the doubtful appearances of night—when fancy hears voices, and bushes can be mistaken for robbers—was thrown into a causeless fright, and every preparation was made against an immediate attack: his lordship marched out with his men to meet a force, which we are strongly inclined to think, he did not expect to meet. Such was happily the fact: his lordship had the honour of a soldier-like demonstration, and his good family were quit for the fear.

They had however to endure more substantial and anxious alarms. Every thing in his lordship's deportment was such as to suggest fears of the liveliest description to all those who had either honour, conscience, or safety at heart. It was wavering and undecided; his intercourse with the people betrayed the uncertainty of his mind, even to those without, and must have been but too evident to those who surrounded his board. To this company their noble protector often complained of the deserted condition in which he was left by the government, to whom he had, he said, appealed in vain. His lordship was at the time anxiously halting between two opinions, the rebels were looking for his adherence, and his family were nightly expecting an attack upon the castle: the people saw their strength, and said that he should side with them; negotiations were kept up, and still deluding himself with notions of duty, and with questionable compromises, this weak lord fluttered as a bird under the fascination of the serpent; and flirted with sedition till he fell into the snare.

Among the curious indications of this course of his lordship's mind, we are inclined to set down a proposal which he is stated by Mr Goldsmith to have discussed with himself and others of his own household: which was no less than to take the rebels into his protection; and as he was neglected by the state, avail himself of their services in behalf of his majesty: a policy afterwards under altered circumstances, adopted by wiser persons than lord Mayo. Against this singular method of resisting rebellion, Mr Goldsmith protested; and his lordship put the proposition in another form equally creditable to his statesmanship and knowledge of mankind; he expressed his design "to subdue those of Costilo by the men of Gallen, and those of Gallen by the rebels that lived in the Carragh." On this important design he sent to Sir Henry Bingham, and requested a conference at Castlebar. The state of the country did not permit the meeting, but lord Mayo sent his plan in writing, which was signed by Sir Henry and others: a fact which shows the state of alarm in which they must have been at the time.

It was immediately after this that the inmates of his lordship's house began to notice proceedings from which the more natural results of such demonstrations were to be inferred. His lordship, no doubt desirous to

be right, could not help reversing the poet's reproof, "too fond of the right, to pursue the expedient;" he took the course which it would perhaps have required a stronger spirit to avoid; and while he talked of resistance and the king's service, was under such prettexts daily contracting deeper affinity with the parties who involved his path on every side with a well-spun entanglement of menace and flattery. At this time "Mr Goldsmith perceived motions towards popery in his lordship's house; popish books of controversy were sent him; and Laughlin Kelly, the titular archbishop of Tuam, came and reconciled his lordship to the Roman church."

In the midst of his compliances, which were too evidently the result of feebleness and fear, lord Mayo evidently preserved some sense of what was due to his rank and the cause he had thus abandoned. It was, perhaps, the delusion with which he flattered himself, that the influence he should thus acquire over the people might enable him the better to protect the protestants, and the members of his own family: the illusion was humane and amiable, and may be set down to his credit. In this he was destined to be sadly undeceived.

It was while the protestant family of lord Mayo were in this state of harassing uncertainty, and the circumvallations of fear and artifice were daily drawn closer round their walls, that his lordship heard of the shocking and brutal abuse which Dr John Maxwell had received from a rebel leader, into whose hands he had been betrayed by a treacherous convoy. Lord Mayo, on learning of the circumstances, wrote a reproachful letter to the rebel, whose name was Edmund Bourke: and gave him to understand, that he would treat him as an enemy if he should hesitate to deal fairly with the bishop who was put into his hands under the pretence of conveying him on with his company, of whom several were the clergy of his diocese. On this, Bourke, who had no notion of leaving his own purposes for the bishop, brought him with his family, and left him within sight of lord Mayo's castle. He was taken in and treated with all the care and hospitality which was to be expected from the persons, and under the circumstances, and for a few days Dr Maxwell found himself among friends and fellow-christians: he had with him his wife, three children, five or six clergymen, and a numerous train of domestics, which the habits of the day required, and the apprehensions of danger perhaps increased. They remained ten days. Of course the bishop must have been anxious to reach home, and must have felt a natural reluctance to task the kindness of his host much longer with so heavy an addition. But is was now become a matter of serious danger to cross the country in the state in which it was known to be.

In this embarrassment, it seems natural that any occasion would be seized upon to forward the bishop's wishes: and an occasion was soon found. Edmund Bourke was still besieging the castle, when a letter from Sir H. Bingham caused lord Mayo to march out against him with all the men he could command. Bourke, whose object was not a battle with armed men, and his lordship, who was perhaps no less prudent, came to an agreement, that Bourke should give up his designs upon Castlebar, and agree to convoy the garrison, with the bishop and his party safe to Galway. Bourke agreed, and the matter was soon

arranged. The parties to be thus convoyed, had to be collected from Castlebar, Kinturk, and from his lordship's castle, and were to be brought together to the village of Shrule, from which they were as soon as convenient to be delivered up to the safeguard of Edmund Bourke, to escort them to Galway. Lord Mayo, with his son, the unfortunate Sir Theobald Bourke, at the head of his lordship's five companies, accompanied them from their several quarters to the village of Shrule, and did not leave them during their stay in that place. Lord Mayo cannot indeed, on this occasion, be accused of the wilful neglect of any precaution or care: he not only remained in the village, and slept with the bishop, but obtained from the titular archbishop of Tuam a strong promise to send with the convoy a letter of protection, and several priests and friars to see them safe in Galway.

It was on the evening of Saturday the 12th of February, 1641, that his lordship, with the bishop's family, occupied the house of serjeant Lambert at this village. The village was filled with their companions, the several parties and his lordship's soldiers, and felt heavily the burthen of providing for such numbers. So that, though the following day was Sunday, a strong entreaty was made that they should travel on, by the principal persons of the surrounding barony. Lord Mayo now dismissed his companies, and made such preparations as he could for the ease and security of the travellers: he made his son and others of the party dismount, and left his own servant, Edmund Dooney, a five pound note for the bishop, to be delivered when he should part with them at Galway fort. The convoy, commanded by Murrough na Doe O'Flaherty, and Ulick Bourke of Castlehacket, awaited the party a mile from Shrule, at a place called Killemanagh: and thither they now set out, accompanied by a party of lord Mayo's men, but commanded at the moment by Edmund Bourke, who was brother to the actual captain. The hour was far advanced towards noon, when Bourke and his men had come out from mass, and all were ready to start. The way to the nearest halting-place was ten miles, and Bourke earnestly pressed them to get forward.

Lord Mayo was hardly out of sight, and the travellers had but cleared the bridge of Shrule, when a sudden and violent assault was made upon them by their perfidious guards. There was no struggle except to fly, and that was too confused to be successful; nor, in the hurried and random tumult of the slaughter, where every individual was compelled to mind himself or what was nearest where he stood, was it possible for any one to carry away a precise description of the scene of butchery which then took place. From the depositions of individuals a few incidents are collected, and these probably describe the remainder. When the bridge was just passed, a shot was fired from between the bushes, whereupon Edmund Bourke drew his sword, and the examinant rode back to the bridge with the bishop's child behind him, when he was charged with pikemen, but was rescued by Walter Bourke MacRichard MacThomas MacRoe, who drew his sword and made way for him. "Some," to use the language of depositions, "were shot, some stabbed with skeins, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned; and the women that were stripped naked, lying on their husbands to save them, were run

through with pikes, so that very few escaped.* The bishop was wounded in the head, the clergymen in his company were slain, except one, a Mr Crowd who was so severely beaten that he shortly died. The number slain is stated to have been sixty-five, and we see no reason to doubt this statement. In such cases, it is to be granted that exaggeration is to be suspected, but it is as likely at least on the side of those who seek to extenuate a crime, as on the part of those who stand in the place of accusers. And we should observe, that although the loss of one life more or less, must practically be a matter of most serious moment, nothing is gained in the point of extenuation; the crime of murder does not increase and diminish by numerical proportion. The point is frivolous; but it is fair to state that the Roman catholic gentry of the surrounding district, affirmed that the number slain was not above thirty. It is more satisfactory to us to be enabled to state, that the Roman catholic gentry of the country came forward to the aid of the few who escaped from that hideous scene, and that they brought them to their homes. Among the charitable persons who distinguished themselves in this pious work, none deserved a more grateful commemoration than "Bryan Kilkenny, the guardian of the neighbouring abbey of Ross, who, though an aged man, was one of the first that made haste to the rescue, and brought the bishop's wife and children, and many others, to his monastery, where they were hospitably entertained, to the best of the friar's ability, for several nights.†

Lord Mayo, when he proceeded on his way, rode towards Conge; the house of his son, Sir Tibbot, and about six miles from Shrule. On the way he stopped at the house of a Mr Andrew Lynch, intending there to await the arrival of Sir Tibbot. He was about to dismount from his horse, when a horseman came up at full speed and gave him the information of this disastrous event. Lord Mayo, overpowered with horror and indignation, retired to a chamber, where he gave expression to the most frantic exclamations of his vexation and grief; he "then wept bitterly, pulling off his hair, and refusing to hear any manner of persuasion or comfort." While he was in this state, his son, who had barely escaped with his life, arrived, and "with tears related the tragedy, but could not certainly tell who was killed or who escaped; but being demanded by his father why he would ever come away, but either have preserved their lives, or have died with them; answered, that when they began the slaughter, they charged him (having his sword drawn against them) with their pikes and muskets, and would have killed him, but that John Garvy, the sheriff of the county of Mayo, (who was brother-in-law to Edmund Bourke, the principal murderer,) came in betwixt him and them, took him in his arms, and, by the assistance of others, forcibly carried him over the bridge." The deposition from which this extract is taken goes on to say, that lord Mayo having proceeded to Conge, took his bed for some days, after which he went, on the third day, to the house of the titular archbishop, where he conformed to the church of Rome—and heard mass. In two days more he attended a great meeting

* Deposition, Lodge.

† Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i. p. 258.

of "the county," we presume a meeting of the Roman catholic gentry and priesthood, at Mayo, and was "for ever after," says the deposition, "under the command of the Romish clergy." All the English in the county of Mayo followed his lordship's example, with the exception of his own household; who are enumerated, on the authority of Mr Goldsmith, by Lodge as follows: "the viscountess Mayo, the lady Bourke, Mrs Burley, Mr Tarbock, Mr Hanmec, Owen the butler, Alice the cookmaid, Mr and Mrs Goldsmith, and Grace, their child's nurse." The condition of these can be conceived. Mr Goldsmith was, by his lordship's permission, and by the lady's desire, allowed to minister to the spiritual wants of this small congregation, "shut in by fear on every side." As this gentleman, appears under these circumstances, to have exercised great zeal and boldness in resisting the new opinions which were attempted every hour to be pressed upon the family, he soon became the cause of remonstrance and reproach against his protector. Lord Mayo was reproved by the titular archbishop, already mentioned, for suffering him to exercise his ministry, and insisted that he should "deliver him up to them." "What will ye do with him?" says my lord. "We will send him," said the bishop, "to his friends." "You will," said my lord, "send him to Shrute to be slain, as you did others; but if you will give me six of your priests to be bound body for body for his safe conveying to his friends, I will deliver him to you." The bishop must have thought his six priests something more than lawful change for one protestant divine, and perhaps rated rather lowly the orthodoxy of his noble convert; he refused the compromise, and prevailed with lord Mayo so far, that Mr Goldsmith was compelled to be confined to a private part of the house, and kept in daily fear of being murdered. On Sundays he was allowed to officiate clandestinely for the servants, till at last lady Mayo summoned up firmness to insist that he should be allowed openly to read prayers and preach to the few protestants who remained.

Lord Mayo was appointed governor of the county of Mayo, and admitted as one of their body by the supreme council of Kilkenny. In this new dignity his lordship did no harm, and performed some good services to humanity. On one occasion he interfered effectually to prevent one of those frightful massacres of unresisting victims which is the disgrace of that period. "The clan Jordans, the clan Steevens, and clan Donells, came to Strade and Ballysahan, and gathered together all the British they found there, closed them up in a house, (in the same manner as had been done at Sligo, when a butcher with his axe slew forty in one night) with an intent that night to murder them; but notice thereof having been given to the lord Mayo, he prevented their wickedness, and preserved the poor innocent people from slaughter." At last lord Mayo discovered that the councils of rebellion could not continue to be participated in by the timid, the honourable, or the humane; that none could endure the spirit of atrocity that had been roused into action but those who shared its influence; and that without this recommendation, it was not possible to escape the suspicion and dislike of those who had themselves abandoned all the ties of civilization: he had not contaminated his conscience by partici-

pating in any voluntary act of rebellion, and at length he found resolution to break the sanguinary and degrading trammel, and made his escape in 1644 from the supreme council.

We have entered at greater length than it was our design into the notice of this nobleman, and the events in which the fortunes of his family were unjustly implicated by Cromwell's government. We felt that the best justice of history is the fullest view it can give of the conduct and character of the person whose fame has been made subject to question. Lord Mayo died in 1649; but his son, Sir Tibbot, or Theobald, was, in a few years after, tried for his life upon a most flagrantly unjust and iniquitous charge of having been concerned in the massacre at Shrute. The whole course of this unfortunate young nobleman had been notoriously opposed to the rebellion; his loyalty had been manifested in every way, and nothing had occurred to cast the slightest stain upon his honour. Nevertheless, in 1652, when the parliament sent over its commissions of justice to avenge the crimes of a deluded and uncivilized peasantry, on those who were, for the most part, forced accessories, or unwilling spectators, and a stern and extreme justice was administered on no better grounds than suspicion; and when honourable gentlemen could be attainted by miscreants who had themselves borne their share in all the iniquities of that hideous development of the baseness of human nature, then Sir Theobald Bourke, lord Mayo, for ten days stood his trial by a jury of undertakers, commissioned by a court of regicides. These gentlemen sentenced the unfortunate young lord to be shot—a merciful mode of execution—on the equitable principle, we presume, that he was known to be innocent. This equitable sentence, if so it was meant, was carried into execution, on the 15th of January, in Galway. It is mentioned by Lodge, that the soldiers appointed to shoot him, missed him three times; “but at last a corporal, blind of an eye, hit him.” The eyes of his judges had been less single than those of his executioner: his property of fifty thousand acres was forfeited by his attainder, and that of his father, who was at the time dead. And his son was, by the charitable consideration of the government, on his petition sent to a free school in Dublin; and would probably, had his own spirit and the affection of his relations permitted, in course of time been apprenticed out to some handicraft. He was, however, in some time sent for by his mother's relations, and lived to be restored to his rank and paternal acres.

This branch of the Bourke family is, we believe, extinct. The title has been revived in another line of the same name and race.

Sir Robert King.

DIED A. D. 1657.

THE family of Sir Robert King is found in connexion with our history, in the reign of Elizabeth, when his father, Sir John King, was rewarded for his services in the reduction of the native septs, with a lease of the abbey of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon. After which

he obtained several large grants in different parts of the country. He was at the same time possessed of an estate in England, in the immediate vicinity of Litchfield.

Sir Robert was knighted during his father's life, and held the office of muster-master-general, which his father, Sir John, had obtained in 1609, with a reversion to his son. In 1639 he represented Boyle in the Irish parliament.

When the troubles of 1641 began, he was appointed governor of Boyle castle, with an allowance for thirty-one protestant warders. He soon became conspicuous for his activity and military talent; and displayed a degree of skill, decision, and coolness, in the battle of Ballintobber, to which in a great measure the success of the president must be attributed. To explain the brilliant manœuvre, which so justly won for him the honour of the day, it will be expedient to take wider ground, and state particulars which cannot be better introduced in any other memoir.

The rebellion of 1641 had spread into the county of Roscommon, and there brought on the same series of wasting campaigns on a petty scale, and of desultory skirmishes, sieges, and house-blockades, of which so much of our details are composed. The O'Conors, the descendants of that ancient and noble family, which gave so many princes to Connaught, and monarchs to Ireland, still continued to hold scanty remains of their ancestral territories; and being divided into three distinct, and mostly hostile branches, dwelt on their estate in the district extending between Strokestown, Rathcrohan, Roscommon, and Clonalis, (near Castlereagh): of these the principal family was that of O'Conor Dhune, the elder and representative branch, to which in the lieutenancy of Perrot the estates had been regranted and formed into the barony of Ballintobber; while those of O'Conor Roe were similarly erected into that of Roscommon. Hugh O'Conor Dhune, had won the hostility of his countrymen, by siding with the English; and in 1590, was besieged in Ballintobber castle by Hugh Roe O'Donell. A cannon planted on the opposite hill made a breach in the wall, and the old chief seeing his danger surrendered at discretion. He was imprisoned by O'Donell, but after a few months, he was allowed to return home to the castle, where he died in 1632. His son, Callagh O'Conor, was of course compelled to take his part in 1642, and adhered to his countrymen and their cause. He collected a large force of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, and with these ventured to take the field against the English. For some time, however, he remained quiet in his quarters, discouraged it has been thought by the capture of his son,—but probably not the less inclined to resist the arms of the captors.

He was however soon incited to action by the miserable condition and consequent supineness of the English garrison, both few in numbers, and destitute of all necessary supplies. Notwithstanding these impediments, and the formidable array of Mayo men, which had poured themselves into Ballintobber, the president soon resolved to act on the offensive, and a council of English officers agreed upon a movement from Roscommon, toward that place. Drawing together all the men who (sick or well,) were in a condition to take the field, with the remains of

two broken regiments, they marched out, and took their way over the hill of Oran, which is perhaps about three miles from Ballintobber. On gaining the height they espied the enemy coming on rapidly and in great numerical force. This appearance was highly adapted to dishearten men broken by illness, want, and fatigue; and the lord-president, calculating on the courage, eagerness, and numbers of the army who were rapidly diminishing the distance between them, was inclined to retreat. His officers were of a different opinion, and the spirit of the soldiers was roused by the prospect of battle. They were weary of a sickly and starved repose, and feeling the desire of action, and the cheerful self-reliance of brave men, were urgent to be led against the enemy: the president found his opposition overruled, and declaring himself free from any blame from the result, gave the desired permission.

The enemy were so near as to frustrate the plan of battle array proposed by the officers: they could neither gain the ground which they wished to occupy, nor could they manœuvre very freely where they stood. The ground was a mixture of wet morass and heath, and the space between the armies small. The musketeers on the left of the English, and their main dependance for the attack, were prevented from firing down the hill on the approaching pikemen by the cavalry who were yet before them. To clear the way, captain King, on whose men, trained by himself, there was much reliance, was ordered to cross to the right, down the hill, along the narrow interval between both armies. Captain King had, among other dexterous and difficult manœuvres, taught his troop one which was of the utmost nicety, and therefore demanded the greatest nerve and coolness to execute; he had now a remarkable occasion to try their execution. He saw at a glance that it would not be possible to pass clear of the approaching torrent of pikes, so as to gain their left flank; and directed his men what to do. The Irish were within a few feet of their left man, when, suddenly halting, with a slight inclination of their line towards the enemy, the troopers of Sir Robert delivered a close volley over their horses' manes, and along their own front. The English musketeers had also commenced a sharp fire as the horse clearing from their front disclosed the opposite rank.

Sir Robert's fire had however a decisive and peculiar effect. A shower of bullets, poured together within the compass of a few yards, made a breach in the enemies' rank, and slew such numbers in that part of the line, that they were then thrown into irretrievable confusion. Sir Robert saw the advantage he had anticipated, and instantly charged into the amazed and confounded pikemen, and completely broke the left of their battle. They turned, and began to run, and the disorder spread up the hill. It was confirmed by a charge from Sir Edward Coote and colonel Povey. The flight was now so decided, that there was no further resistance to any of the numerous charges which were made. And the musketeers of the Irish, who had been outrun by the warlike eagerness of the pikemen, met these in their flight, and turned with them without having fired a shot. The pursuit was prompt, and the slaughter frightful. But the force of the lord-president was not equal to the furtherance of the advantage thus gained.

Soon after this, Sir Robert went to reside in London, and left his son in command at Boyle. In England he entered into the service of the parliament—on which, by the changes of events, it was easy to see that the cause of order and the present interest of the kingdom was dependant. He was soon employed in Ireland, and sent over with two others in 1645, as commissioners against the rebels.*

In 1647, he was one of the five appointed to receive the sword from the marquess of Ormonde. At this time he increased his estate, both by purchases and by lands taken in payment for arrears due for military service. From this too, we find his name occupying a prominent place in all commissions and trusts for the settlement and improvement of this country. He was one of the trustees for the university of Dublin. A trust into which we shall again more fully enter. And was also employed with the attorney-general in getting an inventory taken of the books of the herald's office, and such writings as it contained, and to secure them from official embezzlement.

To the year of his death he was employed in laborious and responsible charges, which appear to imply confidence in the talent and integrity of the person employed.

He died 1657, at his house in London.

Robert Dillon, Second Earl of Roscommon.

DIED A. D. 1642.

THE second earl of Roscommon was eminent for his zeal and fidelity in the troubled times of the rebellion of 1641. He was, in 1627, a privy counsellor, and from this date his name occupies a principal place in the several trusts and commissions, connected with the administration of government in this country. His personal influence is also largely indicated by the numerous privileges which he acquired in rapid succession: markets and fairs in several towns upon his ample property; grants of lands; and profitable licenses to sell wines and spirituous liquors, then commonly granted to persons of rank and property, though since confined to the tribe of publicans. In 1629 his lordship, then lord Dillon, and Michel, second son of lord Folliott, had a license "to keep taverns and sell all manner of wholesome wines, and to make and sell aqua vitæ by retail or in gross in the town of Ballyshannon." We cannot find whether the ancient town of Ballyshannon was graced with the gilded showboard of Dillon, Folliott, & Co., but it is easy to see in this circumstance the effect of change in the constitution of the times. Trade was fettered by monopolies, too lucrative to the holder, to be given to any but persons of the highest influence.

On 26th May, 1638, lord Roscommon was made keeper of the seal during the absence of the lord-chancellor; and in the following year he was one of the lords-justices, until the arrival of the earl of Strafford. After the departure of Strafford and the death of his deputy, the king, having been dissuaded from his own inclination to appoint the earl of

* *I. edre.*

Ormonde to succeed him, came to the decision to appoint lords-justices, and nominated Sir W. Parsons, and lord Dillon. A committee of the Irish house of commons which had opposed the selection of the earl of Ormonde, then made an equal opposition to that of Dillon, and on grounds precisely similar; a fact not discreditable to the latter. That lord Dillon had been on terms of close intimacy, and a strenuous supporter of Strafford, was among the avowed objections.

On Strafford's departure, a committee of the popular party was appointed to assist in his impeachment. They were strenuously opposed by lord Dillon, with the earl of Ormonde and other loyalists. By their influence Dillon was removed and Sir John Borlase substituted. In this instance the *vindicta Nemesis* seems to have performed her retributive round with more than her usual alacrity. The principal members of this committee, and the party which they represented, gained little by exchanging men like Ormonde and Dillon, for Parsons and Borlase. This committee consisted of the lords Gormanstown, Kilmallock, Costilo, and Baltinglass, with Sir Hardness Waller, Sir James Montgomery, Messrs Lynch, Burke, Browne, and other distinguished commoners. These lords and gentlemen, it is just to say, though of the party opposed to the king and to the English government and church as then constituted in Ireland, and though correctly speaking, to be classed as an opposition, whose aims were to a considerable extent different from those which they pretended; the common character of most popular parties; yet the grievances contained in their remonstrance are for the most part real and truly stated. And as they contain a pretty fair view of the defects and abuses of the Irish government, and of the state of the law as then existing, we shall take the first direct occasion to offer a full summary of its contents.

So far as regards lord Dillon, it is enough to say, that at first no reasons were assigned for objecting to him. The king demanded objections. A second petition declared the grounds: that lord Dillon had committed some people for selling contraband tobacco; had often been a referee upon paper petitions; and that his son was married to a daughter of the earl of Strafford's. The king expressed his dissent from these objections, but thought proper to give way.

At the eruption of the rebellion he was among the severest sufferers: his property falling almost all into the hands of the rebels. His stock amounting to 2500 sheep, and nearly 200 head of black cattle, was wholly destroyed by his tenantry. Lord Dunsany attempted to interfere and remonstrated with the miscreants; to his remonstrance they replied that they would not forbear, for though lord Dillon was as he told them an Irishman, yet he was a protestant.

Lord Dillon served as a volunteer in all the earl of Ormonde's expeditions, and was distinguished for his bravery, and the readiness with which he exposed himself to every personal risk. He succeeded to the earldom upon the death of his father, in 1641, but only lived to bear the title till August, 1642, when he died at Oxmantown, and was buried in St Patrick's church.*

* Lodge.

Charles Moore, Second Viscount Drogheda.

BORN A. D. 1603—SLAIN A. D. 1643.

THE ancestors of this eminent soldier are said to have first come from France into England soon after the conquest. They acquired estates in Kent, and are said to have assumed the name of De la More or De More, from the name of the manor, More-place in that county.

Of the descendants of this family, Sir Thomas Moore of Benenden in Kent, was father of Sir Thomas, who came over to Ireland and founded a noble family (the earls of Charleville,) early in the reign of Elizabeth; and also of Sir Edward, ancestor to the subject of this notice. Sir Edward came over as a soldier, and was knighted in 1579 by Sir William Drury, in his camp between Limerick and Kilmallock.* In consideration of his many and distinguished services, queen Elizabeth gave him a lease of the dissolved abbey of Mellifont, with its endowments in the county of Louth. This place continued afterwards to be the family seat, until the early part of the last century. In the history of Tyrone's rebellion, he is also mentioned frequently, and acted a distinguished part. His son, Sir Garret, served with distinction in the same war, and was with Sir William Godolphin, employed to treat with the earl of Tyrone on his submission at the end of that rebellion, in 1602. In 1621, Sir Garret was created Viscount Moore of Drogheda, in consideration of his great and honourable services.

Charles Moore, the third son of this last named person, came early on the stage of public life. In August, 1628, in his 25th year, he was appointed upon the commission for the regranting of escheated lands in Ulster; and advancing still in public importance, took an active and leading part in the affairs of his own province. These were not however, during the continuance of peaceful times, such as to claim especial notice, and we therefore pass over details of no present interest, to the period which brought him into more distinguished notice. We shall therefore only delay to mention that, in 1639, in virtue of the commission of grace, he had a lease and confirmation of his estates in Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Dublin, Monaghan, and the King's county, with license to impark 4000 acres, &c. &c.†

At the beginning of the rebellion lord Moore was residing with his family and a garrison of sixty-three carbines,‡ in the gloomy and sequestered state of the ancient castle of Mellifont, far from the vicinage of social life, and presenting an exposed point of attack to all the turbulence of Ulster. Here, on the 26th October, 1641, at a late hour in the day, the accounts of the first exploits of Sir Phelim O'Neile and the northern rebels reached him. He was alarmed by the account that his sister, lady Blayney, with her children, had been seized and imprisoned, and the castle taken by the rebels, who had surprised Newry and other towns and castles in the north. At midnight, lord Moore rode with his troop to Drogheda, which was about four miles and a half from his castle. On his arrival, he found the place unprovided for its defence,

* Lodge.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

the civil authorities, unconscious of the danger of their situation, and either incredulous or ill affected. He endeavoured to infuse vigour into their conduct, and to animate them to the preparations necessary for the defence of the town. The mayor and aldermen promised fairly, but Moore saw quickly that they could not be relied on: he at once resolved himself to make good the defence of the town, and for this to remove his family into it. He began by causing the walls to be repaired, the old and neglected artillery to be mounted and made fit for service, and the ditch scoured. Perceiving the total insufficiency of any force he could command, and strongly suspecting the disloyalty of the citizens, he rode off on a dark night to Dublin, to represent this state of things to the council, and desire their prompt interference to save the place. His remonstrances, backed by liberal offers of further aids in men at his own expense, had the desired effect: Sir Henry Tichburne was sent with a thousand foot, and arrived in the town 4th November. The reader knows the rest, the siege is detailed in our notice of Sir Phelim O'Neile.

In this interval lord Moore again applied to the council, offering to raise 600 men, and with the aid of Tichburne and the troops under his command, to secure the county of Louth. The offer was not accepted; but soon after, the rebels, resenting the spirited conduct of this nobleman, invested his castle of Mellifont with 1300 men. The castle was defended by twenty-four musqueteers, and fifteen dragoons, who held out bravely until their ammunition was spent. They were then compelled to yield. The gates were thrown open, the fifteen troopers mounted and charged out upon the rebels, through whom they forced a path, and without the loss of a man, made their way to Drogheda: the remainder of the garrison, to the number of twenty-four, yielded on quarter, but were slaughtered by the order of MacMahon, with twenty-eight of lord Moore's servants. The rebels carried away cattle and other property to the value of two thousand pounds.*

This event occurred a few weeks before the siege of Drogheda. In that siege lord Moore's tenants took a conspicuous part; and there is reason to believe, that they had even joined in the attack on Mellifont. They met with the due reward of their crime—during the siege of the town, they were attacked by their outraged lord, where they stood in arms on the north of Drogheda, and routed with the loss of their leader, and four hundred men killed in action, with several prisoners, among whom was Rory MacArt MacCross MacMahon. It was this exploit that raised the siege. Among the incidents of this fight, the most remarkable was an adventure of Moore's. It chanced that, with seven other horsemen, he was separated from his main body: the rebels quickly saw his exposed situation, and a cry arose "this is my lord Moore;" he was in a moment surrounded by upwards of two hundred men, and desperate efforts were made to seize him. Every effort was however vain against the impetuous charge with which Moore and his gallant little party broke through the crowd, and with the most formidable execution, cut themselves a bloody path to their friends.

When the siege of Drogheda had been raised, lord Moore was left

* Lodge.

in command of the town; and the conduct of the war in that part of the country was left chiefly to him. In the course of this service he performed many signal exploits, and obtained numerous important successes. On entering Ardee, 23d March, his personal valour obtained great notice, as numbers of the rebels fell by his own hand. In two days after he seized on Navan, and took a large plunder from the rebels whom he found endeavouring to secure the town against him.

In consideration of these great services, in June, 1642, king Charles appointed him governor of the county of Louth, and barony of Slane.*

In August, the same year, he marched with Sir John Borlase and colonel Gibson with their regiments, each amounting to 500 men and four pieces of cannon, against the castle of Seddan, which was defended by captain Fleming with a strong garrison of the rebels; the defence was brave and obstinate, though not of long duration. Having effected a breach, the walls were thrice assaulted, and at the last carried, after 500 brave rebels had fallen in the breach, and on the field without. The strength of this place had, it appears, been much relied on. Its capture made a strong impression on the resolution of lords Gormanstown and Nettekville, who thereupon abandoned the castles of Newtown, and the fort of the Nobber. The counties of Louth and Meath were thus cleared of the presence of an enemy.

In the summer of the following year, the relative strength of the two opposing parties had considerably changed. The English army had been suffered to fall into neglect, and the rebels had been strengthened by the accession of many eminent lords and gentlemen, whose wealth and abilities gave new vigour to a bad cause. These circumstances we shall detail further on. On the 7th August, 1643, lord Moore was sent out against general Preston, who had advanced into Meath to reap the harvest of that county. Moore took Athboy, but, from the total want of ammunition, was unable to keep the field, or even to secure any portion of the harvest. His soldiers, in common with those of every other officer in the English service, were in a state of starvation, and ready to mutiny for their pay. The angry spirit among them became so manifest, that the peasantry who observed their condition took the alarm and kept aloof: but reaped the corn and carried it off every night. Owen O'Neile with 5000 well appointed soldiers and 700 cavalry, possessed himself of the whole harvest from Cavan to Slane; and the garrisons of Drogheda, Dundalk, and the fortified castles in the surrounding districts were perishing from utter want, so that their garrisons were all ready to desert them. O'Neile, joined by Sir James Dillon, and in connexion with Preston, by whom he could be joined without obstruction, seized on numerous castles without a blow, and proceeded to lay siege to Athboy. This, lord Moore was ordered to prevent, but was not in force to move. The government sent orders into Ulster that Monro should march or send 2200 men to assist him; Monro refused, on the pretence of an independent command over Ulster.

In this distress colonel Monk received orders to march from the county of Wicklow, where he had taken possession of Bray and New-

* Lodge.

castle, and to reinforce lord Moore. Thus strengthened, lord Moore advanced towards Athboy. On his approach O'Neile raised the siege and advanced to meet him, and took up a strong position at Portlester ford, upon the Black Water, about five miles from Trim. At a small distance from the ford was a mill, called the Earl's mill; into this O'Neile put sixty men, and threw up a strong breastwork before the door. Lord Moore commanded an attack on this post, but a well-served battery repulsed the assailants. As he stood upon a rising ground to direct this assault, it had been observed that the ball from a gun of the enemy repeatedly grazed the ground near his station: Moore, in the anxiety of the duty in which he was engaged, took no notice of the danger, and at last was struck by a ball which pierced his armour and occasioned his death. This event is dated by Lodge on the 7th August, and by Carte on the 12th September, 1643. The latter date agrees with the general train and succession of events, and that of Lodge, who is singularly careless about dates, must be from inadvertence.

Borlase remarks, in the account which he gives of this incident, that Moore was the first who engaged in the cause, and the last who fell in the commission of king Charles.

Connor Macquire, Baron of Enniskillen.

EXECUTED A. D. 1645.

THIS unfortunate person was one of those Roman catholic noblemen whom the artful representations of Roger Moore may be considered as having forced into rebellion. He has left his own account of the circumstances, by which it is apparent to how great an extent his conduct was influenced by the address and representations of Moore. This document we already quoted to some extent in our notice of that gentleman.

Of Macquire it will not be necessary to say much. He was the representative of an ancient Irish race, the chiefs of Fermanagh, whose names have from time to time occurred in our pages. His grandfather had a grant from the crown of 6480 acres, in Fermanagh, in consideration of service. This property with other honours descended to Connor; but he had, by his extravagance reduced himself to ruin. And was thus the more exposed to the artifices employed to draw him into the dangerous practices which cost him his life. His career was brief, as he was taken prisoner on the first discovery of the rebellion.

The day after this discovery, he was taken in an obscure house in Cooke street. Moore, Plunket, and others, having escaped across the Liffey overnight At first Macquire refused to make any confession, but afterwards made a full disclosure of all the particulars. He was sent, together with MacMahon, to London, where they were committed to the Tower. There they remained for nearly two years; until, on August 18th, 1644, they contrived to make their escape.* With a

* Borlase.

saw they cut their way through a thick oaken door; and, having thus got clear from their apartment, they groped their way in silence to a loophole, or window, in the White Tower, from which they let themselves down by a rope procured for the purpose. The rest of the exploit was comparatively easy: they waded through the moat, and found their way to Drury Lane, where the friends who had contrived to supply the means of escape had secured their lodging.

Till October 20th,* they lurked securely in this concealment, and might very probably have escaped. But one night, with the recklessness of their countrymen, one of them called out from the window to an oyster woman who was passing by. The voice was recognised, and information promptly conveyed to Mr Conyers, the lieutenant of the Tower. A guard was despatched, and before two hours they found themselves once more in their lodging in the Tower.

They were brought to trial on the 18th November, in the King's Bench. MacMahon was at once condemned. Macguire made an able defence, and contrived to have his trial postponed till the following term. He was again brought before the same court on the 10th and 11th of February, 1645; when he pleaded that being baron of Enniskillen, he had a right to be tried by his peers: for this he cited the statute 10 Henry VII., by which he affirmed that the laws of England were in force in Ireland. To this the king's council demurred, and the point was argued on both sides, and ruled against Macguire by judge Bacon. We have not had it in our power to ascertain distinctly the ground of this decision; by the well known law of Poynings' parliament, 10 Henry VII., cited by Macguire; by repeated previous laws of Irish parliaments and royal declarations; and by several extensions of the great charter, the privilege of trial "*per legale judicium parium suorum*" seems to have been the rightful claim of every Irish subject. Nevertheless lord Bacon declared that an Irish baron was to be tried as a commoner in England. He cited the case of lord Gray, who was so tried for acts done in Ireland. This decision and precedent demands no discussion, as they cannot be considered as other than a stretch of power, with its lame excuse. On this an order was passed by the lords and commons for Macguire's trial. He then applied for further delay, for the purpose of bringing witnesses from Ireland. This also was denied upon grounds which would not now be regarded as satisfactory: the time that had already been spent on different pretences; and the very strange ground, that no witness could disprove the facts deposed to by the witnesses against him. This unconstitutional assumption, by which he was evidently prejudged, strongly indicates the undefined notions of trial by jury which could be applied in so very advanced a period of English law; and still more strongly the arbitrary influences which in that time were greater than the law.

Lord Macguire did not abandon his own cause. When the trial came on, he challenged twenty-three jurors empaneled for the first jury. The challenge was allowed, and the prisoner remanded till next day, when he was again brought up. The next day he moved that his plea of his rights as a peer, should be referred to the lords, which was re-

* Borlase.

fused; both because he had now put himself on his trial by the country, and also as the trial was by an order to which the lords were party. Another jury was sworn. To these Macguire objected that they were parties interested, most of them being purchasers of his lands. On this, after a wrangling argument, it was consented by the king's counsel, that the jury should declare upon affidavit, whether they, or any of them, had any share in the rebel's lands in Ireland. The jury made a declaration in the negative, and the trial was ordered to proceed.

He was then convicted, both by many circumstantial proofs, and by his own confession. Lord Bacon then asked him why sentence should not pass against him. Macguire, who seems to have sturdily resolved to contest every inch of ground, asked by what seal the judge proceeded against him. The judge answered, by the old seal; to which Macguire answered, that he conceived that the ordinance of parliament for a new great seal, must invalidate all proceedings under the old. This objection, though indicative of the objector's pertinacity and readiness, was but a cavil; and sentence was at length passed. Macguire was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, 20th February, 1645.*

Sir Robert Stewart.

DIED ABOUT A. D. 1665.

THE ancestors of the eminent soldier here to be noticed, and of the Irish branch of the family of Stewart came into Ireland in the reign of James I., and claim an ancient and illustrious origin from the family of that monarch. We might thus, travel far back into the antiquity of Irish kings and heroes, the founders of the ancient monarchy of the Scottish throne. Of these some notice will be found in our first volume. We might also repeat with some effect the romance of Macbeth, and once more call up the ghost of Banquo to sit in his vacant chair and shake his "gory locks" for the entertainment of our readers. As the first of the Stewarts is traced by the heralds to his grandson, Walter, the son of Fleance, who on the murder of his father by Macbeth, fled into Wales, where he married Nesta, the daughter of Griffith ap Llewellyn, king of North Wales. After the death of Macbeth, his son, Walter, returned to Scotland, and was made lord high steward of Scotland by king Malcolm III. From him descended in order several representatives, bearing the name of Stewart to Robert Stewart or Stuart, who, in 1370, on the failure of issue male in the reigning family, succeeded to the throne of Scotland, by which the crown was transferred back into the direct line of descent from king Duffus,† in the tenth century.

James Stewart, a son of Murdoch, second duke of Albany, on the attainder of his father, fled into Ireland, where he married into the

* Borlase.

† Duffus left a son and a daughter; the son died childless, and was succeeded by Malcolm II. Banquo was the daughter's son.

family of MacDonell, and settled in the county of Tyrone where he died in 1449, leaving seven sons. From these descended several branches of the Stewart family in this country. Of these the oldest was created lord Avondale, to which title in the course of descent, were added the titles of Ochiltree next, and then Castle-Stewart.

The branch of this family, of whom we are now more especially to speak, is not traced to its root in the parent stem, with the distinctness we could wish. But the connexion is undoubted and not remote. We must here be contented to follow the example of most historians, and all heralds, whose skill in tracing out the cobweb lines of pedigree is not more admirable than the sleight of hand, by which obscure dates and lamentable chasms are shuffled out of view; so that the concealment of ignorance indicates a degree of skill not less useful than the discovery of truth.

In the reign of James I., the Stewarts of Newtown-Stewart and Culmore, in the county of Tyrone, were distinguished by their ability and courage, of both of whom we shall here give an account.

Sir William was the elder brother, and an undertaker to a very large extent in the county of Tyrone at the time of the plantation of Ulster. There he made considerable improvements, and built several castles and flourishing villages. He was knighted for his useful and efficient conduct in the short rebellion of O'Doherty; and, in 1613, represented the county of Donegal in parliament. By privy seal in 1423, he was created baronet.

When the rebellion of 1641 broke out, he received a commission to raise one thousand foot, and a troop of horse, for the security of the country. With this body of men he gave Sir Phelim O'Neill three remarkable defeats. Near Strabane, as he was on the point of setting fire to the town of Raphoe; on the mountains of Barnesmore; and lastly, a bloody and decisive rout, June 16th, 1642, which we have noticed in our memoir of Sir Phelim, and in which the great army which he had collected from all the northern counties, was put to flight, with the loss of five hundred men. Sir William died some time about 1662, the latest date at which we can discover any historical mention of him, or of his brother Robert, whom we are now to notice.

Robert Stewart was the second brother of the same family; and was a gentleman of the privy chamber to James I. He received large grants in the counties of Leitrim, Cavan, and Fermanagh. He was made a colonel by king Charles; and, in 1638, was appointed to the command of Culmore castle. He was in the following year returned member of parliament for the city of Londonderry; and in 1641, obtained a commission to raise one thousand foot, and a troop, for the king's service. He was made also governor of Derry, on the death of Sir James Vaughan in 1643, and on the 3d June, in that year, obtained a memorable victory over the rebel commander, the celebrated Owen O'Neill. The particulars of this battle must be the trophy of the victor, we shall therefore give a brief account of them here.

Owen O'Neill was on his march through the county of Monaghan, with three thousand two hundred men, of which force one thousand were immediately with him, the remainder were in attendance upon a large collection of cattle and fugitives, which it was his intention to

escort into Leitrim and the bordering counties. Stewart, having obtained intelligence of his approach, hastened to overtake him, and after a very severe march, came up with him on the borders of Fermanagh, at a place called Clonish. He had with him his own regiment, and Sir William's, with some companies from Derry, and from the regiments of Sir W. Balfour, and colonel Mervyn. When his approach had been ascertained by O'Neile, he posted his main body to the best advantage, in a strong pass, under a veteran officer of his own name, and advanced with his cavalry to reconnoitre. Sir Robert was about a mile from the enemy when he was apprized of these particulars: he ordered a halt that his men might breathe and take some refreshment. After this, he marched on till he came in sight of the rebels—they were drawn up behind a pass through a narrow stone causeway which O'Neile had lined with musqueteers. Sir Robert detached a strong party to force this position; their approach was met by O'Neile's cavalry, which came rushing over the causeway, and a very smart encounter took place: but the Irish were at last driven back—and their retreat pursued by Stewart's horse. For a moment the advantage was doubtful; the last horseman of the Irish had scarcely passed over the causeway, when the pursuers were saluted by a tremendous fusillade from the musqueteers within. The cavalry retired, but it was to make way for the forlorn hope, who charged impetuously in, and carried all before them—the whole of the English cavalry were at their heels, and in a few moments again charging the enemy's horse on the other side of the pass. For some minutes now the battle raged with great fury and little method. Captain Stewart, the leader of Sir Robert's troop, and probably either his son or his nephew, engaged hand to hand with Owen O'Neile: the combat was interrupted—the combatants were too important to their respective parties to be allowed to fight it out—the battle rested for an instant on the result of a blow, when Stewart was charged on one side, and wounded, while by a lateral shock his horse was borne to the earth.

In the mean time, Shane O'Neile, whom his commander had posted in the rear of the cavalry, in the strong pass already mentioned, saw how matters were going on. He advanced with his twelve companies to support the cavalry already beginning to break and give way. Sir Robert saw this movement, and quitting the cavalry which he had headed, he put himself at the head of his own regiment of foot and led them on to charge the advancing infantry of his antagonist. They were bravely received, and both parties rushing together with the animosity of the occasion and age, strove with a brave and sanguinary desperation for a full half hour. At last, as the second regiment of the English had made their way, and were ready to advance to the aid of their companions, the Irish suddenly gave way and fled with such precipitation as to break the order of their own body of reserve, which was coming up to their aid. All fled together, and the English horse executed tremendous havoc on their flying companies as they ran. In this battle the loss of Owen O'Neile was very great: numbers of his best men were slain, and, what was far worse, most of his foreign officers were either killed or taken.

The loss of the English was but six killed, and twenty-two wounded; but Sir Robert Stewart was by no means in condition to take further advantage of his victory. His supplies were spent, and he was obliged to disperse his forces to their several stations, and return to Londonderry. O'Neile pursued his way to Charlemont: the people flocked about his standard every mile of the way; before he had reached Mohil, his forces showed no sign of the slaughter of Clunies. They were, it is true, unarmed; but the supreme council sent him arms and ammunition, and he soon took the field as strong as ever.

We shall now pass on more glancingly through the rest of Stewart's career. Most of the circumstances we shall have to relate in future detail. In 1644, he was one among the colonels, who agreed in a resolution against taking the covenant which the parliament ordered to be taken by the army.

In 1648, he was, by the vicissitudes of events, opposed to the parliamentary army in Ireland. And as he commanded the important fort of Culmore, which was the key to Londonderry, he was an object of much close watchfulness, and fell into a dexterously contrived snare—which is indistinctly related by Lodge, who refers to Carte, but must have found his half-told story somewhere else. Carte simply mentions, that “Sir Charles Coote,” (son of the person already commemorated in volume II.) “treacherously seized on Sir Robert Stewart's person, forced him to order his castle of Culmore to be delivered, and then sent him a prisoner to London.” Lodge mentions that he was inveigled into Derry, to a baptism at a friend's house, and “insidiously taken,” and with colonel Mervyn, who was similarly taken, delivered to colonel Monk, who sent them to London,—adding that colonel Monk, *afterwards by some artifices*, got possession of Culmore:—a statement which may be as true as Carte's, but is not the same. Carte's observation should not be here unpeated:—“This treatment of so gallant an officer, after a course of sufferings for so many years, and of services greater than any other commander then in the kingdom had performed, highly incensed the old Scots, and all the forces that had used to serve under him.”

When the war was ended by the success of the parliamentary forces, and an act was passed for the settlement of Ireland, Stewart was expressly excepted from pardon for life or estate. He lived nevertheless, to see brighter days after a long and dreary interval of adversity. The year 1660 brought with it the restoration; and the merit and sufferings of Stewart were among those which escaped the oblivion of the heartless and selfish Charles. He was appointed to the command of a company, and soon after made governor of the city and county of Derry.

From this we find no further mention worthy of note; and as he had run a long course from the year 1617, in which we find him recorded for his faithful services to king James, to the restoration, we may presume, that he had attained a good old age. From the Ordnance Survey of Derry, we also find that in 1661, he was succeeded in his government by colonel Gorges, appointed May 6th, 1661. It is therefore the high probability that his death occurred in the same year.

Robert Stewart, of Erry.

DIED A. D. 1662.

IN the previous notice it has been shown, that a branch of the Stewart family which bore in Scotland the titles of Avondale and Ochiltree, had been advanced in Ireland, to the title of baron Castlestewart, of the county of Tyrone.

Robert Stewart of Erry, was brother to the fifth lord Castlestewart, and was highly distinguished among the numerous brave men, whom a stirring time has brought into historic notice. We do not think ourselves quite warranted to bring forward a full detail of the various exploits belonging to other memoirs, in which he bore an honourable part. He relieved Dungannon fort, and that of Mountjoy, when at the point of surrender to the rebels; and, attacking the besiegers with a very inferior force, compelled them to decamp into the fastnesses of Slievegalen and Altadesert. He next maintained possession of the two forts of Zoome and Antrim, of which he was governor, till the coming of Cromwell, when resistance became useless and impossible. He died in 1662, leaving one son, in whom the line was continued under the following circumstances:—The fifth lord died unmarried, and the title reverted to his uncle, who, having lived to a very old age, died without issue, when the next claimant to the title was Andrew, the grandson of Robert here noticed. He was at the time of his uncle's death but 12 years of age, and was removed to Scotland by his mother, during the war of the revolution. To him the title devolved, but he did not (as afterwards appeared) claim it, as the family estate had been "taken away by the lady Suffolk."* For the same reason his son did not think fit to claim a title to which they were quite aware of their right. And so the matter slept till 1774, when a petition from Andrew Thomas Stewart brought forward the claim, which was decided in his favour.

Richard Butler, Third Viscount Mountgarret.

BORN A. D. 1578.—DIED A. D. 1651.

THE third viscount Mountgarret, having married a daughter of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, was early led into connexions, of which in those times, rebellion was almost the sure consequence. Lord Mountgarret was an active adherent to his father-in-law, and took arms in his behalf, at the early age of twenty-one. In the reign of Elizabeth, when Ireland had been but recently brought into even a comparative subjection, and the authority of the crown was but imperfectly defined, rebellion was yet looked upon with indulgence by the crown. The will of the sovereign stood in place of the even and irrespective execution of law,

* Andrew, uncle to Robert of Erry, and third baron, having a daughter, his only child, conveyed his estate to her husband, the earl of Suffolk.—*Lodge and Burke.*

and the award of policy or vindictive feeling was lenient or severe, according to the circumstances of the case. Chiefs who had not laid aside the pretensions of kings, and who had the power of maintaining these pretensions to a troublesome extent, were looked on with indulgence: their gratitude conciliated, their turbulence overlooked, and their outbreaks controlled and pardoned. Thus it was, that in the latter end of the sixteenth century, great rebellions, which covered the land with blood and fear, passed away without effecting those forfeitures of life and land, which so soon after became their certain consequence. Much indeed, as the historian may feel at the passing away of illustrious families of ancient time—his sense of expediency and justice must tell him, that the peace of society and the vindication of the law by which order subsists, is more important still; and in looking upon the operation of a system of civilizing change, essential to the future, but attended with immediate disadvantage to a few, he cannot without an abandonment of every true social principle, wish it had been otherwise. The institution of just and equal law, on the one only principle upon which human caprice, the errors of uncertain policy, and the fierce and constant workings of those latent springs of disorder by which every class is pervaded can be controlled, must ever depend on the certainty, that the law cannot be violated without the forfeiture of those rights of which it is the security.

During the long life of the lord Mountgarret, the state of Ireland was widely changed. The laws of England had been established to the full extent that such a step was practicable. Their administration necessarily subject to great abuses, was yet productive of vast amelioration in the condition of the people. Had they been much sooner enforced, the consequences must have fallen with lamentable severity upon the aristocracy of the land, as their full operation must have visited with extreme penalties, a large class who had attained to imperfect notions of the difference between right and wrong. But from the rebellion of Tyrone, the mind of the Irish aristocracy had rapidly expanded, and the various letters and documents of the Irish nobles of every class, exhibit no deficiency in the constitutional knowledge of the age. Ireland had made a step in advance, which does not seem to have ever been thoroughly appreciated.

The rebellion of Tyrone, did not with all its bloodshed and widespread devastation, materially alter the condition of men, who for their private ends, had caused the death of thousands, and overwhelmed the country with waste and famine. In 1599, we find the lord Mountgarret a lord of the pale, defending the castles of Ballyragget and Coleshill against the queen's forces, and in 1605, he receives the special livery of his estates, as if he had been in the meantime a student at the temple, or serving under Carew or Mountjoy. From this his name is for some years lost in general history, but being a person of active habits, he was probably making himself useful in preserving order, and introducing improvement in his own immediate vicinity. In the parliaments of 1613 and 1615, his conduct was prudent, and attracted the approbation of king James. This seems confirmed by the fact, that in 1619, he had in consideration of loyal services, a con-

firmation of all his estates, with the creation of several manors, and various lucrative and valuable privileges.*

On the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, he was joined in commission with the earl of Ormonde, for the government of the county of Kilkenny, and upon the earl's removal to Dublin, the county was entirely committed to his charge.

A rumour had however been sedulously propagated, that the government entertained designs hostile to the Roman catholic lords of the pale. This inauspicious rumour, was diffused by the agents of the leading persons and parties, who were at the time engaged in maturing the outbreak which so soon followed: it was loudly affirmed by Moore and his associates, and much favoured by the suspicious conduct of the lords-justices. A concurrence of untoward circumstances originated, and kept up a misunderstanding, which every word and act on either side confirmed. The aristocracy of Munster and the Roman catholic lords of the pale, equally fearful of the popular leaders and distrustful of the government, beset with surrounding dangers from revolutionary conspirators, a plundering and lawless populace, and a circumventing and iniquitous administration, quickly perceived that their safety must depend upon their strength; it was quite apparent that to sit at ease as indifferent spectators would not be permitted by either party. Accordingly, these noblemen, early on the appearance of rebellious indications, offered their services; and among others, lord Mountgarret offered to raise a thousand men, to arm them at his own expense, and command them against the rebels. The offer was not accepted; the lords-justices in their terror, ignorance, and in the narrowness of their bigoted policy distrusted these noblemen, and the consequence of their distrust was that they would neither employ them against the common danger, nor allow them to protect themselves, but acted towards them with an arbitrary and inconsiderate exertion of authority, which conveyed insult, and seemed to menace danger. Having first put arms into their hands for the defence of their families and the pale, they next recalled those arms, and summoned them to appear at the castle. These lords had powerful inducements to draw them into rebellion, and were strongly urged to that perilous course by the nature of their connexions. Nevertheless, with the more than doubtful exception of lord Mayo, they had kept apart from every overt manifestation of a disaffected character, and strenuously asserted their adherence to the king and the government, until it became too evident that the only proof they could give of their loyalty, was to stand unprotected between two hostile powers. To be the first victims of rebellion, or be received on the doubtful footing of distrust by a government, of which the previous conduct had been such as to prove they were not themselves to be trusted. To give effect to these circumstances, rumours were in active circulation on both sides. Among those who were impressed with the notion that it was the design of government to extirpate the Roman catholics, lord Mountgarret was one; he has himself furnished an exposition of his own motives, we here extract it with some corroborative

* Lodge, iv. p. 52.

statements from Archdall. The letter to the earl of Ormonde runs thus:—

“My lord.—Since I have been forced in this general cause by the example of some, as innocent and free from infringing of his majesty’s laws as myself, who have been used in the nature of traitors, I forbore for avoiding your displeasure, to acquaint you with my proceedings and other motives therein: but now, for fear of being mistaken by the state concerning my loyalty, and presuming of your lordship’s favour and good meaning towards me, I make bold to send you here enclosed, an exact remonstrance of those principal grievances that have procured this general commotion in this kingdom; where-with I shall humbly desire your lordship to acquaint the lord-justice and council, to the end they may by a fair redress of them, prevent the fearful calamities that doubtless shall ensue for want thereof. It is not my case alone, it is the case of the whole kingdom; and it hath been a principal observation of the best historian, that a whole nation how contemptible soever, should not be incensed by any prince or state, how powerful soever, as to be driven to take desperate courses, the event whereof is uncertain, and rests only in the all-guiding power of the Omnipotent. This has been most lively represented by the French chronicler, Philip de Comines, in the passage between the duke of Burgundy and the Switzers. I will not press this matter further, (a word is enough to the intelligent,) and I cannot harbour any thought of your lordship, but that you are sensible of the miseries of this kingdom, whereof you are a native, and do wish the quiet and tranquillity thereof: I do, for a further expression of my own sincerity in this cause, send your lordship here enclosed my declaration and oath, joined with others, which I conceive to be tolerable, and no way inclining to the violation of his majesty’s laws, whereof I am and always will be very observant, as becomes a loyal subject, and

“My lord,

“Your lordship’s humble servant,

“MOUNTGARRET.

“25th March, 1642.”

To this letter of lord Mountgarret’s, we add Archdall’s comment:—

“In confirmation hereof, it appears from the deposition of William Parkinson of Castlecomer, Esq., that so little was his lordship’s inclination to take up arms against his majesty, that Walter Butler of Poolestown, Walter Bagenal of Dunleckney, and Robert Shee of Kilkenny, Esq., were the chief instruments that made him do so; and so high was the insolence of those rebels grown, that the deponent had read a petition of one Richard Archdeane, captain of the Irish town of Kilkenny, and the alderman of the city, directed to the lord Mountgarret and his council, desiring (among other things,) that Philip Parcell of Ballyfoile, Esq., his lordship’s son-in-law, might be punished for relieving the protestants. Also, the titular bishop of Cashel, Tirlogh Oge O’Neile, brother to the arch rebel Sir Phelim, and the popish citizens of Kilkenny, petitioned the rest of the council of Kilkenny, that all the English protestants there should be put to death; whereunto Richard Lawless in excuse answered, that they were

all robbed before, and he saw no cause that they should lose their lives; and at divers other times, where it was pressed that the English should be put to death, the lord Mountgarret with his son Edmund, and his son-in-law Parcell, by their strength, means, and persuasions, prevented it."

Having made this representation, which we believe truly to represent the case of the Roman catholic lords of the pale, Mountgarret advanced with a large train of his connexions, and of the gentry of the county, and seized on the city of Kilkenny, where he publicly declared the motives of his conduct. He then issued a public proclamation, commanding his followers to respect the life and property of the English inhabitants. By his influence and personal vigilance, he gave effect to this order, and prevented the commission of those crimes which it must have demanded much authority and watchfulness to repress.

It is now quite apparent that though such a distinction could not then have been noticed, and though it did not practically appear for a long time after, that this rebellion was composed of two parties distinct in their character, principles, and motives, though combined by a common direction and common hostility to the Irish government. The native chiefs and their immediate party, whose aim was as we have fully explained to recover the lands and power of their ancestors, revenge injuries real or supposed, and root out the English name, authority and religion: at the head of these was Sir Phelim O'Neile. And secondly, the Roman catholic nobles, of whose motives Mountgarret may be here offered as the representative. These parties are not more distinguishable by their characters and declared motives, than by their entire conduct. The party of Sir Phelim, unconstrained by any principle but the passions which led or drove them from crime to crime, were formidable for their butcheries of the unarmed; their exploits in the field were few and doubtful, and a few regular soldiers never failed to overmatch their utmost numbers. On the other hand, the war assumed a military character under the command of Mountgarret, Castlehaven, and other lords of their party, presenting a formidable front, fighting desperate battles in the field, and abstaining from butcheries and massacres, perfidious stratagems and treasons under the pretext of every falsehood. So determined was lord Mountgarret for the prevention of crime, that finding it difficult to impress the people with any sense of respect for property, he showed an effective example by shooting Mr Richard Cantwell, a gentleman of great influence, and a friend of his own family, when he saw him joining in plunder. Such in the beginning is the traceable division in this long rebellion, which, as it proceeded through many desolating years, split into so many armed and mutually hostile parties.

Having seized Kilkenny, lord Mountgarret sent out his parties to secure other towns in the surrounding country; and in one week, he was master of nearly all the towns of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary. Waterford submitted to his son Edmond Roe Butler; this city had shut its gates a month before against the Wexford rebels; Butler was received with willingness. No violence was here committed on life or goods, no one was disturbed; several protestants

expressed a desire to depart, and they were permitted to take their entire property, without question. Callan and Gowran were at the same time and as peaceably secured. Clonmel, Carrick, and Dungarvan, were seized by Butler of Kilcash, second brother to the earl of Ormonde, in a manner so orderly and free from violence or plunder, as seemingly to deprive rebellion of its horrors. The impression made by this unusual conduct upon the surrounding country, led in one instance at least, to a dangerous confidence. Theobald Butler, the baron of Ardmaile, seeing the facility with which places were to be taken, privately assembled a large gang of his own people, and proceeded to take possession of Fethard. Hacket, the sovereign of the town, suspecting nothing, without any hesitation admitted him with a few friends; he was seized in his own house, and the keys of the town taken by Butler, who let in his undisciplined rabble to the number of a thousand, with clubs, pikes, and skeans. There were nine English in the town, these were seized and confined, and their entire property collected and shut up in the castle. Happily, the account of this transaction came to the ears of lord Dunboyne, who the next day came and dispersed the rabble, and restored the Englishmen to their freedom and property. They were then sent off to Youghal, and other places at their own choice. Of these, two were protestant clergymen, one Mr Hamilton, was sent to the countess of Ormonde, by whom he was protected with his family; the other (Mr Lowe, vicar of Cloyne,) made a less fortunate selection. He made it his desire to be conducted to the house of a Mr Mockler, who was his landlord, in the vicinity. He was under the delusive expectation that the rebellion would presently pass away, and that there was no occasion to remove far from home. He was kindly received by Mr Mockler. Some little time after, Mockler had occasion to go to Clonmel, and Lowe, for what reason is not known, accompanied him to Fethard. On parting company, Mr Mockler trusted him to the protection of a Mr Byffert, a person who was considered safe. At night, a carpenter of the name of MacHugh, with some others, attacked him in his bed, murdered him, and carried him out in the quilt to the bridge of Crompe, where they threw him into the river. Mr Mockler and Mr Byffert had an active search for the murderer, and MacHugh was soon caught and committed to prison. He escaped, but thinking himself safe in the general license of the time, returned and was again seized, on which he confessed the murder and was executed.

From such enormities this part of the country was kept comparatively free, by the humanity and firmness of the noblemen who headed the rebellion there. The Tipperary gentlemen and those of the surrounding baronies, met in the beginning of January, to consult upon the means of raising an army. It was agreed that every gentleman should raise as many cavalry and as well equipped as they could; that these levies were then to be formed into regular troops, and their pay provided for. Lord Skerrin was chosen lieutenant-general, and the command in chief offered to lord Mountgarret. He took the command, drew together a large body of men, and marched into Tipperary, where a junction with lord Skerrin placed him at the head of

nearly eight thousand men. To these, additional numbers were added under different leaders from the county of Limerick.

Lord Mountgarret, at the head of this numerous but not well appointed force, held on his way towards the county of Cork. He sat down on the way before the castle of Cnockordane, which quickly surrendered on capitulation. It is a frightful feature of the history of this rebellion, that it is thought necessary by the historian to assure us emphatically that the capitulation was "honourably observed."*

Having entered the county of Cork, he was observed by Sir William St Leger, who did not think fit to attack him, but desired a conference. This was a *ruse de guerre*. While Sir William kept the rebel lord in conference, he contrived to have his arms and military stores removed from Doneraile and other *depots* in the vicinity, which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the rebels. Lord Mountgarret now appeared to have the whole country at his disposal, when an obstacle on which he had least calculated arose. Lord Fermoy, whose influence in this county was as considerable as that of Mountgarret in his own, refused to submit to his command, and was supported by all the principal gentry of the county. On this lord Mountgarret turned and marched back to Kilkenny.

It was thought, and we cannot doubt it, that this incident gave a turn to the rebellion. Had lord Mountgarret at the time pursued his own success, there was nothing to resist him, he must have seized on Munster with all its places of strength, and would have been in a condition to follow up the same course all over Ireland, before the capricious and grudging hand of government would or could have raised any sufficient defence. The gentry of Cork disagreed among themselves, and when the pretensions of Mountgarret were questioned, other pretensions were discussed, and, before any thing could be agreed, the efforts of St Leger, the Boyles, and the Barrys, began to be effective in putting the country into a defensible state; their raw levies were armed, disciplined, and inured to military hardships and privations, and the time for a combined opposition passed away.

It was in this interval that the siege of Drogheda already related, took place.

The next memorable incident of lord Mountgarret's history, is the battle of Kiltrush, within a few miles of Athy. He had taken a position near the bridge of Mageny, when the English troops under the command of the earl of Ormonde, were observed marching up at some distance. Mountgarret had his unbroken army of something above eight thousand men, commanded under him by lords Skerriu, Dunboyne and others, and the advantage of a peculiarly strong position. The movements of the English was such as to show that their commander was fully aware of the advantages of his enemy. The earl of Ormonde in fact had decided against the attack, but came to the resolution of passing on towards Dublin; he anticipated an effort to intercept his march, and for this he made his dispositions. These we shall relate further on. His troops had not marched far when lord Mountgarret saw his advantage, and came to the resolution of

* Carte,

not throwing away the occasion for a decisive blow; three miles further on there was a pass through which they must march, and there he determined to meet them. For this purpose leaving the enemy on the left, Mountgarret led his army round the bog of Killika, by which the pass near Ballysovanan was approachable by a short cut, and not being encumbered with baggage, it was his hope to secure the pass before the earl of Ormonde could come up. In the mean time the enemy was not idle, and a column of cavalry led by Sir T. Lucas, came onward at a brisk pace. After a couple of miles hasty marching, Mountgarret approached the pass, a low hill had for some time shut out the view of the English troops, and he had not perceived the progress they had made, his mortification was therefore great when he found that Lucas had outmarched him; the pass was seized, and he was forced to halt. He had yet the advantage of a strong position, and if his soldiers were to be trusted the enemy had nothing to hope from an attack, they could at best escape.

But the earl of Ormonde had little notion of such an alternative, his movements told of battle. He was drawing up his little army and making the most masterly arrangements at the foot of the hill, within two musket shots of Mountgarret and his people. It could be seen that he was sending off his messengers, and disposing his companies and his baggage in the places best adapted for their respective characters.

Seeing all this Mountgarret drew up his men in two divisions, rather with the design of maintaining his strong position, than of attacking his enemy; and while he was thus engaged, Sir C. Coote, and Sir R. Grenville, came up with their companies, and Sir T. Lucas took a position on the left of his position with the cavalry. These had no sooner fallen into their places, than the earl of Ormonde with his four companies came on to the charge at a rapid pace. Their approach was for a few minutes retarded, and they were thrown into some confusion, by an unexpected obstacle. When they had cleared about half the distance between them and the Irish, they came upon a hedge and a hollow way which obstructed their advance. They were however suffered to retrieve their order of attack, by moving round these impediments so as to form inside the hedge. The fight now commenced with a distant firing, which did no damage to either side. This had not lasted above half an hour when a gap was found at some distance in the hedge, through which Sir T. Lucas and Sir R. Grenville were enabled to lead the cavalry, so as to charge Mountgarret on the left. The Irish did not stand the charge, but turned and fled in great confusion towards the bog which lay at the foot of the hill; the cavalry which had been posted to protect their flanks, stood for another charge led by Grenville, on which they turned and joined their companions.

Mountgarret commanded in the right wing, which was composed of his best men, and yet stood their ground. Against these lord Ormonde led his troop of volunteers and three hundred foot commanded by Sir J. Sherlock; they fired several volleys as they came up the hill, which were received with steadiness; but as they were on the point of crossing their pikes, Mountgarret's best men turned

and fled over the hill for their lives, nor stopped to breathe till they reached the bog where they found their comrades.

In this battle Mountgarret lost seven hundred men, and as they were cut down chiefly in their flight, the loss on the other side was but twenty. After such a defeat, it is probable that he retained no great reliance on the efficiency of this unwieldy and undisciplined mob, which could be beaten against all possible disadvantages by a handful of soldiers.

He returned to Kilkenny, in the hope of effecting a more organized as well as extensive resistance. He was there appointed president of the supreme council organized in this year (1642), to methodize their proceedings and supply the place of government to the country. Of this we shall give a brief account in the next memoir, which may be considered as the commencement of a new chapter of events.

He did not however allow the civil station which thus enlarged his influence in a party, which at this time, as we shall hereafter show more at large, was fast attaining weight both in counsel and arms, to detain him from enterprise in the field. The insurrection had assumed a more specious character both from the accession of intrinsic advantages, and still more, from the occurrences of English history, which must at the time have had considerable effect in confusing the question of authority. When it became doubtful in whom was vested the powers of the sword and balance, rebellion must have assumed a fairer name, and lifted up a prouder front—another act of this bloody tragedy was now to commence.

On the 18th of March, 1642, lord Mountgarret took his share in the battle of Ross, between Preston and the earl of Ormonde. In the following year his name occurs in the capture of Borras. He was also with lord Castlehaven, and many other of the rebel lords, at the siege of Ballynakil. This siege commenced in November 26th, 1641: and is chiefly memorable for the extreme sufferings of the garrison and inhabitants, who were left to their own miserable resources, and held out with the most slender subsistence, and even without arms. At their surrender, upwards of one hundred and fifty had perished rather from want and disease, than the weapon of the foe. On this occasion, as on every other, lord Mountgarret is to be distinguished not less for his humanity, and for his attention to the relief of distressed protestants. The offices of humanity were at the time rendered difficult, by the continual increase of angry and fanatic passions. Though the high-born, and the educated, continued in a measure proof against the evil contagion of disorder which loosened all the ties, and dissolved all the ordinary ruling sentiments of civil life—the ignorant who are the slaves of prejudice and impulse, and the blind instruments of design, soon acquire the temper of their habits, and a moral tone from their own deeds. The long continued prostration of all the barriers of control—the emulation in crime—the triumphs of animal ruffianism; and the fearful excitement which undisciplined spirits diffuse and reflect by mere aggregation, continued to increase beyond any thing recorded by history: so that among the brutal rabble of parties who reaved and butchered each other as they found opportunity, the common features of humanity seemed to have been effaced. In proof of this we need

cite no description of the general historians; but the dreadful facts are registered with no sparing pen. From this dark and awful stain upon their history, the prominent and elevated leaders on both sides, are for the most part to be honourably exempted. The unhappy conjunction of events, and the ill-concerted policy that drove so many brave and honourable nobles and gentlemen into the arms of rebellion, were in some measure countervailed by the constant influence of their wisdom and humanity. But it was otherwise than fortunate for these noble but misdirected men, who were, when all was over, in many instances harshly dealt with. Neither the difficulties in which they had been placed by a feeble and corrupt government, nor the forbearance and moderation they had exercised, nor the general confusion of authorities which had in some measure sanctioned the course they followed, were admitted to palliate their offences against a government itself made lawful only by rebellion.

Lord Mountgarret was an actor throughout these disastrous scenes. He did not long survive their termination. After his death, which happened in 1651, he was excepted from pardon by Cromwell's act for the settlement of Ireland in 1652. He was buried in St Canice church in Kilkenny.



Owen O'Neill.

DIED A. D. 1648.

IN writing the lives of numerous persons, of whom most are to be chiefly distinguished for the several parts which they sustained in the same succession of events, it would be as vain as it would be embarrassing to preserve the unbroken order of history. We are at every fresh life compelled to look at the same main events, with the choice of changing the aspect and suppressing or expanding the details, as they become more or less the appropriate accessories to the principal figure, which is to occupy the foreground of narration. Something, however, we have effected to counterbalance this necessity, by the adoption of a double order of arrangement; following the succession of deaths as a general guide, to keep a just preservation of the course of generations—on a smaller scale we have endeavoured to be guided by the succession of events; in this, placing the contemporary individuals as nearly as we might, so as to preserve the true sequence of their *historical* existence. Thus though often entangled in the necessary repetition of minor incidents, without any regard to order, the greater and more cardinal events will be found in their true places, and comparatively freed from the encumbrance of needless repetition.

The same necessity of preserving a biographical form, renders it expedient and necessary to introduce some persons and some historical facts not strictly within the scope of mere biography, in lives which rather admit than require such adjuncts. To comprehend the large, varied, complicated, and sometimes confused as well as unconnected body of incidents, which form yet consistent portions of the same great state complex affairs, the reader must have before him some distinct

notices of party movements and combinations, from which so much must be traced or rightly understood. These necessary additions which must have extended our introductory remarks to an exclusive volume, we have endeavoured to make in due season and with separate fulness, by distributing them among our notices of the more important and weighty of the persons connected with them.

The author of a pleasing and popular work on the principal incidents of our history, has somewhere described this rebellion as a great and fearful tragedy in three acts. The comparison is valuable for its perfect truth. The arrival of Owen O'Neile is coincident with the second long act of this terrible drama; at the rising of the curtain he stands before the scene. We shall avail ourselves of the interval to place the reader in possession of the immediate state of all the greater parties whose conduct or condition mainly influenced a revolution of events; in which the changes, were so various and the influences at work so little combined and so opposite, that every year seems to open a history of its own, and to unfold a state of affairs so altered in character as seemingly to diminish the historical importance of that preceding, were it not that lessons of the deepest interest are to be drawn from the whole. There never was a rebellion in which the hopes of the insurgent parties appear so strongly grounded in favouring circumstances, or their errors so palliated by strong seemings of justifying pretext. At no time does history offer an instance of Irish insurrection so imposing by the weight of its leading men, the justice of their discontents, their seeming strength, or more than all by the weakness and errors of their opponents. The Irish administration was without energy, authority, wisdom, or resource: it was wholly inadequate to the occasion, timid, self-interested, feeble and stained with numerous imputations, of which many were too true not to give a colour to all: the nobility and gentry whose interests lay in the preservation of peace and social order, were forced into the rebel councils either from the want of defence or the fear of injustice: the foreign rivals and enemies of England, watching over the progress of the strife and waiting the favourable moment to throw their sword and gold into the scale: but more than all together, for all this were nothing, England divided against herself and incapable of that effectual interposition, which alone could overrule the tumultuary outbreaks of Irish insurrection. For a time the question of rebellion became doubtful; for not only was there no power to quell its brawling, murdering, and plundering factions, but the claim of allegiance and the authority of laws and institutions, appeared to be lost. The social convention which imposes a due subordination on the better sense of mankind, was broken up in the conflict between the fundamental authorities; and it soon became a question easier to ask than answer, which was the government, and which the object of allegiance—the parliament or the king: and how far a people who had their own peculiar interests, and who under existing circumstances could be assisted or controlled by neither, were at liberty to take their own part. We do not, it is true, believe that external accidents, such as we have stated here, can alter the true moral character of the intents, or of the agencies at work in that disjointed period. We do not think the justification of the rebel parties which we are to trace through

their several courses, at all commensurate with the excuses thus afforded by *after events*. But it is to our more decided purpose to observe that by the vast and general confusion of rights and authorities, to which we have adverted, the rebels gained a great accession of strength. Many in whom it was virtue, honour, and loyalty, to be faithful to king Charles, were led to connect his cause with the prosperity of rebellion; and many, on the other hand, whose aims were inconsistent with the royal cause, found support in the adoption of the specious pretext of loyalty. Thus throughout this lengthened interval, the fate of all the brawling commotions which harassed the country was prolonged into a lingering existence, by the state of affairs in England. Agitated to the centre by her own troubles, England was not in a condition to detach any effectual force on either side; and the insurgent parties were thus left to brawl and battle as they might, among themselves. As every reflecting reader will anticipate, various designs occupied the leading spirits of disorganization, and they soon began to neutralize each other, with contending passions and opposed ambition. And this was the second act of the drama. Then last came, as usual, the event of popular revolutions and tragedies; the gathering retribution of eight long years of crime and infatuation, was poured out upon this most hopeless country; and the last act is closed with more than poetical justice, by the crushing and indiscriminate hand of Cromwell and his iron associates. Such is the outline of the remainder of this volume.

The events from which we are now to start are of a character to demand, as we have apprized the reader, considerable detail. The rebellion was about to subside, from the experience which was beginning to be felt of the utter inefficiency of the troops which its leaders could bring into the field: they were discovering that their undisciplined and tumultuary mobs, were more fit for the work of massacre and plunder than to face an enemy in the field; and the defeats they had sustained from Stewart, Ormonde, Coote, and other government leaders with comparatively small forces, had so discouraged Sir Phelim O'Neile and his confederates, that they had begun to prepare for their escape from the country; when other concurrent causes long in preparation, arrested their meditated desertion and gave new animation to the contest. Leland mentions the arrival of Owen O'Neile, as the main incident which renewed the subsiding zeal of the rebels; and undoubtedly from his arrival in the moment of deepest distress, when the chiefs were on the point of flight, they must have derived new energy and hope. But from our perusal of many of Leland's authorities and even from himself, we are inclined to date this renovation from a few months earlier; when the certainty of his coming and the accession of foreign supplies must have been foreknown. Owen O'Neile landed in July; early in March the Irish prelates, who had with little exception hitherto held back from any countenance of the rebels, came forward with open declarations in their favour. As Carte, quoting a letter* of Sir C. Coote, observes "the Romish clergy who (as the lords-justices say) had hitherto walked somewhat invisibly in all these works of darkness,

* Carte, I. p. 316.

now began openly to justify that rebellion, which they were before supposed underhand to promote." That the Roman catholic prelates must have desired the success of this rebellion, may be regarded as a matter of course; and, considering their peculiar position and class of duties, it is less an imputation to this body to make this affirmation, than it is their just praise to have withheld their personal sanction from the revolting and mischievous atrocity by which it had been characterized. And if it be just to suspect that they had entertained the favourable sentiment assumed, it is certainly due to fairness to observe, that there should be strong circumstantial ground for accusing them of the infamous participation supposed in Sir C. Coote's letter. It cannot for a moment be believed, that a body of men so intelligent, whose main occupation was the administration of the interests of the Christian religion, under any form, could allow themselves to imagine a cause which they deemed sacred, to be connected with the fiendlike atrocities and the superstitious blasphemies of a deluded peasantry; whose conduct, injurious most of all to the religion whose name their ignorance abused, is rather to be attributed to their utter ignorance than to their creed. Of this there are indeed too many, and too obvious proofs. The prelates, unquestionably desirous for the advancement of their church to the ascendancy which they deemed to belong to her by right, would have considered such an event as a full compensation for the horrors of such a rebellion; if we were to assent to their principle, we should easily arrive at the same inference. And when they saw the turn which events were likely to take, and were encouraged in their consistent duty, by the assurance of large succours from abroad, they necessarily stepped forward to extract what they considered to be good from that which they knew to be evil. The best that can be said is to be found in the consideration, that with some exceptions the Roman catholic clergy, had strenuously resisted the crimes of their deluded congregations; and the conduct of one of the body may be mentioned, as indicative at least that their convention in Kilkenny was no long concerted movement, but a change of purpose on the demand of occasion. The titular bishop of Meath had throughout, from the beginning, exerted himself strenuously and efficaciously in opposition to the rebellion, which he declared to be groundless and unjust; and by his remonstrances prevailed with many noblemen and gentry of that diocese to be still. The same resistance which he offered to the rebels, he afterwards offered to the prelates. And this it may be supposed was not permitted without censure. The rebels complained aloud: and the synod of Kells, commanded the dissentient prelate who refused to attend their meeting, to retract on pain of having a complaint made to the pope.

It was probably at the synod of Kells called by Hugh O'Neile titular of Armagh, that the general synod of the Irish prelates at Kilkenny was projected and resolved. At this latter on the 10th May, 1642, the titular archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, with six other bishops, the proxies of five more, with other dignitaries of the church of Rome, assembled and declared the war just and lawful.* To avoid the risk

* Carte.

of misstating or omitting any of the more peculiar and distinguishing resolutions of this meeting, we shall here offer a few extracts from its own acts; important as best manifesting the feelings and the political character of Ireland, in the time of which we write. As they would occupy many pages if given *in extenso*, we select all that is in any way to our purpose; as stated in

“Acts agreed upon, ordained and concluded in the general congregation held at Kilkenny, the 10th, 11th and 13th days of May, 1642, by those prelates whose names are subscribed, the proctors of such other prelates as then were absent being present, together with the superiors of the regulars, and many other dignitaries and learned men, as well in divine, as in common law, with divers pastors and others of the catholick clergy of all Ireland, whose names are likewise hereafter set down.

“1st. Whereas the war which now in Ireland the catholicks do maintain against sectaries, and chiefly against puritans, for the defence of the catholick religion, for the maintenance of the prerogative and the royal rights of our gracious king Charles, for our gracious queen so unworthily abused by the puritans, for the honour, safety and health of their royal issue, for to avert and refrain the injuries done unto them, for the conversion of the just, and lawful safeguard, liberties and rights of Ireland; and lastly, for the defence of their own lives, fortunes, lands and possessions: whereas I said this war is by the catholicks undertaken for the foresaid causes against unlawful usurpers, oppressors and their enemies, chiefly puritans; and that hereof we are informed as well by divers and true remonstrances of divers provinces, counties and noblemen, as also by the unanimous consent and agreement of almost the whole kingdom in this war and union: We therefore declare that war openly catholick, to be lawful and just, in which war if some of the catholicks be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions, we declare them therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished, and refrained with ecclesiastical censures, if, advised thereof, they do not amend.

“2d. Whereas the adversaries do spread divers rumours, do write divers letters, and under the king's name do print proclamations, which are not the king's, by which means divers plots and dangers may ensue unto our nation; we therefore, to stop the way of untruth and forgeries of the political adversaries, do will and command, that no such rumours, letters, or proclamations, may have place or belief, until it be known in a national council whether they truly proceed from the king, left to his own freedom, and until agents of this kingdom hereafter to be appointed by the national council, have free passage to his majesty, whereby the kingdom may be certainly informed of his majesty's intention and will.

“3d. Whereas no family, city, commonwealth, much less kingdom, may stand without union and concord, without which this kingdom for the present standeth in most danger, we think it therefore necessary that all Irish peers, magistrates, noblemen, cities, and pro-

vinces, may be tied together with the holy bond of union and concord, and that they frame an oath of union and agreement which they shall devoutly, and christianly take, and faithfully observe. And for the conservation and exercise of this union, we have thought fit to ordain the ensuing points.

"4th. We straightly command all our inferiors, as well churchmen as laymen, to make no distinction at all between the old and ancient Irish, and no alienation, comparison, or difference, between provinces, cities, towns or families; and lastly, not to begin, or forward any emulations, or comparisons whatsoever.

"5th. That in every province of Ireland there be a council made up both of clergy and nobility, in which council shall be so many persons at least as are counties in the province; and out of every city or notable town two persons.

"6th. Let one general council of the whole kingdom be made, both of the clergy, nobility, cities, and notable towns; in which council there shall be three out of every province, and out of every city one, or where cities are not, out of the chiefest towns. To this council the provincial councils shall have subordination; and from thence to it may be appealed, until this national council have opportunity to sit together. Again if any thing of great importance do occur, or be conceived in one province, which by a negative vote is rejected in the council of one province, let it be sent to the councils of other provinces; except it be such a matter as cannot be delayed, and which doth not pertain to the weal-publick of the other provinces.

"7th. Embassy sent from one province to foreign nations shall be held as made from the rest of the provinces, and the fruit or benefit thereof shall be imparted and divided between the provinces and cities which have more need thereof, chiefly such helps and fruits as proceed from the bountiful liberality of foreign princes, states, prelates, or others whatsoever; provided always that the charge and damage be proportionably recompensed.

"9th. Let a faithful inventory be made in every province of the murthers, burnings, and other cruelties which are permitted by the puritan enemies, with a quotation of the place, day, cause, manner, and persons, and other circumstances, subscribed by one of publick authority.

"17th. Whereas diverse persons do diversely carry themselves towards this cause; some with helps and supplies do assist the adversaries; others with victuals and arms; others with their advice and authority, supporting as it were the contrary cause; some also as neuters behaving themselves; and others, lastly, neglecting their oath, do forsake the catholick union and cause; we do therefore declare and judge all and every such as do forsake this union, do fight for our enemies, accompany them in their war, defend or in any other way assist them, as giving them weapons, victuals, council or favour, to be excommunicated, and by these presents do excommunicate them; provided that this present decree shall be first published in every diocese respectively, and having received admonition beforehand, which shall supply the treble admonition otherwise requisite, and we do hereby declare, so it be made in the place where it may easily come to the

knowledge of those whom it toucheth. But as touching judgment and punishment of the neuters, we leave it to the ordinaries of every place respectively, so that the ordinaries themselves be not contrary to the judgment and opinion of this congregation; in which cause we commit power to the metropolitans or archbishops to proceed against such ordinaries, according to the common course of law, wherein they are to be very careful and speedy; and if the metropolitans be found herein careless or guilty, let them be liable to such punishment as is ordained by the holy canons, and let them be accused to the see apostolick.

“18th. We ordain a decree that all and every such as from the beginning of this present war, have invaded the possessions of goods as well moveable as unmoveable, spiritual or temporal of any catholick, whether Irish or English, or also of any Irish protestant being not adversary of this cause, and to detain any such goods, shall be excommunicated.

“20th. We will and declare all those that murder, dismember, or grievously strike, all thieves, unlawful spoilers, robbers of any goods, extorters, together with all such as favour, receive, or any ways assist them, to be excommunicated, and so to remain, until they completely amend, and satisfy no less than if they were namely proclaimed excommunicated, and for satisfaction of such crimes hitherto committed to be enjoined, we leave to the discretion of the ordinaries and confessors how to absolve them.

“21st. Tradesmen for making weapons, or powder brought into this country, or hereafter to be brought in, shall be free from all taxations or customs; as also all merchants as shall transport into this country such wares as are profitable for the catholick cause, as arms and powder, may lawfully traffick without paying any custom, for commodities brought out of this kingdom, or transported hither of that kind; and let this be proclaimed in all provinces, cities, and towns.

“22d. We think it convenient, that in the next national congregation, some be appointed out of the nobility and clergy, as ambassadors to be sent in the behalf of the whole kingdom, unto the kings of France and Spain, to the Emperor, and his Holiness, and those to be of the church prelates, or one of the nobility and a lawyer.”

In addition to these resolutions, which present a fair view of the political opinions and general character of the party from whom they came, a further view is to be obtained of their more immediate and personal object, from certain propositions specified in an oath of association framed at this meeting, and designed to be taken by all confederates of their party. In this are stated as objects to be maintained by the swearer, that the Roman catholic religion was to be restored to its full splendour and lustre, as it was in the reign of Henry VII. That all penal and restrictive laws were to be annulled—and that “all primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, chancellors, treasurers, chaunters, provosts, wardens of collegiate churches, prebendaries, and other dignitaries, parsons, vicars, and other pastors of the Roman catholick secular clergy, and their respective successors, shall, have, hold, and enjoy, all the churches and church-livings, in as large and ample manner, as the late protestant

clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October, in the year of our Lord 1641; together with all the profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and the rights to their respective sees and churches, belonging as well in all places, now in the possession of the confederate catholicks, as also in all other places that shall be recovered by the said confederate catholicks from the adverse party, within this kingdom, saving to the Roman catholick laity their rights, according to the law of the land."

The assembly of the lords and deputies from the counties was the immediate result of the arrangements made by the congregation of prelates; in conformity with the intent of their summoners they proceeded to pass resolutions to maintain the rights of the church of Rome. They adopted the common law of England and Irish statutes, so far as they were agreeable to their religion, and not contrary to Irish liberty; they confirmed the authority of the king, but declared against that of his Irish government. They then entered into arrangements for the government of the country by their own authority, for then each county was to have its council of twelve, which was to decide all civil causes and to nominate all public officers with the exception of sheriffs. From these councils there lay an appeal to the provincial council, composed of two deputies from each county, to sit four times in the year; and lastly, this council might be appealed from, to the supreme council of twenty-four, elected by the general assembly. This last, was to govern the country and conduct the war. It is only material here to add, that in the very first constitution there is to be discerned an important element of the strong party divisions among the confederates, which are presently to occupy our attention; in adopting the oath of association, which the clerical assembly had prepared for themselves and their party, they rejected the clause already quoted, by which the person swearing was bound not to consent to any peace, until the Roman catholic church should be reinstated in its full splendour. Instead of this, they were content to stipulate for the freedom of their worship. The disposition thus indicated, was quickly shown in the long-continued negotiation for peace and in the cessation, which was presently discussed and settled; but prevented from coming to a definitive settlement by the strenuous and successful manœuvres of the nuncio Rinuncini with the aid of Owen O'Neile.

We come now to Owen O'Neile. He was more indebted to his high reputation, obtained in a long course of foreign service, than to the claim of descent, for the anxious earnestness with which his coming had been sought and his arrival welcomed by his countrymen. In point of lineal pretension to the rank of the O'Neile, to which he for some time appeared to have pretended, his claim was more than balanced by that of Sir Phelim, whose descent, though not derived from the last possessor, was unadulterated by illegitimacy, which affects the line of Colonel Owen at three successive steps, from Con Boccagh to his father Art. While Sir Phelim derived from Owen the grandfather to the same Con Boccagh.

Con, created earl of Tyrone by Henry VII., had, as the reader knows, two sons—the notorious Shane already noticed,* and Matthew,

* Vol. I. p. 251.

a bastard, who was created baron of Dungannon and appointed his successor, but slain at the instigation of Shane. This Matthew left several illegitimate sons, of whom one died, leaving an illegitimate son of his own name, to whom Philip IV. of Spain gave his father's regiment and letters of legitimation, which, however, were to no purpose, sought to be confirmed at Rome. This therefore would seem to be the nearest claim to the representation of the baron of Dungannon. But this person had either too little activity or too much good sense, to prosecute a claim so likely to be productive of more buffets than acres; and died without any effort to regain the honours of his race. Another son of the baron of Dungannon, also illegitimate, had lived to transmit his name by the same questionable title to a son, Art O'Neile, who we are left to presume, broke the custom of the family by leaving a family of sons, born in wedlock; of these Owen was the youngest.*

Owen served in the Spanish army and obtained early promotion. He was a person of very considerable experience and ability; well versed in the ways of men, brave, cautious, skilful in war, and possessing the manners and habits of a foreign gentleman. Having passed through all the subordinate ranks he was made a colonel, and obtained very distinguished reputation, by his successful defence of Arras, against the French in 1640.

After the violence of the first irregular outbreak was subdued, more by the separate efforts of individuals than by the councils or resources of the government, the insurrection began to subside as suddenly as it had commenced. There was no real strength, or with the exception of those who were the depositaries of a foreign design, no real inclination to continue a strife, of which the loss of life and property had been so severely felt on either side.

The state of the rebel chiefs in Ulster was at the point of desperation, when a fresh impulse was given to their hopes, by the news of the arrival of colonel Owen O'Neile, who in the middle of July, landed in Donegal, with arms and ammunition, and one hundred officers. The general effect thus produced was immediate and extensive, and the courage and hopes of the rebels were universally revived. This result was confirmed both by the conduct of Owen O'Neile, and the coincidence of other favourable circumstances; other formidable armaments and supplies, began to crowd in in rapid succession from foreign ports. Of these, two ships arrived in the harbour of Wexford with military stores, and colonel Thomas Preston followed with a ship of the line and two frigates, with a train of artillery, a company of engineers, and five hundred officers. Twelve other vessels soon after arrived with further stores, officers, and men, sent by Richelieu, and disciplined in continental war. The character and consistency of the rebel force, was thus at once raised to a military footing; while the English had deteriorated in an equal degree. The increasing dissensions between the king and parliament were on the point of breaking into war; the powers on either side were collecting into a state of anxious and watchful concentration; neither men nor money could be spared, nor was there a thought to be bestowed on Ireland farther than, as it

* Carte, I. 349.

might in any way be the excuse for preparation, or the pretext for levies. The Irish government, and the commanders, who had hitherto kept a superiority under all disadvantages in the field, had exhausted their efforts, and were quite unprepared for this fresh infusion of vigour in the rebel party. The rebels, besides being well supplied, commanded the channel, seized the supplies, and cut off the trade of Dublin and every other port within the reach of their cruisers.

O'Neile had the double advantage of caution and decision, he wasted no time in inactivity, but at once advanced to take advantage of these favourable circumstances. He was "a man of clear head and good judgment, sober, moderate, silent, excellent in disguising his sentiments, and well versed in the arts and intrigues of courts."* On his arrival a meeting was held at Kinard, the castle of Sir Phelim, where he was unanimously declared their head by the rebel gentry of Ulster, a post soon confirmed by the council of Kilkenny. The first step he took was creditable to him, but must have been galling to the pride of Sir Phelim. He publicly declared his horror and detestation of the robberies and massacres, which till then had been the main conduct of the rebellion, and most of all of Sir Phelim. Colonel O'Neile told his sanguinary and brutal kinsman, that, he deserved to receive himself the cruelties he had inflicted; he burned the houses of several of the notorious murderers at Kinard, where Sir Phelim had collected a ruffian vicinity around his house, stained as it was by every detestable outrage against the laws of God and man. He next addressed himself to fortify Charlemont fort, against an expected siege. When describing the reduced condition of the government, and the destitution of the English of all present means of resistance, we should perhaps not have omitted to estimate the large force of general Monroe, who at the head of ten thousand Scots, occupied a strong position in Carrickfergus, and held the command of Ulster; but the reasons for this omission will presently appear. Monroe had his own objects independent of the settlement of Irish affairs, or he had his orders from those who had an opposite purpose; without this allowance his conduct was such as to betray no small incapacity for offensive warfare. He avoided all direct interference when it might have been of decisive avail, and contented himself with the seizure of such forts and castles as might be effected without any risk; and we cannot doubt that, the agreement by which they were thus put into possession of the strongest and most important province of this island, was altogether designed to circumvent and embarrass the king, to overrule any circumstances from which he might hope to derive an advantage, and to occupy the ground for the future designs of the parliamentary leaders. True to this convention, Monroe steadily resisted the demonstrations in favour of the royal cause, seized on the known adherents of the king, refused all aid to the government leaders, and let the rebels do as they pleased, so long as this course was compatible with his own safety and the designs of his real party, the parliamentarians of England.

In the month of August he was joined by lord Leven, with

* Carte.

the remainder of the stipulated army from Scotland. Lord Leven addressed a letter to O'Neile, in which he expressed his astonishment that one of his rank and respectable reputation, should have come to Ireland to support a cause so bad. O'Neile replied, that he had a better right to defend his own country, than his lordship to march into England against his king.

Lord Leven's exploits were limited to this effort of diplomacy, he returned to Scotland, having assured Monroe that he would be defeated if once O'Neile should get an army together. Before his departure he refused to permit the removal of the government stores from Carrickfergus. This act of opposition, with the continued inaction of the Scotch under Monroe, was perhaps correctly interpreted by the Irish when they assumed, that there was nothing to be apprehended from Monroe, with his ten thousand Scots and an equal force of English and Irish troops; he lay still, and suffered O'Neile to make all his arrangements, and to collect and discipline his army till the following spring. In the mean time the army under Monroe was not improving in its condition. The parliament, which merely designed to overawe the country and to hold it in occupation, were sparing in their supplies: the regiments of Stewart, Cole, &c., who had commanded in the king's name, were altogether excluded from the commission of parliament, and received no pay during that year, in which their nearly unsupported efforts had actually suppressed the rebellion. The rebels were better provided for by the continual supplies from abroad: on the 20th of October, two thousand muskets came from the pope to Wexford, of which five hundred were sent by the council of Kilkenny to O'Neile.

In this general state of things, the remainder of the year 1642 passed away. The rebels were obtaining strength in most quarters; and the English officers who have already appeared in many severe toils and brave achievements, were with their own unsupported and impoverished resources, maintaining a doubtful, but brave and skilful resistance, about the counties of the ancient pale. Efforts such as they made to obtain money, were met by promises which were not kept. The parliament which had no wish either to part with means or to end the rebellion, artfully directed applications to the king, which were brought forward by their own adherents, in the obvious hope of inducing him to waste his means on the rebellion, as well as to compromise himself on one side or the other. For the rebels had assumed the place of loyalists, and a little backwardness on the part of his majesty might be interpreted into a formidable accusation, while the contrary course must have the effect of involving him in fresh hostility, and a ruinous division of his resources. Of these incidents we shall have to bring forward large details.

Monroe lay still till the next May; but, finding his resources fast diminishing, and feeling himself pressed by approaching necessities, while the growth of a formidable enemy was beginning to control his motions, he was at length incited to effort. He had wasted and impoverished the country round Carrickfergus, and now hoped to obtain relief by the surprise of O'Neile; with this purpose he marched his army with fast and secret expedition into Armagh. Owen O'Neile

occupied a position in which Charlemont fort was included, with a small body of about four hundred men. His antagonist had conducted his approach with successful caution; and, little dreaming of an enemy, he was out hunting when his sight was arrested by a gleam of weapons, and the rapid advance of a large host, which his experienced eye recognised for an enemy. Without an instant's hesitation he spurred at full speed to his fortress. He was late to escape a disadvantageous, because very unequal collision, but the inequality of force was more than balanced by the clear head and cool resolution, with which he availed himself of his knowledge of the ground. For an hour he resisted the utmost efforts of Monroe's men, in a lane thickly enclosed with copses, and at last succeeded in withdrawing into the fort without the loss of a man. Monroe, thinking to forage through the surrounding country seized on every pass, and collected a considerable supply of cattle; but on the following day, he was attacked by colonel Sandford, and routed with great loss.

O'Neile was next menaced by a small army under the command of lord Montgomery and colonel Chichester. He soon ascertained that they merely came to look for spoil, and wisely resolving not to throw away his resources, he was content to foil their purpose by causing the cattle to be driven away. He then pursued his way towards Leitrim, but in passing through the county of Monaghan, he had the ill fortune to meet a small body of regular soldiers under the command of Sir Robert Stewart and his brother, at Clonish, on the borders of Fermanagh. The results of this incident we have already had occasion to describe. The force of Stewart was about half that of O'Neile, but owing to the great numbers of cattle and of country people under his escort, the latter commander was only enabled to bring 1600 men to the encounter. In this respect they were therefore equal. O'Neile had, however, the advantage of a strong position guarded by a difficult pass. In despite of this advantage, which must of itself have been decisive, with troops of equal efficiency, Stewart forced the pass, and defeated Owen O'Neile with prodigious slaughter.

Owen O'Neile, who had in this affair a very narrow escape from being slain in an encounter with captain Stewart, after the fight escaped back to Charlemont, from whence after a few days, according to his previous intention, he made his way to Leitrim. There he continued for the purpose of recruiting his forces, and watching for an effective occasion to come forward again; and such was his expedition and popularity, that twelve days had not elapsed when he was enabled again to move on into Westmeath, as strong as ever in men.

Some time previous to the battle of Clonish, the marquess of Ormonde had the king's directions to enter into treaty with the rebels; the condition of his affairs made him look to Ireland as a last resource; and about the time that O'Neile was on his flight to Charlemont fort, the marquess was opening a negotiation with the council of Kilkenny. Of this, we reserve the detail for a more appropriate place. This negotiation was protracted and interrupted during its course by the designs of the several parties engaged on either side. It will be here enough to mention, that the national assembly was composed of two parties, wholly distinct in their objects. The moderate lay party, who were

earnestly desirous to bring matters to a pacific termination, such as to secure their properties and personal immunities; and the ecclesiastical party, which supported both by the court of Rome and by the popular sense, were for pushing their real or supposed advantages, and resisting all treaty short of a full and entire reduction of the country to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman see. In this divided state of the rebel party, the negotiation was rendered additionally precarious by the hostile demonstrations of Owen O'Neile and of Preston, who were more immediately under the influence of the ecclesiastical party; nor was it less the desire of the marquess of Ormonde to avail himself of these warlike demonstrations, if possible to obtain in the mean time some decided advantage in the field. Another consideration rendered this desirable; both O'Neile and Preston were endeavouring to place themselves under circumstances such that in case of a cessation of arms they would be enabled to extend their position, and organize efficiently along the borders of the pale, an army by which on the first violation of the treaty, or on its termination, they would have a command over these counties. And this was the more to be apprehended, as the resources of the government parties in Ireland, (also twofold, royal and parliamentary,) were likely during any cessation to be absorbed by the English rebellion. Such is a summary sketch of the state of affairs, at the time of O'Neile's advance to Mullingar, about the 21th of June, 1643.

Under these circumstances, every effort to bring together any efficient body of men commanded by a competent leader, against the strong armies of O'Neile and Preston, amounting to upwards of 12,000 men, was found quite impracticable. The king, engaged in a treaty with the rebels, was more anxious to obtain than able to afford means for resistance; the parliament were as little willing to waste a penny on a contest of little direct importance. There was therefore no effective force in the field against the rebels; and while lord Castlehaven was taking possession of the forts in Wicklow and the Queen's County, and Preston with 7000 men securing the harvests of Meath, Owen O'Neile with upwards of 5000 foot and 700 good cavalry, entered Westmeath with the same design; nor did he stop, till he had stripped the country "from the county of Cavan to the barony of Slane."* He was then joined by an army under Sir James Dillon, and with him took the castles of Killallan, Balratty, Ballibeg, Beckliffe, Balsonne, and Ardsallagh, and laid siege to Athboy, with the intention to take all the places of strength in Meath. The Irish government in Dublin, had to no purpose endeavoured to oppose these advances, by drawing a portion of the only efficient force in their possession, and then under the command of Monroe in Ulster. To this Monroe objected, and refused to part with any portion of the army under his orders. It was while O'Neile was engaged in the siege of Athboy, that he was attacked by a small party under lord Moore, who, as we have already related, lost his life by a cannon shot. The government force were not enabled, however, to keep the field long

* Carte.

enough to offer any effectual check, and the Irish confederates went on taking castles without any resistance, until the treaty conducted by the marquess of Ormonde ended in a cessation, concluded on the 15th September, between the marquess and the commissioners.

During the continuance of this cessation, many occurrences both civil and military, in both countries, were working to complicate the position of the several parties. They may for the present, be summed in the two facts, that the affairs of the king were becoming more urgent and desperate, and those of the parliament more ascendant. In Ireland one strong party continued to labour successfully to prevent any accommodation of a permanent nature between the king and the rebels. This party the king on his part endeavoured to conciliate by manœuvres (which we shall hereafter relate) of lamentable perverseness and duplicity. The parliament, anxious to prevent his obtaining aid from this country, resenting the assistance he had already received after the Cessation, and also apprehending the result of a further treaty, which might end in placing Ormonde at the head of the moderate party of the confederates, entered into a nearer understanding with Monroe and the army of Ulster, to whom they sent an immediate supply, at the same time ordering them to commence certain hostile movements, at the same time that their faithful officer Coote in the west, was directed to reduce Sligo.

The Scotch, who had been latterly wavering and on the point of coming to an understanding with Ormonde, were happy to close with terms so desirable; and active hostilities were thus commencing while a dilatory treaty of peace was arriving at its conclusion. We are now brought to the year 1645, in which these combinations reached their effective results. At this time, the cabinet of Rome alarmed by the reports of a peace in which the confederates were to abandon the cause of the church, and to be united under a leader not in its interests, sent over the nuncio Rinuncini, with a view still more effectually to arrest in their progress proceedings so ungrateful to the policy of his court. Rinuncini had received for the purpose of his mission £12,000 from the pope, of which he expended the half in arms and military stores, and remitted the remainder to Ireland. After considerable delays in France, where it was attempted by the queen of England and her friends to cajole him from all his purposes, he reached this country in July, and lost no time in protesting against any peace not framed at Rome, or in any way opposed to the interests of the pope. He objected to any treaty with the marquess of Ormonde, recommended union and the strenuous prosecution of war, without regard to the king or any thought of peace. He urged the expediency and necessity of looking to the pope as their only support and head; but as there was a very strong party opposed to these views, and as the general sense of the confederates was in favour of the course against which he thus declared, it became necessary to look for some other force to counterbalance this temper, and to overawe the Irish laity into compliance: and for this he had recourse to O'Neile.

We have thus arrived (by a forced march,) to the year 1645, when Monroe, with the army under his orders, had been induced to decide for the parliament. Owen O'Neile was especially recommended to

the nuncio by many considerations. He was not alone a leader of tried ability commanding a strong force, but he was discontented with a treaty of which the conclusion was to be also the end of his own expectations; his interest was the prolongation of a war, which, under the name of a restoration, would put him into possession of lands, once the property of his ancestors. The force he had collected was composed of a most dissolute class of persons, who had no home or means of subsistence, and chiefly maintained themselves by irregular service, either as soldiers or robbers, as occasion served; they were zealous for the continuance of war, which afforded their subsistence, and only desired to avail themselves to the fullest of its opportunities for plunder. These were easily collected, and were the more adapted to the immediate views of the nuncio, as they were deeply incensed against the moderate party, who were then preponderant in the council, and had been so provoked by their atrocities that they had ordered them to be resisted by force of arms. To their leader, therefore, Rinuncini addressed himself, and assured him that his entire means should be employed for the support of his army; and, in earnest of this promise, he gave him a considerable sum. With such strong inducements, O'Neile advanced toward Armagh.

On receiving intelligence of this, Monroe prepared to repel an advance which he felt to be an encroachment on his limits, and of which the permission must be hazardous to his further expectation of maintaining his own position of authority. He marched towards the city of Armagh, and learned on his way that the troops of Owen O'Neile were encamped at Benburb, a place nearly six miles from Armagh, and memorable for the bloody battles of which, in earlier times, it had been the scene: thither Monroe directed his march on the following morning.

O'Neile was advantageously posted between two hills, with a wood on his rear and the Blackwater on his right. He had drawn out his cavalry upon one of the hills by which his position was flanked, when he saw the forces of Monroe, about 6000 strong, marching on the other side of the river. He had also heard of a reinforcement which was coming up to their aid from Coleraine. As the Blackwater was considered difficult to pass, O'Neile considered an immediate attack not to be expected, and that he might therefore detach a strong party to meet George Monroe, who was bringing the expected companies to join his brother. G. Monroe was advancing from Dungannon, when he saw the Irish cavalry on the approach; he was at the instant fortunately near some strongly fenced fields, in which he drew out his men so advantageously that the cavalry could not charge them. A detachment of foot was yet coming up at a distance, and it was hard to say what might be the result of their arrival; but other incidents had meanwhile occurred, a cannonade was heard in the direction of the main army, and the approaching detachment turning at the sound, hurried back upon their way.

Contrary to the expectation of Owen O'Neile, the Scotch had contrived to ford the river at a place called Battle Bridge, near Kinard, and were soon rapidly advancing in his front. To retard their approach, O'Neile sent a regiment to occupy a pass on the way; a brisk fire

from Monroe's artillery dislodged them, and they returned in good order. It was yet, in the strong and guarded position which he possessed, easy for O'Neile to prevent an immediate attack, and he resolved on delaying this event for some hours. He observed, that the sun would towards evening be on his rear, and as it sunk towards the forest, present a disadvantage of the most formidable nature to the Scots, by casting its glare upon their faces. Nor indeed is it easy to conceive a circumstance more likely to decide a fight. With this view, Owen O'Neile exerted no inconsiderable skill for four hours in keeping up a succession of skirmishes, and baffling the attention of his enemy by manœuvres adapted to keep him engaged without any decided step towards a general attack. He was also in expectation of a strong party which was on its march to join him. It was near sunset when this expected reinforcement came up: Monroe had mistaken them for his brother's party, and experienced no slight vexation when he saw them join the enemy. He also saw that it was impossible now to commence the battle unless under great disadvantages, and there was even much to be apprehended should his antagonist assume the offensive. He very injudiciously ordered a retreat—than which under the circumstances described, no movement could be so certain to bring on an attack and to throw every advantage into the hands of O'Neile. The two armies were but a few hundred paces asunder, and the Scottish lines were beginning their retrogressive movement, when just as their order was irrecoverable, the Irish came rushing impetuously but in excellent order down the hill, horse and foot, and were instantaneously charging through the broken lines of Monroe's army. To render the charge more decisive, Owen had commanded them to reserve their fire until they were within a few pikes' length of the Scots, an order which they executed with perfect accuracy. Under this unexpected and terrific attack, the Scots confounded, separated, and dazzled by a nearly horizontal sun, could not of course have any hope of resistance. Their native sturdiness of character, and their habits of discipline which rendered them reluctant to fly before an enemy which they despised, much aggravated the slaughter; for scattered into groups and confused masses, they were slain in detail and without the power of resistance. Some of their parties were more fortunate than others, in being enabled to act together, but with little avail, for they were isolated, nor was there any considerable body of Monroe's army enabled to act in concert. Among the most desperate instances of protracted resistance, was that of lord Blaney, who fought at the head of his regiment of English, until he with most of his men left their bodies on the spot. Lord Montgomery was taken with 21 officers and 150 men, and 3248 of Monroe's army were reckoned on the field which was covered with the dead, while numbers more were next day killed in pursuit.* Owen O'Neile had but 70 killed and 200 wounded, a fact which if duly considered confirms this statement, and clearly indicates the absence of any regular resistance.

To render this advantage the more decisive, O'Neile became possessed of the arms of the enemy, including four good cannons, with the entire of their tents, baggage, and stores, along with 1500 draught

* Carte.

horses, and two months provisions. Monroe left his coat and wig to augment the spoil, and fled for his life to Lisnagarvey.* The consternation was great and universal through the north, and not without substantial grounds: the army of O'Neile was not quite so formidable for its military character, or for the skill of its leader, as for the dissolute character of the lawless desperadoes of which it was composed. O'Neile too had after some time appeared to have divested himself of much of the more civilized habits of European warfare, and to manifest a temper not altogether unsuited to the composition of his army. He soon felt the influence of disappointment, in finding that he was compelled to act either subordinately or in opposition to those whom he had hoped to command with the power of a dictator. He had come over to take the place and secure the rank and property of the O'Niall; but the body of the confederacy looked for a peace fatal to his hopes and looked upon him with distrust and fear; his policy was opposed by Preston, whose means and army were superior to his own, and he was reduced to be the mercenary instrument of the arrogant and shallow Rinuncini, at the beck of whose ambition he was now in the moment of success compelled to abandon the inviting prospect which lay before his march. Immediately after the battle of Benburb, he received a message from the nuncio to congratulate him on the victory, and desire his presence in the vicinity of Kilkenny for the purpose of aiding him in breaking off the treaty of peace.

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the parties opposed to it, the voice of the better and larger class of the confederates for a moment prevailed. The peace was concluded, but the herald by whom it was proclaimed, in many of the towns which he had to visit in this discharge of his office, received violent ill treatment from the mob, which was every where under the influence of the belligerent faction. No sooner did the event reach the nuncio's ears, than he sent £4000 with a supply of gunpowder to Owen O'Neile, and called a meeting at Waterford of the prelates whom he had under his more immediate control, for the purpose of taking the most violent measures to interrupt a proceeding opposed to the views of his mission. They discharged this office with a decision and violence far beyond the cautious and tempered policy of the court of Rome. Interdicts and excommunications were decreed against all who should consent to the treaty. The priests, secular and regular, who should presume to raise their voices in behalf of peace were to be suspended. The council of Kilkenny was to be deprived of all authority, and their orders were to be disobeyed under pain of excommunication.

But Rinuncini had, as we have said, overacted his part, and erred in opposite directions from his instructions. He first received a reprimand for acting contrary to the order by which he had been commanded, that in case of peace being made he should not act in any way further. In reply, Rinuncini sent over to Rome, the copy of a speech which he had made to the council of Kilkenny; this brought upon him a reprimand still more severe from cardinal Pamphilio, in whose letter of May 6, 1646, he is told, "for that See would never by any positive

* Carte.

act approve the civil allegiance which catholic subjects pay to an heretical prince." From this maxim of theirs had arisen the great difficulties and disputes in England, about the oath of allegiance, since the time of Henry VIII., and the displeasure of the pope was the greater, because the nuncio had left a copy of his speech with the council, which, if it came to be published, would furnish heretics with arguments against the papal authority over heretical princes, when the pope's own minister should exhort catholics to be faithful to such a king. The nuncio was directed to "get back the original of that speech, and all copies thereof which had been spread abroad, and to take greater care for the future never to indulge such a way of talking in publick conferences." This reprimand did not altogether effect the purpose of restraining the meddling and incautious temper of the nuncio, and he soon drew upon himself a further reproof, by entering too hastily into the policy of the Irish ecclesiastics, which although subservient to their Church, yet had necessarily in it some alloy of expediency. These prelates could not so abstract themselves from all the prejudices of public feeling, or from all ideas of justice and national expediency, as to act with a single and exclusive reference to the policy of the Roman See. They drew up a protest against the peace, in which they refused their consent "unless secure conditions were made, according to the oath of association, for religion, the king and the country."* For signing this, the nuncio received another instructive reproof. He was informed in a letter from cardinal Pamphilio, "that it had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome, never to allow her ministers to make or consent to publick edicts of even catholick subjects, for the defence of the crown and person of an heretical prince; and that this conduct of his furnished pretence to her adversaries, to reflect upon her deviating from those maxims and rules to which she had ever yet adhered. The pope knew very well how difficult it was in such assemblies, to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by the catholicks to the king, and would therefore be satisfied if he did not show by any public act, that he either knew or consented to such public protestations of that allegiance, which for political considerations the catholicks were either forced or willing to make."

The nuncio made his apology, and rested his defence on the consideration, that the oath "was sworn to by all the bishops without any scruple; and it was so thoroughly rooted in the minds of all the Irish, even the clergy, that if he had in the least opposed it, he would presently have been suspected of having other views besides those of a mere nunciature; which without any such handle had been already charged upon him by the disaffected."

Rinuncini did what he could to repair errors so offensive to his court, prevailing over the minds of the prelates and clergy, who were (the latter especially) inclined to more moderate views. He launched on every side the threats and thunders of the papal see; and the minds of the people were soon controlled or conciliated by the power of such effective appeals. The effect on the upper classes was different; they

* Carte, from the nuncio's narrative.

did not relinquish their anxious purpose to conclude the peace, but were in some measure compelled to yield to the storm and pursue their design with added caution. They drew up an appeal from the censures of the Italian and the bishops who supported him, but they were deterred from its publication, and subsided into inaction; they were indeed without the means for any effective proceeding—their unpaid soldiers, were little disposed to obey them in opposition to their priests, and the magistrates who depended upon these for authority and in some measure for protection, were not more acquiescent. Unable to enforce by authority they endeavoured to gain their opponents by treaty, and thus, without obtaining the slightest concession they betrayed the dangerous secret of their own weakness: the entire control of the army and the conduct of the war were the least of the demands, which they received in reply from their clerical adversaries. This indeed was daily becoming less a matter at their discretion; for not only Owen O’Neile rejected their authority, but Preston had also assumed an independent tone, and made it generally doubtful with whom he meant to side. Under these circumstances an effort was made by the marquess of Ormonde to gain O’Neile, to whom he sent a relation Daniel O’Neile, to offer him the confirmation of his present commands and the custodiam of such lands of “O’Neilan,” as were held by persons opposed to the king, upon the condition of his joining to bring about the peace. Owen O’Neile rejected these offers, he could not do less, he had received large sums from the nuncio, whose lavish liberality reached beyond his own means, and had already compelled him to borrow largely from the Spanish ambassador. From this liberal paymaster O’Neile had received £9000.

The marquess of Ormonde himself visited Kilkenny, in the hope to expedite by his presence the conclusion of the treaty. But he had scarcely arrived when intelligence came from several quarters of the approach of O’Neile, and it soon became sufficiently apparent, that Owen’s object was to intercept his return to the capital, or to surprise him in Kilkenny. The troops of Ormonde, were but a few companies, those of O’Neile were at the lowest statement 12,000 men, and daily increasing. His designs were only to be inferred from his line of march, as he was remarkable for the reserve with which he guarded the secret of his designs; but the priests who accompanied his march, had communicated the fact that his course was for Kilkenny; and it was further affirmed on the same authority, that “if the lord-lieutenant, would not admit of Glamorgan’s peace,* they would treat him in a manner too scandalous to be mentioned, and prevent his return to Dublin; that they should be 20,000 strong within a fortnight, and would in their turn plunder all places that should not join them against the peace.”

On receiving these accounts the marquess hastily returned to Dublin, and had little time to spare, for he had not gone far when he received a visit from lord Castlehaven, who apprized him that both Preston and O’Neile were in league to intercept him, and were then mak-

* This refers to the secret instructions from the king to the earl of Glamorgan, to concede the utmost demands of the papal party; it is not as yet essential to the general history of events, and we shall fully state it hereafter.

ing rapid marches for that purpose. On this he pressed his march towards Leighlin bridge, that he might place the Barrow between his little company and so formidable an enemy. O'Neile pressed on to Kilcullen, and the march of the English under the command of Willoughby was for some time harassed with anxious apprehension of a surprise, for which they were but ill prepared. Among other disadvantages it was accidentally discovered that the powder which had been distributed to the soldiers, was useless and refused to explode. On inquiry it was found to be a portion of the ammunition, which the Irish had been allowed to supply as part payment of the sum agreed on for the king in the articles of the cessation.

Owen O'Neile now turned towards Kilkenny, whither his employer was anxious to return in power. In common with Rinuncini, Owen had an aching void for vindictive retaliation, upon those by whom his own authority had been set at nought and his service rejected; and the occasion was gladly seized for such a triumph—more dear to each than any advantage over their common adversaries. On the 17th Sept., 1646, O'Neile took Roscrea; and displayed by his conduct the reality or else the deterioration of his character, by the indiscriminate butchery of man, woman, and child; lady Hamilton, sister to the marquess of Ormonde, and a few gentlemen of prominent respectability, he reserved as prisoners. He took the castle of Kilkenny on the 16th, and on the 18th, Rinuncini entered the city in solemn procession. His first act was to imprison the members of the supreme council, with the exception of Darcy and Plunket. With them, such of the surrounding gentry as had favoured the peace, were at the same time ordered to be arrested by Preston.

Through this favourable turn of circumstances, and supported by the devoted services of his powerful retainer O'Neile, the nuncio now found himself apparently at the height of his ambition; he appointed a council of four bishops, in whom with a few select laymen the government was declared to be vested; of these he assumed the presidency both in spiritual and temporal concerns, and in the fulness of his satisfaction, thus addressed his master, "this age has never seen so unexpected and wonderful a change, and if I was writing not a relation, but a history to your holiness, I should compare it to the most famous success in Europe, and show how true it is that every part of the world is capable of noble events, though all have not the talents necessary to bring them about. The clergy of Ireland so much despised by the Ormondists, were in the twinkling of an eye masters of the kingdom: soldiers, officers, and generals strove who should fight for the clergy, drawn partly by a custom of following the strongest side; and at last the supreme council being deprived of all authority, and confounded with amazement to see obedience denied them, all the power and authority of the confederates devolved upon the clergy."*

In the exultation of his heart, the nuncio thought himself master of the kingdom, and among other ambitious arrangements which occupied his heated fancy, he wrote to consult the pope on the adjustment of ceremonials between himself and the person whom he should place at the

* Carte.

head of the civil government. To obtain possession of Dublin, became now the great object of his wishes. It was his desire to employ Owen O'Neile in the sole command of this important enterprise, but his counsellors knew better than he could know the danger of such a preference over Preston, who held by appointment the military command of Leinster, and would not fail to show his resentment by deserting their cause. The nuncio was made sensible of this risk and yielded: but gratified his preference by giving 9000 dollars to O'Neile, while he only gave £150 to Preston. Both these generals drew towards the metropolis. On the way many incidents took place, which strongly excited their sense of rivalry, and for a time it was a matter undecided whether they should attack each other or join their arms in the common cause.

Many circumstances which we shall have to state in detail in our memoir of the duke of Ormonde, were at the same time occurring to prevent this enterprise against Dublin, from being carried to any issue. We shall here, therefore, relate so much as more immediately appertains to the rebel camps. Owen O'Neile on his march to Dublin took many towns and places of strength in the Queen's county: but conducted himself in such a manner as to excite the resentment of the Leinster gentry. In consequence, they rose in arms, and joined the ranks of his rival Preston, who was generally known to have a strong leaning to the king and the duke of Ormonde, and a decided hatred to Owen O'Neile, who both hated and despised him in return. It then was for some days discussed, between Preston and his friends, whether he might not have a good chance of defeating his rival in the field. He even entered on a treaty with lord Digby, and offered, if he "might have reasonable security for his religion,"* that he would obey the marquess of Ormonde, and join his forces against O'Neile.

While this treaty was under discussion, the two armies were advancing toward Dublin. On the 9th November Preston reached Lucan, and on the 11th Owen O'Neile arrived with the nuncio. The two generals thus brought together, present a combination not unsuited for the purposes of romance: their separate views, their opposite characters, their mutual hate, and their common cause and position, offer the varied threads of moral and incidental interest, which admit of being pursued and interwoven into a many-coloured web of incident and passion. The nuncio Rinuncini, with all the strong lines of national temperament—the part he had to act—the character in which he stood: ambitious, zealous, crafty, shallow, over-reaching and deceived, confident in his real ignorance of those he had to deal with, and deceived by every surrounding indication amongst a people he could not understand, yet, not without reason, looking with contempt on their ignorance and barbarism—affords a figure not unsuited for the foreground, and for striking contrast and deep shadow of plot, scene, or group. The combinations of moral fiction, are but faithful to reality: the difference is little more than that between the unrecorded incidents which pass away only to be remembered by the actors, and

* Carte

those which are brought before the eye of the world: and romance itself when true to nature, is no more than the result of incidents which are always occurring. The two Irish leaders who then occupied the town of Lucan, doubtful whether they were to attack each other in the mutual and bloody strife for pre-eminence, or march together in a common cause, about which neither of them cared, were watched by the Italian with an anxious and apprehensive eye. Seeing the mutual temper which they took little pains to disguise, he laboured to reconcile them, and to infuse a common spirit for the service which he alone regarded as the prime object of regard. "O'Neile," says Carte, "was a man of few words, phlegmatic in his proceedings, an admirable concealer of his own sentiments, and very jealous of the designs of others. Preston was very choleric, and so unguarded in his passion, that he openly declared all his resentments, and broke out even in councils of war, into rash expressions of which he had frequently cause to repent."* To reconcile these jarring opposites, was too much for the craft of Rinuncini, and the danger from their dissension seemed so great, that he saw no better resource against the consequence than to imprison Preston. But this was opposed by the secret council which he brought together to advise with on the question: they thought that by such an act, the province of Leinster would be offended, and that the army of Preston also would be likely to become outrageous in their resentment. While this matter was under discussion, O'Neile was himself in a state of no small apprehension, from the suspected designs of Preston, whose heat of temper made it more to be feared, that he might adopt some decided step. Preston was no less distrustful of the dark and brooding enmity of O'Neile; and thus while Rinuncini was labouring to reconcile them, they took more pains to guard against each others' designs, than to adopt means of offence or defence against the enemy. In this interval was anxiously discussed the lord-lieutenant's proposals for a peace, made through the earl of Clanricarde, who came forward at the desire of Preston. He offered a repeal of all penalties against the members of the church of Rome; that no alteration should be made in the possession of churches, until the king's pleasure should be made known in a general settlement; that these articles should be confirmed by the queen and prince and guaranteed by the king of France. These terms fell far short of the aims of Rinuncini, and were equally unsatisfactory, though for different reasons to Owen O'Neile. The nuncio desired nothing short of the complete subjection, temporal and spiritual, of the island to his master; Owen desired neither more nor less than the acquisition of the estates of the O'Neiles of Tyrone.

This anxious and manifold game of diplomacy, discussion, and undermining, continued from the 11th to the 16th. On this day they were met in council, and the debate ran high, when a messenger came to the door and told them, that the English forces were landed and received into Dublin.† The thread of argument was cut short, and the cobweb of intrigue broken, by a sentence—fear, and hate, and design, and ambition, stood paralyzed by the unexpected intelligence

* Carte's Ormonde, page 589.

† Carte's Ormonde.

An instant of silence followed, in which it is probable all looked at each other, and each considered what was best for himself. Owen O'Neile started on his feet and left the room—his example was followed by Preston, and in the course of one minute from the messenger's appearance, the room was empty.

Owen O'Neile called together his troops by a cannon shot, and put them in motion, they crossed the Liffey at Leixlip, on a bridge hastily put together from the timber of houses, and marched through Meath into the Queen's county. The nuncio returned to Kilkenny. Preston signed a peace for himself; but acted so inconsistently, that it was hard to say to which side he belonged. O'Neile had now many disadvantages to encounter. Besides the danger to be apprehended from the junction of his enemy Preston, with the king's party, he had damped considerably the zeal of many of his own confederates, by the arrogance of his bearing; and by the exorbitant pretensions which had latterly begun to display themselves. His claims to the dignity and estates of the O'Neiles, were offensive to Sir Phelim, as well as to Alexander Macdonell, whose regiments were ready to desert.* The nuncio too was himself beginning to entertain fears of the vast and inordinate pretensions of his favourite general; while generally the character of the native Ulster men, by whom he was supported, was such as to convey suspicion and fear into the breast of every one of English descent. It began to be fully comprehended, that while religious creeds were made the pretext and the blind, the main object of the lower classes engaged in rebellion, as well as of their leaders, was a war of the Irish against the English, and that plunder was its real and main object. Above all the growing sense of his character and known designs, had made O'Neile an object of terror to the gentry of every party: he was in possession of several counties of Leinster, where he was thoroughly feared and disliked; and the nuncio was with difficulty enabled to keep Kilkenny from his grasp.

The assembly convened in Kilkenny, to treat upon the conditions of peace, met in the beginning of 1647. We shall not need to enter here upon the questions which they entertained, or the terms which they generally agreed upon. The result was the rejection of the peace: and the marquess finding all his efforts frustrated, came at length to the decision, to give up the further management of the kingdom into the hands of the English parliament, as the last hope for the safety of the protestants and of the upper classes. A treaty with parliament was the consequence, during which the national assembly were awed into a more conceding temper, both by their apprehension of the consequences of such a result, and also by a formidable demonstration of force, under their enemy lord Inchiquin, in Munster. Thus influenced they renewed their treaty with Ormonde, whom they offered to join against the parliament—but added, that they should insist upon the terms already proposed in the late assembly. To guard against the danger of any movement of lord Inchiquin, they were compelled to have recourse to Preston, as Owen O'Neile had now thrown off all authority, and come to the resolution of adopting no cause but his own.

* Carte.

The truth is probably, that he had found the resources of the nuncio beginning to run dry: and though he still found an object in calling his army the "Pope's army," he kept an exclusive eye to the one point, of strengthening himself, and maintaining his forces by the most shameless plunder.

On the 28th July, 1647, the marquess of Ormonde having concluded his treaty with the parliament, left the kingdom. The supreme council had transferred their sittings to Clonmel, the forces under their authority were placed under the command of the earl of Antrim, and were in a state of disunion not to be suppressed by the terrors of lord Inchiquin, who was in the mean time wasting the country. An intrigue of the earl of Antrim, to set aside lord Muskerry from his share in the command, ended in the triumph of the latter, and lord Antrim was (to the nuncio's great vexation,) himself deprived of the command, which was given to his rival. This army and the gentry of Munster became at the same time so much alarmed by the conduct of Owen O'Neile, that they presented a remonstrance to the council, in which they expressed themselves strongly, and afford clear ideas, at least, of the nature of the fears which he excited; for this reason we here give the passage extracted from this remonstrance by Carte. They represented "that he aimed at the absolute command of all Ireland; that he had his partisans in all the provinces; that he had levied a vast army above the kingdom's force, to execute his ambitious views; that he had obeyed no orders, either of the assembly or council, but what he pleased; that he had slighted their commands, particularly in the affair of Athlone, and in several other instances; that Terence O'Bryen was, under pretence of his authority, actually raising forces in breach of the express orders of the council, and others were doing the like in other places; that since the tumult at Clonmel, messengers had been sent by those who made it, to invite him and his army to their assistance; that his forces acted as enemies, interrupting husbandry, plundering all before them, and leaving nothing behind them but desolation and misery; that Kilkenny and the neighbouring counties had been ruined by the incursions of his forces, who gave out terrible threats of extirpating the English Irish; and their clergy (whose army they boasted themselves to be,) talked after the same manner; that having complained to the nuncio of the friars, who to pave the way for O'Neile and his partisans to be masters of the kingdom, had sowed discontent and sedition in the army, and thrown unjust and groundless suspicions and scandals upon the designs and actions of well-affected persons, no punishment had yet been inflicted, nor any mark of ignominy put upon them to deter others from the like licentiousness."* On this occasion, the gentry of Munster declared that while they adhered firmly to their church, yet that they would prefer joining Ormonde, Clanricarde, or the Grand Turk,† to the risk of being plundered and oppressed by O'Neile and his army. Under this apprehension, they entreated that their province should be put into a state of defence against the intrusion of that army, and that O'Neile should be strictly enjoined not to enter on its confines, and

* Carte, vol. II. p. 3.

† Ibid.

declared a rebel if he should disobey the injunction. They were with some difficulty appeased by the council.

In the province of Leinster, the same terror of O'Neile existed. His character which had developed itself under the influence of growing ambition, and in the use of evil means for evil ends, was beginning to be felt; his virtues were lost to public apprehension, in the cloud of atrocity which surrounded his motions; his objects were misunderstood and his infirmities aggravated. He held Leinster with 12,000 foot and 1200 cavalry, a numerous band of robbers and murderers of every class, and there was a strong apprehension, that he would be joined by the septs in Wexford and Wicklow. Against this fear, the great security to which all eyes in the province of Leinster had turned was the wisdom, influence, and active efficiency of Ormonde, and his departure occasioned the most general and anxious alarm in every quarter.

While thus formidably encountered by the suspicions and complaints of his nominal confederates, Owen, whom they had a little before nominated to the command of Connaught, followed at leisure and in entire indifference his own objects. He had the satisfaction in August to learn of a decisive defeat sustained by his enemy and rival Preston, from the parliamentary commander, colonel Jones, and laughed in his exultation, at the folly of Preston in exposing himself to such a risk. To add to his satisfaction, he was further strengthened by 2000 men from his rival's army, sent him by the direction of the council with their order, (or we should presume entreaty,) that he would march from Connaught to their protection.

The council, though then chiefly filled with adherents of Rinuncini, was strongly influenced by the force of circumstances to act in opposition to his desires; by which the ties between him and O'Neile were for a moment restored, though Owen was an object of fear and dislike to most of the confederates. The incident here chiefly adverted to, is mentioned by Carte: a book entitled, "*Disputatio Apologetica, de jure regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis Adversus Hæreticos Anglos,*" had been published in Portugal, by Cornelius Mahony, an Irish Jesuit, and widely circulated through Ireland. Its design and the effect it was adapted to produce, may be estimated from an extract in which the subject of the argument is stated, "That the kings of England never had any right to Ireland; that supposing they once had, they had forfeited it by turning heretics, and not observing the condition of pope Adrian's grant; that the old Irish natives might by force of arms recover the lands and goods taken from their ancestors upon the conquest by usurpers of English or other foreign extraction; that they should kill not only all the protestants, but all the Roman catholics in Ireland that stood for the crown of England, choose an Irish native for their king, and throw off at once the yoke both of heretics and foreigners."* This book was supported by the nuncio, and very generally understood to turn the eyes of the lower classes upon Owen O'Neile, as the most likely object of election to the crown. But it was so directly opposed to the principles recognised in the oath of the confederates, as well as to the feelings and interests of all but the merest

* From Carte, II. p. 17.

rabble, (yet not much above the lowest point of barbarism,) that the conduct of the confederates could not be less than decisive, and they condemned the book to be burned by the hangman in Kilkenny. This, with many such incidents, gave a strong turn to the sense of this party, and with the impression already made by the general conduct of O'Neile, together with the declarations of his friends and favourers, had much effect in rendering them the more accessible to proposals of peace.

Against this favourable disposition, the nuncio exerted all his influence and authority, and he was certainly not wanting to himself in the employment of such means as remained in his possession. His pecuniary resources had been entirely drained, but his native audacity and craft were not exhausted, and he endeavoured to obtain a preponderance in council by the creation of ten new bishops; the council objected that they had not been consecrated, and the nuncio proposed to consecrate them, but fearful that this might not be approved of in Rome, he contented himself with sending them to take their seats as spiritual peers, and thus obtained a formidable accession to his party.

The discussion of the peace was continued, and while the nuncio and the friends of O'Neile were violent in their opposition, the strong majority was in its favour. An amusing effort was made to turn the odds upon this question, by claiming for nine Ulster delegates the partisans of O'Neile, sixty-three votes, on the ground that this was the number necessary to represent Ulster, while on account of the war, nine only could be found to attend;—a curious oversight and not unlike that amusing species of Irish humour which has by a common error been stigmatized by the name of blunder. The scheme was unsuccessful, and the only obstacle recognised by the assembly was to be found in the entire want of any authorized party to treat with. The council agreed that peace alone could save the country from ruin, and it was at last decided to send agents to France, Spain, and Rome. Into the particulars of this mission, it is not necessary to enter: all the parties had their private objects, and were prepared with their ostensible commissions; their journey was to little purpose. But the nuncio still continued the most strenuous and unremitting efforts to suppress or neutralize every proceeding which had for its object any treaty of peace unless on the terms proposed by himself, and in his eagerness to attain the object of his ultimate ambition, the cardinal's hat, he continually pressed beyond the line of discretion strictly marked out in his instructions, so that his chance of success was by no means improving in either respect. Without gaining the approbation of the pope, he was daily losing the respect of his own party; the court of Rome desirous to avoid embroiling itself with the other courts of Europe, disapproved of the indiscreet exposition of its policy thus afforded on so public a stage, and would have recalled their nuncio long before, but for the violent misrepresentations which led them to overrate the prospects of ultimate success. The Irish nobles, gentry, priests and prelates, were, with the exceptions always to be found in large constituent bodies, all sensible of the folly, ignorance and danger of his counsels, and of the entire futility of his hopes. The council was beginning to meet his remonstrances with indifference, and when he failed in his efforts to induce that body to declare against the ces-

sation which he was so anxious to break, as the last hope of preventing the conclusion of peace, he stole out of the town to join O'Neile at Maryborough.

The council sent messengers to invite him back, and with an offer which it is difficult to regard as sincere, they proposed to break off the treaty and invest Dublin, if he would send them £20,000; while they must have been aware that he was bankrupt in resources long since, and had already gone to the extent of his credit by large and frequent loans. But it is also evident that his conjunction with Owen O'Neile was the most mischievous proceeding that at the moment could well be conceived, and must have excited their utmost apprehension. The nuncio, with the pertinacity of his character replied, "that the generals of the Leinster and Munster armies should be displaced; that the Ulster army should be regularly paid, and assigned good quarters; that the clergy and their adherents in Munster should have satisfaction given them as to the civil government; that all governors and military officers should take an oath, neither to move, do, or agree to any thing that might be deemed to their prejudice, without leave from the clergy; and that the council should swear they would not suffer any peace to be made, but such an one as agreed with the instructions given to the agents sent to Rome." On receiving this message, the council saw the inutility of temporizing further, and signed a confirmation of the cessation to be observed until the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

The nuncio had recourse to his usual methods, and when his declaration against their proceedings were taken down, and the prelates themselves resisted his menaces and entreaties, he brought together the titulars of Ross, Cork, and Down, who still adhered to him, and launched an excommunication against all persons, and an interdict against the towns which should receive the cessation. The council appealed from his censures, and were joined by two archbishops, twelve bishops, and all the secular clergy in their dioceses. They were even supported by the whole orders of Jesuits and Carmelites, and considerable numbers of other orders in the province. On the former occasion already related, he had been as zealously joined by the clergy of his persuasion, as he was now firmly and unanimously resisted; these persons, zealous for the interests of their order but clear-sighted and humane, had begun to see the folly of their blind and hot-headed leader, the hopelessness of the cause, and the mischief of its further present prosecution. These defections might have made a wiser and cooler headed man sensible that he had gone too far; but the nuncio was little accessible to the warning of circumstances, and insensible to all considerations but those of ambition, pride, and resentment which engrossed his heart. The difficulties of his position were daily increasing—his coffer was empty, the Spanish agent was suing him for 100,000 crowns taken by his ship from a Spanish vessel in the Bay of Biscay, under the pretext of its being English property, instead of which it was sent by the Spanish court for the payment of the army in Flanders. The leaders also of troops in the interest of the confederates had provided against excommunication, by the precaution of collecting those who were indifferent about it.

Under these circumstances, O'Neile retired into Connaught, and

thence to Ulster, to collect his men, and recruit their numbers. He had been abandoned by Sir Phelim, by lords Iveagh, and Alexander Macdonell, and now turned out of his way to attack them in Birr which they garrisoned. But general Preston marched against him, on which he raised the siege and retired. The nuncio meanwhile, endeavoured to effect in Connaught those purposes which had so entirely failed in the provinces of Munster and Leinster. Here too he was doomed to be signally disappointed; for, though joined everywhere by the populace, who were (as they ever are) actuated by the love of change and of tumult, the clergy manifested no disposition to enter into his views. He summoned them to a meeting in Galway, but a prohibition from the council was enough to prevent a compliance; he was openly opposed by the titular bishop of Tuam, and the marquess of Clanricarde, after remonstrating with him on the vanity and wickedness of the headlong course he pursued, regularly besieged him in Galway, where he had as usual made a strong but low party among those on whom his misrepresentations could impose; but thus besieged, the Galway citizens soon came to a just understanding of this vain man, and consented to renounce him and proclaim the cessation. The nuncio thus foiled by Clanricarde, met also with a fresh proof of the contempt into which he was fallen among the confederacy; his Galway declaration, to which he had in vain solicited the consent of the clergy, was condemned as "wicked, malicious, and traitorous, repugnant to all laws, human and divine, and tending to the utter subversion of government both in church and state." At the same time, they publicly proclaimed Owen O'Neile a traitor, and set a price on his head.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable changes, Owen O'Neile was still as strong as ever, nor could the nuncio be altogether deprived of hope, while supported by so powerful an adherent. Making a truce with Jones and the Scots, for the purpose of saving the families of his soldiers in the north and west, he was thus enabled to march into Leinster; there he hoped to regain the ascendancy which had been wrested from his grasp, and to subdue or crush the council of Kilkenny. It was his design to surprise Kilkenny, and a conspiracy was formed in that city, to betray it on his appearance, but the letters between the parties were intercepted. Thus disappointed, Owen satisfied his resentment by wasting the lands of lord Mountgarret, and being invited into Thomond, he took the castle of Nenagh, and surprised Banagher. From this he besieged Athy, but the appearance of Preston forced him to retire. The places he had taken were recovered by the earl of Inchiquin, and having encamped at a pass in Ballaghnon, ("since called Owen Roe's pass"),* to cut off the provisions from Inchiquin's camp; the two armies lay for a fortnight in sight of each other, and Owen narrowly escaped a defeat, on which he stole away in the night and left an empty camp to his enemies.

We have in this memoir hitherto endeavoured to follow the course of the events mainly affecting the fortunes of Owen O'Neile, and of the nuncio Rinuncini, with whom he was throughout connected, considering that thus we should take the most appropriate occasion to

* Carte.

offer a more distinct account of a person so conspicuous for the part he acted in this eventful juncture. The union between these two remarkable persons, was now approaching its close. The marquess of Ormonde at last returned once more to Ireland, to urge forward the treaty for peace, and it was concluded on January 17th, 1649. The death of the king was followed by the proclamation of his son, through all the towns in Ireland; and Rinuncini, who had exhausted all his resources and all his arts, and still lingered hoping against hope, and though defeated still returning to the vain trial—at last began in these decisive events to perceive the inutility of a further struggle against the strong current, and resolved to depart until he should be enabled to enter the field with fresh resources and increased authority. Leaving his last instructions to Owen O’Neile to be firm and faithful, and to hold out for the pope till his return, he embarked in his own ship in Galway, and on the 2d March landed in Normandy.

The history of O’Neile may now be briefly pursued to its termination. Only desirous to preserve the armed posture on which all his prospects were dependent, and ready to join with all parties whose views tended to war, and might sustain his military importance, he formed an alliance with Jones the general of the independents; and by this step, contrived to preserve his affairs for some time, and to maintain a large body of men at the expense of the parliamentary general. In this position he was courted by both parties, and in turn listened and consented to each. Owen continued for some time to co-operate with the parliamentary generals; but after having performed considerable services in the north, he soon discovered that he was held in contempt by his new allies, who purchased his assistance from necessity alone. In consideration of 2000 cows, he raised the siege of Londonderry, where Coote, who held that city for the parliament, was besieged.* The alliance between these leaders and their Irish mercenary was explicitly censured by the parliament, which refused to confirm the articles of their treaty with him. He was compelled to retire, and soon after received proposals from the marquess of Ormonde, to declare for the king; he consented, and soon after came to an agreement to act with that nobleman against his late ungrateful patrons.

So early as February 20th, 1649, letters of credence had been signed by him, by the bishop of Clogher, and by general Farrel, empowering F. Nugent, a capuchin, to assure the king of his submission upon the condition of their being included in the act of oblivion, of enjoying liberty of conscience, and of O’Neile’s commanding an army under his majesty’s authority, provided for in the same manner as the rest of his majesty’s forces, and being advanced to the dignity of an earl.† So far he was at length seemingly in view of the main object of all his labours. In the mean time, his engagement with the parliamentary leaders had taken place; and it was not till the affront here mentioned, exposed the vanity of all expectations from the independents, that he returned to a party which his natural sagacity must have perceived to be the weaker. On the 12th October, he signed

* Borlase.

† Carte.

articles with Ormonde, by which he engaged to bring an army to his assistance

His death saved him from a sad and rapid reverse, and in all probability from a disgraceful end. From the parliamentary leaders who were so soon to change the current of events, he could not even expect the poor compromise of being allowed to live. His character seems to have been vastly overrated by his countrymen : nor have we been enabled to find ground for unqualified praise even on this least questionable pretension, that of military talent. He was assuredly discreet and sagacious; and if he was not free from the excitement of the vindictive passions, they did not at least carry him so far as in any instance to lose sight of interest or safety. Of any of the higher principles of action, which govern and dignify the deeds of great men, he was utterly devoid; a consistent and steady adoption of every friendship and every party which manifested the power and will to promote his own personal ends, was the virtue of his life—a virtue, only to be so named in a very enlarged acceptation of the term, as it implies nothing either honourable or good. Of the sincerity of his religious professions we cannot form any estimate, and must presume them sincere, though his religion had no power to elevate his conduct, he was not less disinterested or less beneficent in the ends for which he acted, or the means by which he sought them, than his spiritual patron and confederate, the Abbe Rinuncini. If upon his first appearance upon the scene of Irish affairs, his character appears to some advantage, this advantage is due to contrast with those who were less unprincipled, but more rude, barbarous, and violent than himself. The habits of a gentleman, and the manners contracted in foreign camps and courts, are, unhappily, not inconsistent with selfishness, cruelty, and vice; but they materially smooth the outward front and gestures of those deep and indelible faults of human character. The knowledge of good and evil, the fear of opinion, and the necessity of being first inured to any decided course of evil, all tend to repress superfluous outrage and retard the career of crime. Knowledge, fortunately indeed, though its power is little to “mend the heart,” has yet a strong power to repress those evil impulses of which it can unfold the consequences and point out the disgrace; yet such considerations apply only with much qualification to the actors of the time actually under review; and when by chance our pen betrays us into such distinctions, we soon must recollect that we are wandering from our purpose.

O’Neile did not live to fulfil his part of the articles last mentioned. In the beginning of December, he died at Cloghater castle, in the county of Cavan.

Patrick, Ninth Lord Dunsany.

BORN A. D. 1588—DIED A. D. 1668.

WE have already mentioned the conduct of the Roman catholic noblemen of the pale, and the rash and unfair treatment by which they

were forced into rebellion. Among these, none other held a more respectable place than the noble lord whose name precedes this article. We however notice him here, not for any high prominence, either in his individual character, or for his achievements in peace or war, but as he merits commemoration for his humane and manly conduct during a time, and under circumstances of unparalleled emergency and distress. We also take the occasion which a brief and summary notice will afford, to insert a paper of his writing which may assist in elucidating and authenticating to the reader's satisfaction, some observations we have made, and more we shall hereafter have occasion to make on the conduct of the government in that period which must occupy our attention through this volume.

The reader is already acquainted with the history of this ancient family. The ninth lord Dunsany was born in 1588. He had not completed his ninth year, when, according to Lodge, his father died. We do not, of course, profess to comprehend the rule by which Mr Lodge has made the computation. But as he places the father's death in 1603, we should observe, that by the common method of reckoning, the young lord must have attained his fifteenth year. His mother was murdered on the 9th March, 1609. A female servant was executed for the murder; but some time after, a man who was condemned for some other felony, confessed himself to have been her murderer.

This lord Dunsany was present at the parliament in 1613. He was rated at one hundred pounds to the subsidy granted to the king in 1615. In 1617, he surrendered his estates, and obtained a new title by grant from the king, and a few years after obtained considerable additions to his estate in the King's and Queen's counties, and in Westmeath, in consideration of lands surrendered to lord Lambert in the north. His lordship bore an active part in the parliamentary proceedings of 1634.

We now approach the period in which he comes under historic notice. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1641, he promptly presented himself before the lords-justices, and offered his assistance for the suppression of the rebellion. The offer was not accepted. The lords-justices commanded him to go home, as they at that time did every other lord who was under the same circumstances, a Roman catholic, or not of their own immediate party. Lord Dunsany returned home for the protection of his family, and manned his castle—which soon became the refuge of the hunted and persecuted protestants—and even for the miserable and insufficient soldiery which was kept up in the county of Meath. Having made Dunsany castle a place of strength and security, he repaired with his family to his house at Castlecor, which he also strengthened in like manner for a general sanctuary for the persecuted and defenceless. While resident at this place, many occurrences put his courage, firmness, and humanity to the proof, and as they have been registered among the depositions of witnesses on their oath in courts of justice, may be regarded as permanent testimonials of his worth. During the siege of Drogheda, the Irish besiegers were highly discontented with the protection given by his lordship to the persons and property of the English; so much so that the people began to say that he kept a hornet's nest of Eng-

lish about him. On one occasion, a gentleman of the name of Crant, whose life appears to have been pursued with some inveteracy by his enemies, had taken refuge under the shelter of Castlecor. The noble lord was hardly pressed to give him up on various pretences, but refused to trust the assurances of those who sought him. He assured the most forward of these, that he would rather lose his own blood than betray any gentleman who fled to him for refuge. And shortly after, when it was necessary to remove the persecuted Crant, from Castlecor, his noble protector would not trust him to a guard, but himself escorted him to Dunsany castle.

Notwithstanding this manly and beneficent conduct, lord Dunsany presently became himself the object of a most cruel, oppressive, arbitrary, and unmerited severity. On the 20th February the king's proclamation was landed, ordering the submission of the Irish lords and gentry, and saving the privileges and immunities of those who should within a given time come in. With this proclamation in his pocket, lord Dunsany, who had in no way transgressed, and whose family had been uniformly among the foremost in adherence to the crown, amid the troubles of every period, came to Dublin and offered himself before the lords-justices; he asserted his innocence, his reputation for loyalty, and the great hazards he had incurred thereby. The justices sent him to prison, and ordered an indictment against him on a charge of high treason; and, to render the case more secure, they ordered that his trial should proceed in the inferior courts, which then admitted of a greater variety of obscure resources, and were less within the daylight of the public eye. The means of corrupting the administration of justice were also various, and employed without measure or remorse by the official characters in the reigns of James and Charles; of this we have offered one flagrant case, and might have adduced enough to fill a volume, had such been our object. We here insert lord Dunsany's petition to the parliament, as containing a clear and authoritative account of these incidents of his life.

“To the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled. The humble petition of Patrick, lord baron of Dunsany.

“Showing,

“That after the prorogation of the session of parliament, held in Dublin in 1641, your suppliant repaired home expecting a commission with others, to parley or treat with the northern Irish, then in rebellion; but no commission issuing, and the rebels with great power and strength ruining and overrunning the whole country, posted to this city and addressed himself to the late lords-justices, informing them of the condition of the country, and craved their advice and aid; was, nevertheless, commanded home again, upon his allegiance, without any aid or help, to defend himself the best he could; upon which your suppliant repaired to Dunsany and manned that house, which became the only sanctuary for the distressed English and his majesty's army in that part of Meath, which he yet had kept from the malice of the enemy; and having so done he parted thence, and took his wife and children with him unto his house at Castlecorre, adjoining to the

O'Renys' country, and there likewise manned and maintained said house against the rebels, until the beginning of March following, and in the time of his abode there, did preserve both the lives and goods of a great number of English protestants, their wives and children, and from thence conducted them unto this city, to the great hazard of his own life, as many of them now in this city will testify, and did openly, in all the time of his residence in that country, protest against the rebellion and the movers thereof, dissuading many that would have gone into action not to go, nor to adhere unto the actors, and being no longer able to live there, about the time aforesaid, parted thence, and sent his wife and family, with such of the English as staid with them, unto Dunsany, by night, himself having taken another way unto this city, to tender himself unto the then lords-justices, which he did the 8th of the said month, voluntarily to satisfy them of the condition he lived in, and to acquit himself of either having heart or hand in that action, or in any sort adhering to the actors, by delivering the threatening letters sent him by the rebels, that they would prosecute him as an enemy, with fire and sword, if he would not assist them by sending men and means to the siege of Drogheda; which, rather than he would do, did hazard his life, in travelling by night out of all roads, there being several ambushes laid for him; and for his loyalty, had his own daughter, and his son's wife (being both great with child) stripped and sent home naked; and his said house at Castlecorre, after his parting, with all his goods and furniture, to the value of four thousand pounds, burned and destroyed. And although your suppliant did so voluntarily tender himself, upon the assurance of his own innocency with a desire to serve his majesty, was notwithstanding committed to prison, and after indicted as a rebel, when as the king, out of his wonted clemency, had published, in January before, under his royal hand and privy signet, a proclamation of grace to all that would lay down arms, and submit unto his mercy; of which your suppliant at the worst was most capable (of any,) in regard he was the first that tendered himself to his highness' service, and never took up arms against him, nor offended any, but relieved all that came in his way; and, after enduring eighteen months' imprisonment, his whole estate (except Dunsany) being destroyed by the rebels, was, by order of his majesty, among others, released, but was, though without order from his highness, bound over unto the king's bench, it being no proper court for his trial, and as yet standeth bound to appear there in Michaelmas term next, and so will be perpetually bound over in that kind, unless this honourable house takes some order for his relief. And for as much as your suppliant, being a member of this house, to have suffered in this kind, without your orders or privy, he conceiveth the same to be a great breach of the privileges of the house.

“And therefore humbly imploreth your honourable aid, and favour herein, by presenting his sufferings unto the lord-lieutenant general of this kingdom, and in the mean time, to admit him his place and vote in the house.

“And he will pray,” &c.

The parliament was prorogued on the same day that this petition

was presented. And he obtained no redress till the restoration. A provision was then inserted in the act of explanation, by which the commissioners for the execution of that act, were directed to restore to his lordship his seat, and one third of the whole estate of which he had been possessed on the 22d October, 1641.

This lord died in his 80th year, in 1668.

Letitia, Baroness Ophaly.

DIED A. D. 1658.

WE have already in our notice of Sir Charles Coote, had occasion to mention a remarkable instance of firmness and courage in the conduct of this illustrious Irishwoman. We did not then wish to digress to a sufficient extent, to insert the whole correspondence which occurred between her ladyship and her besiegers. It is no less illustrative of the time in which she lived than of her personal character, and may be advantageously read by any one who desires thoroughly to view the events and the social state of Ireland, in a period in some respects unlike that in which we live.

This baroness was granddaughter to Gerald, eleventh earl of Kildare, and only daughter of Gerard his eldest son, who died before his father. She was created baroness Ophaly, and was heir general to the house of Kildare, and inherited the barony of Geashill. She married Sir Robert Digby of Coleshill, in the county of Warwick. Sir Robert died in 1618, leaving the baroness a widow with seven children.

With this family her ladyship lived in the castle of Geashill, in honour and respect with her neighbours and dependants, and like many noble and virtuous ladies who only require the occasion of circumstance to render them illustrious by the display of those high and generous virtues with which the Creator has so liberally endowed the gentler and purer sex, performing in contented privacy the duties of mother to her children, and of a kind and considerate mistress of her household and tenantry, until 1641, when the country fell into that disordered state, in which goodness and gentleness could be no protection. But the daughter and heiress of the Geraldines was also the inheritress of the fearless spirit of her race, and when the rudeness of that most degrading period suggested the hope of finding an easy prey in the feebleness of an unprotected lady, her brutal assailants met with a resistance worthy of commemoration in the record of history.

Geashill had in earlier times belonged to the O'Dempsies; and we find the name of four Dempsies among those who subscribed to the summons which the baroness first received from the rebels. On this occasion, Henry Dempsey, brother to the lord Clanmalier, with others of the same family, opened their proceedings with the following paper, of which the intent demands no explanation.

"We, his majesty's loyal subjects, at the present employed in his highness's service, for the sacking of your castle, you are therefore to

deliver unto us the free possession of your said castle, promising faithfully that your ladyship, together with the rest within your said castle *resiant*, shall have a reasonable composition; otherwise, upon the non-yielding of the castle, we do assure you that we will burn the whole town, kill all the Protestants, and spare neither man, woman, nor child, upon taking the castle by compulsion. Consider, madam, of this our offer, impute not the blame of your own folly unto us. Think not that here we brag. Your ladyship, upon submission, shall have safe convoy to secure you from the hands of your enemies, and to lead you whither you please. A speedy reply is desired with all expedition, and then we surcease.

“Henry Dempsie; Charles Dempsie; Andrew Fitz-Patrick; Conn Denpsie; Phelim Dempsie; James MacDonnell; John Viecars.”

To this summons, she returned this answer:—“I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my castle by his majesty’s authority. I have ever been a loyal subject, and a good neighbour among you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety; and therefore my resolution is, that being free from offending his majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, I will do the best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God; and though I have been, I still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me.”

“After two months,” (writes Archdall) “the lord viscount Clannallier brought a great piece of ordnance (to the making of which, as it was credibly reported, there went seven score pots and pans, which was cast three times by an Irishman from Athboy, before they brought it to that perfection, in which it was at Geashill), and sent another summons to her ladyship in these words:—

“Noble Madam, It was never my intention to offer you any injury, before you were pleased to begin with me, for it is well known, if I were so disposed, you had not been by this time at Geashill; so as I find you are not sensible of the courtesies I have always expressed unto you, since the beginning of this commotion; however, I did not thirst for revenge, but out of my loving and wonted respects still towards you, I am pleased and desirous to give you fair quarter, if you please to accept thereof, both for yourself, children, and grandchildren, and likewise for your goods; and I will undertake to send a safe convoy with you and them either to Dublin, or to any other of the next adjoining garrisons, either of which to be at your own election; and if you be not pleased to accept of this offer, I hope you will not impute the blame unto me, if you be not fairly dealt withal, for I expect to have the command of your house before I stir from hence; and if you please to send any of your gentlemen of your house to me, I am desirous to confer thereof at large. And so expecting your speedy answer, I rest your loving cousin,

“LEWIS GLANMALEROE.

“P. S. Madam, there are other gentlemen now in this town, whose names are hereunto subscribed, who do join and unite themselves in mine offer unto you,

"Lewis Glanmaleroe, Art O'Molloy, Henry Dempsie, Edward Connor, Charles Connor, Daniel Doyne, John MacWilliam."

To this letter, lady Ophaly sent the following answer:—

"My Lord,—I little expected such a salute from a kinsman, whom I have ever respected, you being not ignorant of the great damages I have received from your followers of Glenmaleroe, so as you can't but know in your own conscience, that I am innocent of doing you any injury, unless you count it an injury for my people to bring back a small quantity of mine own goods where they found them, and with them, some others of such men as have done me all the injury they can devise, as may appear by their own letter. I was offered a convoy by those that formerly besieged me, I hope you have more honour than to follow their example, by seeking her ruin that never wronged you. However, I am still of the same mind, and can think no place safer than my own house, wherein if I perish by your means, the guilt will light on you, and I doubt not but I shall receive a crown of martyrdom dying innocently. God, I trust, will take a poor widow into his protection from all those which without cause are risen up against me,

"Your poor kinswoman,

"LETTICE OPHALEY.

"P. S. If the conference you desire do but concern the contents of this letter, I think this answer will give you full satisfaction, and I hope you will withdraw your hand, and show your power in more noble actions."

After his lordship had received this answer, he discharged his piece of ordnance against the castle, which at the first shot broke and flew in pieces; but his men continued with their muskets and other arms to fire until the evening, when they took away the broken piece of ordnance, and marched off in the night; but before their departure, his lordship sent the following letter thus directed:—

"*To my noble cousin, the Lady Lettice, Baroness of Ophaley.*

"MADAM,

"I received your letter, and am still tender of your good and welfare, though you give no credit thereunto; and whereas, you do understand by relation, that my piece of ordnance did not prosper, I believe you will be sensible of the hazard and loss you are like to sustain thereby, unless you will be better advised to accept the kind offer which I mentioned in my letter unto you in the morning; if not, expect no further favour at my hands, and so I rest your ladyship's loving cousin,

"LEWIS GLANMALEROE."

To which my lady returned answer by one of her own men who was kept prisoner.

"MY LORD,

"Your second summons I have received, and should be glad to find you tender of my good; for your piece of ordnance I never disputed

how it prospered, presuming you would rather make use of it for your own defence or against enemies, than to try your strength against a poor widow of your own blood; but since you have bent it against me, let the blood which shall be shed, be required at their hands that seek it; for my part, my conscience tells me that I am innocent, and wishing you so too, I rest your cousin.

“LETTICE OPHALEY.”

She was further menaced by Charles Dempsie, who wrote the following letter, with a design of sending it to her that afternoon, but being beaten out of the town, he was prevented, and it was found in one of the houses.

“MADAM,

“I do admire that a lady of your worth and honour as you conceive yourself to be, should in so regardless a sort, instead of matters of conscience in your letters, use frivolous and scandalous words, expressly nominating us your enemies *Glanmaleroe Kearnes*, and that, in that letter written this very day unto Sir Luke Fitzgerald desiring his assistance to the number of fifty men, which should quash and cashier us here hence, he being your enemy no less than we, secluding kindred, not prophaneness of religion. Nay, your ladyship was not formerly abashed to write to William Parsons, naming us in that letter unto them, a mixt multitude. Remember yourself, madam, consisting of more women and boys than men. All these letters before your ladyship shortly shall be produced. Both the messengers we have intercepted, together with your letters, and do detain them as yet prisoners, until such time as thereof we do certify your ladyship, which at the present we thought to do expedient. They are, therefore, censured to death, and this day is prefixed for their execution, your ladyship by your letters desires novelties. Hear then, Chidley Coote (correspondently to the intent of your letters to Parsons, coming to your aid), being intercepted in the way, was deadly wounded, ten taken prisoners, his ensigns taken away. One *Alman Hamnett's* man, if he come safe with his message, (as I hope he will not), will confirm this news. Had the character of these letters of yours been either Lloyd's or Hamnett's, that politick engineer and the adviser of quilletts, (by him that bought me), no other satisfaction should be taken but their heads; though, as the case stands, *Hamnett* lives in no small danger for manifold reasons.

“CHARLES DEMPSIE.”

But notwithstanding all these menaces and attacks, she held out with great spirit, until fetched off safe by Sir Richard Grenville, in October, 1642, after which she retired to Coleshill.

Randal Macdonell, Earl of Antrim.

BORN A. D. 1609—DIED A. D. 1682

OF the ancestry of the Macdonells we have already had occasion to take notice. The person we are now to commemorate, is one of the many whom fortune rather than any inherent merit has made eminent, more by the conspicuous display of the ordinary passions and weaknesses incidental to our nature, than by wisdom, courage or virtue.

He was educated in England, where he early recommended himself at court by the specious attractions of person, manner, and imposing pretensions. These advantages were greatly improved by his marriage with the widow of the celebrated George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, by means of which he was enabled to appear with great splendour at the English court, and was introduced to the favour of the queen.

When the troubles in Scotland broke into war in 1639, this lord was forward to offer his services, which were accepted by the king, who was about to march into Scotland, against the covenanters with the duke of Argyle at their head. The earl was in the habit of speaking in lofty terms of the power and influence which he possessed in Ireland, and proposed to levy a considerable force of Ulster men, and make a descent on the Scottish Isles; over which he presumed that his own descent from the "lords of the Isles," gave him no small influence. He was thus to effect a diversion, so as to occupy the attention of the duke of Argyle on one quarter, while the king's army should make their approaches on the other. He was sent into Ireland to make his levies; but whatever service might have been thus effected by a more discreet and capable person, Antrim was utterly devoid of all the essential qualifications. His very forwardness to embark in a great design appears to have been but the effect of the want of all conception of the real difficulties to be encountered, and like many sanguine and shallow persons he was rather actuated by a blind self-confidence than by any distinct conception of his design. His imposing language which deceived the king, and it is probable himself, had little weight with the penetrating and masterly intellect of Strafford, then the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Besides other objections, which we here omit, to his plan, Strafford on conversing with the earl at once discerned his entire ignorance of military affairs, and his incapacity for any service that needed forecast, prudence, discretion and experience in the conduct of affairs. The earl had, he found, entered upon an extensive and hazardous undertaking without any consideration of the means by which it was to be effected, and strongly remonstrated against both the project and the man. But Antrim's friends at court were all powerful at the time; the weighty influence of the queen was exerted for him, and the earl of Strafford was strongly pressed by the king to forward the undertaking. On this, every thing was put in train, and every assistance was given to the earl of Antrim; the organization of his army was projected and officers appointed, and emissaries were sent off to the Isles to concert a rising with the Macdonalds. After all this pomp of pre-

paration, it was but too apparent that the earl had overrated his power in the north; he was only enabled to attend the king's expedition with a force small in point of number, but fortunate in not being put to the proof. The English and Scottish armies having come in sight of each other, the king was prevented by his generals, who had no great wish to fight for him, from offering battle; and the reputation of Auntrim was allowed to continue untarnished for other trials.

After the treaty of peace (signed on this occasion), the earl accompanied the king to Oxford, and returning to Ireland sat in the parliament 1640. After this he continued to live in Ireland, sustaining the character for which he was by nature best fitted, by magnificent and popular hospitality, until the growing troubles rose to a height incompatible with the peaceful pomps and vanities of life. His countess was compelled to take refuge in England, and again filled a distinguished place in the favour of queen Henrietta and her court. The character of the marquess was assailed by the scandalous aspersion of having joined with the rebels, but this malicious charge was repelled by the strong testimony of Parsons, who was the witness of the harmlessness of his deportment in Dublin. In the commencement of the rebellion, his lordship is honourably to be distinguished for the humane and active assistance he gave to the distressed protestants, whose condition was then more deplorable than it afterwards came to be, in the further stage of the war. Nor can we trace his lordship in any overt proceeding of a political tendency, till the spring of 1642, when having visited his property in the north, he was probably worked upon by the enthusiasm of his own dependents to form high expectations from the favour of the northerners. With the facile and prurient inflammability of a warm fancy and over-weening self-confidence, he at once began to reckon on the effects of his own authority and influence, by which he hoped to convert a rebel multitude into a royal army devoted to the interests of king Charles. In this expectation he was doomed to meet with disappointment; the rebels were pleased at the accession of a name so well suited to give speciousness to their favourite pretence of royal authority. But they saw easily through the ostentatious and feeble spirit that tried in vain to assume an ascendant over their minds. He was indeed too good for them, and too incapable either of going the whole length in atrocity which they uniformly sought in their leaders, and without which no one long continued to have any authority among them; neither had he the craft necessary to temporize, or to suppress his own temper and opinions. Disgusted with their cowardly massacres, which fell entirely on the unarmed and defenceless, upon whom they wreaked vengeance for the severe and often too sweeping justice of military judges; he was loud in the expression of his horror, and condemned their entire conduct, in a tone that plainly manifested an entire unconsciousness of all their peculiar objects and passions. He was prompt and liberal in relieving the distressed and hunted protestants, and it was but too plain that however desirable the accession of the rebel army might be to his lordship's private views, he was not exactly the person they wanted. An instance of his meritorious activity in this character, occurred during the time when Coleraine was besieged by the Irish army in 1641, when he prevailed with the Irish officers



so far as to allow the people of the town to graze their cattle for three miles round; and was permitted to send in large supplies of corn to the starving inhabitants.

The marquess failing to turn the rebels to his own purposes was not induced to embrace their motives or adopt their cause. So far from this, he raised a regiment of his own tenantry; but these plain proofs of loyalty, were not in these uncertain times sufficient to protect him from becoming the object of suspicion. Monroe having entered the county of Antrim, considered the reports which had circulated of his commerce with the rebels and the fact of his being a papist, sufficient excuse to commit an outrage upon him not unworthy of Sir Phelim O'Neile.

Dunluce castle was the stronghold and residence of the ancient family of M'Quillan, the ancient chiefs of that district, and it was as leader of a Scottish army that the ancestor of the earl of Antrim had expelled these ancient proprietors, and obtained possession of their rock and domain. Here the earl was residing when he received a visit of seeming compliment from Monroe, the general of the Scottish force in Ulster. Monroe was welcomed with all the frank hospitality, and entertained with all the splendour of his generous but unobservant host. The entertainment was not well over when the signal was given, and the astonished earl seized and hurried off a prisoner, while the castle and domain were plundered by his cold-minded and plotting captor.

He was so fortunate as to escape from Monroe and fled into England, where he waited on the queen at York. It was at the time when the king's friends were labouring to procure a cessation of arms in Ireland; Antrim was, as was natural to him, soon led to put forward his notions of his own efficiency to promote this design, and was presently sent into Ireland with instructions; but he was taken on his landing and imprisoned by Monroe in Carrickfergus, where he lay for some months, his enemy all the time drawing his rents and remaining master of his whole possessions, without the slightest heed of the king's letters to command restoration. Once more the earl succeeded in escaping from his enemy and reached Oxford again, December, 1643.

It happened then, as is known to the reader, that the marquess of Montrose was endeavouring to raise an army to create a diversion in Scotland, so as to draw back the army which had marched into England, and was at the time in treaty with the parliament. Antrim was consulted and engaged "that if the king would grant him a commission, he would raise an army in Ireland, and transport it to Scotland, and would himself be at the head of it; by means whereof, he believed all the clan of the Macdonells in the Highlands, might be persuaded to follow him."* To this a ready consent was given, and the king by privy seal created him marquess of Antrim, 26th January, 1644.

The marquess with his characteristic disregard of circumstances, adopted the means which must be admitted to offer some specious advantages for his purpose. His conduct was in principle the same which had on the previous occasion, already mentioned, involved him in the proceedings of the rebels; but circumstances had widely

* Lodge.

changed, and the confederates of Kilkenny might well be assumed to be sincere in their allegiance against a common enemy. Rebellion had changed sides: a confusion of parties had now arisen which admitted of the utmost latitude of construction, and it must have appeared to the marquess a happy expedient to take the oath of association and become a member of the supreme council of Kilkenny. The device had the common justification of such measures, and it was successful. By the favour of the council he was enabled to raise 1500 effective men, whom he sent to Montrose under the command of colonel Alexander Macdonell; and distinguished themselves very highly in all his battles.

The next appearance of the marquess is in 1647, when he was with two others sent by the council of Kilkenny to the queen and prince Charles, to desire that a lord-lieutenant might be sent to govern the country. The marquess of Ormonde landed soon after and concluded a treaty of peace, but Rinuncini being, as the reader is aware, pertinaciously opposed to peace; he was joined by O'Neile and the marquess of Antrim.

In 1651 he appears engaged in Cromwell's party and in his pay; he is mentioned at this time to have received £500 a-year from him, which was afterwards, in 1655, increased. This liberal allowance appears to have been for no other purpose but for the use of his influence in the north, and for the countenance of a name. His active services were not required, and he took no decided part on the parliamentary side: his own motive was probably no more than to save himself by a passive acquiescence; while, considering the party with whom he had to deal and the weakness of his own character, it is equally to be presumed that he was as useful as was in any way desired to Cromwell. This connexion did not prevent his using his best exertions to serve the royal cause. When the prince came into England he supplied him with arms and ammunition, and after the battle of Worcester assisted in procuring ships for his escape.

On account of these services, he afterwards obtained the restoration to his estates by the act of settlement. He was twice married, but had no children; and when he died in 1682 he was succeeded by his brother.

Wick, Fifth Earl of Clanricarde.

BORN A. D. 1604—DIED A. D. 1657.

THIS nobleman was son of Richard, fourth earl of Clanricarde, who in early life was distinguished by the appellation of Richard of Kingsale, in consequence of the prominent part he took against the rebels in the siege of that town, having killed twenty of them with his own hand. His personal bravery and untainted loyalty were inherited by his son, who had in addition, a strong personal attachment to the unfortunate Charles, whom he attended in his expedition against the Scots in 1640. He had taken his seat in parliament when it met in 1639, and again by proxy in the year following; being a peer of England in right

of his father, who had been created baron of Somerhill, (a manor of his in Kent,) and viscount Tunbridge, to which title Charles had added those of baron Imany, viscount of Galway, and earl of St Albans.* In the summer of 1641 the subject of our present memoir returned to his seat of Portumna, and on the breaking out of the rebellion took the most active and decisive measures both for its suppression, and also for the counteraction of the evils it occasioned. Being governor of the town and county of Galway he had official power, as well as great personal influence. The English knew him to enjoy the favour and confidence of his sovereign, while the Irish looked up to him as their friend and chieftain, to which rank he was entitled not only by his extensive possessions but by his high moral qualities, which must at all times command an ascendancy, but which were then peculiarly valuable from being rare. He summoned all who held lands of the king, to be ready to take arms in his service at twenty-four hours' warning. He applied to the lords-justices, who were of the puritanic party, for aid, and was of course refused; when he called an assembly of the county at Loughrea (where his own regiment of foot happened at the time to be quartered) and so successfully awakened their fears suppressed their discontents, and renewed their declining confidence in the royal promises of protection and support, that they agreed to raise eight companies of foot and two troops of horse, which, without deriving assistance from the state or any other quarter, he from his own stores supplied with arms and ammunition. He obtained a declaration from the king that all his promises should be fully performed to those who now, in the moment of trial, proved themselves to be loyal subjects. He strengthened the fort of Galway, personally inspected every post of defence, and by a firm and uncompromising line of conduct subdued the disaffected, who would otherwise have counteracted his designs. The vile policy of the lords-justices, who looked for unlimited support from the puritan party in England, made them not only deprive the loyal nobility of the pale, of the arms with which they had at first intrusted them, but they issued a proclamation by which all persons, except the ordinary inhabitants of Dublin were commanded to leave it on pain of death, within twenty-four hours; thus flinging back all those who had fled there for safety, or as a security from suspicion, and compelling them to seek a refuge and coalition with the rebel party, who were but too glad of such a respectable accession to their numbers. By the instrumentality of the earl of Clanricarde and of lord Ranelagh the president, Connaught had been kept tolerably quiet; but the constrained disaffection of the pale quickly spread, and seemed to give a warrantable excuse for rebellion to the discontented spirits of that province. Insurgents from the neighbouring districts flowed in rapidly, and harassed and endangered the peaceable inhabitants. At length the town of Galway became infected, and, under the plea of ill treatment from the governor, besieged the fort, and reduced the English garrison to extreme distress. The earl, on hearing of their extremity, rapidly collected a small force and hastened to their assistance; but though utterly unable with his handful of men to cope with

* Lodge.

the assailants, he subdued them by that moral energy of character for which he was so remarkable, and compelled them to suspend hostilities and come into terms, until the king's pleasure should be known, promising in the mean time that the town should be taken under his majesty's protection. The best effects seemed likely to follow upon this occurrence, and lord Clanricarde was successfully exerting his pacific influence over the minds of the people, and gradually bringing them back to their allegiance, when the lords-justices already calculating on the forfeitures to be obtained, expressed their extreme disapproval of the protection granted to Galway, and peremptorily commanded the earl to receive no more submissions. They also directed the governors of forts and other commanders, to enter into no terms with the rebels, but to exterminate them, and all who should harbour them, with fire and sword. The insurgents grew desperate, and besieged the lord-president in the city of Athlone, where he was at length relieved by the earl of Ormonde. Clanricarde, though justly irritated at the conduct of the Irish government, remained unshaken in his loyalty, and still continued his zealous and efficient exertions for the re-establishment of tranquillity. Towards the latter end of this year a convention was held at Kilkenny by the chief portion of the Roman catholic nobility, prelates, and clergy, in which they professed their allegiance to the king (while they violated his authority and prerogative,) and their intention of being guided by the laws of England, and the statutes of Ireland, as far as they were not inconsistent with the Roman catholic religion. They enacted many laws and regulations, and when the order of government had been adjusted they selected their provincial generals. Now that the rebellion had taken a more specious and civilized form, and that the lords-justices had made themselves so obnoxious to all the high-minded and loyally-disposed, they hoped to gain over lord Clanricarde to their standard, particularly as the maintenance of the Roman catholic faith was one of their chief and most ostensible objects. They accordingly nominated him to the chief command in Connaught, and appointed colonel John Burke as his lieutenant-general. No inducement, however, or specious representation could alter lord Clanricarde's determination; he rejected all their overtures, scorned their sophistical arguments, and with unshaken loyalty adhered to the broken fortunes of his master, notwithstanding the threats and excommunication of his own clergy, which they resorted to as a last resource. When lord Ranelagh the president of Connaught quitted his government in despair, intending to lay before Charles the ruinous and faithless conduct of his justices, Clanricarde still continued at his post, though abandoned to his difficulties and his best acts maligned. Lord Ranelagh was seized immediately on arriving in Dublin, and put into close confinement, so that even the faint hope the earl might have entertained of receiving succour from the king's supporters was dissipated. As the position of the king's affairs became more desperate in England, he was proportionally anxious to bring the rebellion in Ireland to a termination, and expressed his willingness to receive and consider the complaints of the recusants. He accordingly issued a commission under the great seal of England, to the marquess of Ormonde, the earl of Clanricarde, the earl of Roscommon, viscount

Moore, and others, to meet the principal recusants and transmit their complaints; to the bringing about of this arrangement the lords-justices opposed every obstacle. It was however at length effected, and the recall of Sir William Parsons followed on the exposure of his iniquities. The province of Connaught was nearly reduced to desperation, the rebels were every day increasing in numbers, and were possessed of many of the most important forts. Lord Clanricarde's towns of Loughrea and Portumna, were all that in the western province remained in the possession of the royalists. About this period the marquess of Ormonde concluded a treaty with the insurgents for the cessation of arms for a year, to which lord Clanricarde and several other noblemen were parties. In 1644 he was made commander-in-chief of the military in Connaught, under the marquess of Ormonde, and in the same year he was promoted to the dignity of marquess, with limitation to his issue male. He was also made a member of the privy council, and zealously exerted his increased influence and power for the benefit and tranquillization of the country. An attempt was made during the campaign of Cromwell to recover Ulster from the parliamentary army, by a conjunction of the northern Irish with the British royalists of this province, under the command of the marquess of Clanricarde; this however was defeated by the intrigues of lord Antrim, and the Irish refusing to follow any leader but one of their own selection. During the long and factious struggle of the Roman catholic prelates with lord Ormonde, Clanricarde marched with his forces to oppose the progress of Ireton and Sir Charles Coote towards Athlone, when the sentence of excommunication was published at the head of his troops, so as to discharge them from all obedience to the government. No representations of the moderate party could induce these haughty prelates to revoke the sentence of excommunication, and all that could be obtained from them was a suspension of it during the expedition for the relief of Athlone. When at length their insolent and obstinate resistance drove Ormonde from the kingdom, he appointed Clanricarde as his deputy with directions to act as circumstances and his own judgment should direct. Had Clanricarde consulted his own interest or safety he would never have undertaken so thankless and dangerous a responsibility; but his was too noble a nature to let personal considerations weigh for a moment against a sense of duty, and his zealous and devoted attachment to the king made him anxious to preserve even the semblance of his authority in Ireland; and he also thought that by continuing the war even at disadvantage in that country, he might in some degree divert the republican army from concentrating their forces against the king and the English royalists. Clanricarde accordingly accepted the office, but had to encounter a difficulty in the very outset, in getting the instrument which was to bind both parties, drawn with sufficient simplicity to prevent its covering dangerous and doubtful meanings. The Roman catholics had now a chief governor of their own religion, and Ireton was disappointed in his advance upon Limerick, so that the Irish, still possessing that city, Galway and Sligo could have made a good stand against the republicans. Ireton made propositions through his agents to the assembly to treat with the parliament, and the fatal influence exerted by the nuncio still predominated

and induced the clergy to listen favourably to these proposals. Clanricarde indignantly represented the treachery and baseness of such conduct, and the leading members of the assembly joined in expressing the same sentiments, saying, "it is now evident that these churchmen have not been transported to such excesses by a prejudice to the marquess of Ormonde, or a zeal for their religion, their purpose is to withdraw themselves entirely from the royal authority. It is the king and his government which are the real objects of their aversion, but these we will defend at every hazard; and when a submission to the enemy can be no longer deferred, we shall not think it necessary to make any stipulations in favour of the secret enemies of our cause. Let those men who oppose the royal authority be excluded from the benefits of our treaty."* The clergy little accustomed to such language at length submitted, and the treaty was rejected. They still, however, retained their hatred to Clanricarde, and held secret and seditious conferences. Early in the spring Ireton again prepared to besiege Limerick, and when the earl proposed to shut himself up in the city and defend it to the last, he was rejected by the clergy and citizens with the same insolence with which they had before excluded Ormonde. Ireton at length commenced his siege, and having gained the city by treachery, Galway was next summoned to accept the same terms previously offered to Limerick, and threatened with similar severities if they refused. The citizens were at first terror-struck, and inclined to submit, but on learning the death of Ireton their courage revived, and they sent to lord Clanricarde, entreating his assistance, and promising to be entirely guided by his directions. The marquess at once summoned a meeting of all the neighbouring nobility, gentry, and prelates, at Galway, that they might take into consideration the best measures for its defence. The former panic however quickly returned, for Ludlow succeeding to the command of the English forces, acted with such uncompromising vigour, that they prevailed on Clanricarde unwillingly to accede to a treaty, and at length, without his authority or sanction, surrendered the town.

The success of the republicans daily increased, but still Clanricarde, with desperate fidelity, adhered to the royal cause, and aided by some Ulster forces, took the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal. At length, on the dispersion of his troops and the total exhaustion of his own resources, he yielded to the stern necessity of his position, and in compliance with the king's instructions, accepted conditions from the republicans. His high character made him respected, even by his enemies; he was allowed to remain unmolested in their quarters, and had permission to transport himself and three thousand Irish into the service of any foreign prince not at war with England.

His Irish estate, of £29,000 a-year, was seized and sequestered, and he retired to Somerhill, in Kent, where he died in 1657. He married early in life the lady Ann Compton, daughter of the earl of Northampton, who survived him, and by her had one daughter, who married Charles, viscount Muskerry.

The marquess was excepted from pardon for life and estate, by an act passed by Cromwell's parliament in 1652.

* Leland.

Roger, Earl of Orrery.

BORN A. D. 1621.

THIS distinguished nobleman was the third son of Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork, already commemorated in our pages. At the age of fifteen, we are informed, he entered the university of Dublin, from which he was in a few years sent by his father, to travel on the continent—then, when the means of acquiring a knowledge of the world from any means short of actual observation, were far less than in later times, the only resource for the accomplishment of a man of the world.

Under the care of a Mr Markham, he made the tour of France and Italy, and profited so much by the extended means of intercourse and communication thus afforded, that his appearance at the English court was greeted by general admiration and respect: nor was employment slow in following. The earl of Northumberland gave him the command of his own troop in the expedition against Scotland; while, by the interest of the earl of Strafford, whose regard is of itself a high testimony of desert, he was created baron Broghill, 28th February, 1627.

During his long sojourn in England, he married the lady Margaret Howard, sister to the earl of Suffolk; and with her arrived in Ireland on the opening of the troubles of 1641, and proceeded with his lady to his father's castle of Lismore, which they gained without any alarm, as the breaking out of rebellion was not yet known in Munster.

A few days after, he was invited by the earl of Barrymore, his brother-in-law, to dine at Castlelyons, where he met his father, the earl of Cork, lord Muskerry, and other neighbouring gentry. On this occasion it was that a messenger, arriving just before dinner, brought intelligence to the earl of Cork, that the Irish were in rebellion, and had taken possession of the entire country through which he had come. All scattered to their respective homes to prepare for defence, or to meditate the course they were to follow. The immediately succeeding events we have already told in more than one memoir, but more especially in that of the earl of Cork.* In these lord Broghill bore his full share, and conducted himself so as to have acquired increased reputation for courage, sagacity, and military talent.

During the progress of the ensuing protracted struggle, in which, for a time, it became a question of difficulty to decide between the respective claims of the several parties who were contending in arms on the pretext of loyalty, or in the name of government, lord Broghill's straight-forward common sense easily disentangled him from the perplexity of a sanction, which, on the one side, was false and fraudulent; and on the other had lost its vitality. He readily saw that the king's authority could not be supported, that his cause was not maintained; and that, while his friends were compelled to keep up a vain struggle against every impediment, the rebels, who had assumed the pretext of his name, were overwhelming with imputation a cause for which

* Vol. II. pp. 412, 413.

they had little solicitude: the better interests of the country would be meanwhile destroyed by a ruinous and wasteful continuation of a warfare, which was not decided by soldiers on the field, but by the rival plunderings, burnings, and devastations of those vast mobs, which, under the name of armies, acted the part of locusts. This hapless condition of the country was daily becoming more apparent, and its real consequences more clearly visible: the marquess of Ormonde, whose strong zeal, and firm will had throughout endeavoured to stem the rush of coming ruin, at last retired from a post which he had to the last moment of possibility held with strong fidelity; and the most devoted sacrifice of self. The parliament now sent over their commissioners to conduct the war. Of their power to crush rebellion, and restore the country to the repose which was become necessary to its existence, there could be no doubt: although to those who were most fully aware of the spirit in which they acted, it was perhaps known that they were in no hurry to effect such an object, nor likely to take any very effectual step until they should first have obtained the completion of their ends at home.

By lord Broghill, still a very young man, and not versed in the secret of their policy, it was naturally expected that as they had shown some desire to assume the control of the war in Ireland, that they would act with their known resource and vigour to reduce the country to quiet. Accordingly, lord Broghill, as well as many other of the royalist lords, acted for some time under the parliamentary commanders.

On the trial and execution of king Charles, the zealous loyalty of lord Broghill was too violently shocked to admit of compromise with his murderers, on any ground of expediency. He left the service, and abandoning the country, retired to Marston, his seat in Somersetshire, where he remained in quiet, and free from all public concerns, for some time.

At last, like every active-minded man, he grew weary of repose: he had also frequently reflected upon the heavy loss of his Irish estate; and probably, though with less reason, thought the time arrived when some effort in favour of the young king might be attended with success. By whatever motives he was actuated, he came to the decided resolution to see the king himself, and to obtain his commission to raise forces in Ireland in his behalf; and, as his biographer adds, "to recover his own estate." With this intent he raised as large a sum of money as he could command, and applied to the earl of Warwick, whose interest stood high, to obtain for him a passport to Spa, as he wished to go abroad for the benefit of his health.

Full of this intention, he went down to make the preparations necessary for his voyage; but he had not been many days there when he was somewhat startled by a visit from a strange gentleman who came from Cromwell, to say that he wished to visit lord Broghill, and desired to know when it would be most convenient to his lordship to receive him. Lord Broghill, in great surprise, at first expressed his opinion that there must be some mistake, as he was quite unknown to the lord-general, and had not for a long time been engaged in any public concern. Upon being convinced however that there could be no mistake, he returned a message that he would himself attend the general whenever he should desire. The gentleman retired, and lord Broghill was

left alone to consider what course would be most prudent to adopt—whether to await a further communication from a person whose acts were known to be so prompt and decided, or in the interval to proceed while yet free upon his way. He was not however allowed to decide for himself. He was yet wrapped in the perplexity of his situation, when his meditations were once more interrupted by the sudden entry of Cromwell. The lord-general then informed him, that “the committee of state were apprized of his design of going over and applying to Charles Stewart for a commission to raise forces in Ireland: and that they were determined to make an example of him, if he himself had not diverted them from that resolution.”* Lord Broghill was endeavouring to evade the necessity of admitting the accusation, and trying to impose on the general by protestations of a very general nature, when Cromwell drew from his pocket a parcel of papers, which he silently put into his hand: on looking at these lord Broghill was astonished to perceive that they were copies of his own letters to different persons to whom he had confided his purpose. On this, lord Broghill saw that it was useless any longer to persist in the attempt to baffle the general, and confessed the whole, thanking Cromwell for his protection. Cromwell assured him that though, till then, unacquainted with him personally, he was no stranger to the high reputation he had earned in the Irish wars; and that as he was himself now appointed by the parliament to command in Ireland, he had obtained leave from the committee to offer his lordship the command of a general, if he would serve in that war; “and that he should have no oaths or engagements imposed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his sword against any but Irish rebels.”† An instant’s consideration was perhaps enough to show lord Broghill that nothing could be more favourable to his own interest; nor, considering the actual state of affairs, could there be a more useful or honourable direction given to his activity and talent. Yet the sense of party feeling was to be overcome, and lord Broghill asked for time. Cromwell told him that he must decide at the moment, as the committee, which was yet sitting, awaited his return, and on hearing of lord Broghill’s hesitation, would instantly commit him to the Tower. Lord Broghill then gave way, and assured Cromwell that he would faithfully serve him against the Irish rebels. He was then desired to proceed to Bristol, and there await the troops which should follow, with transports sufficient to convey them across the channel. Cromwell assured him further, that he would himself speedily follow.

Lord Broghill followed these directions, and every thing having been quickly provided, according to Cromwell’s promise, he was soon once more in Ireland. Here his reputation was high, and he was quickly enabled to add materially to the few soldiers he had brought over: a troop of cavalry, entirely composed of gentlemen, and fifteen hundred well appointed infantry, enabled him to present a formidable appearance; till on the 15th August, 1649, Cromwell landed in Wexford, with an army of eight thousand foot and four thousand cavalry, two hundred thousand pounds in money, and an abundant store of all

* Budgel’s Memoirs of the Boyle Family.

† Budgell.

military materials; and thus commenced the *last* scene of this deep drama of blood.

The landing of Cromwell put an end to all hopes on the part of those who separated from the rebels as from the parliamentarians, had till then hoped, by winning over some of the more moderate, and availing themselves of that general desire for peace which was beginning to pervade the better classes, to be enabled to gain a party in favour of the king. By the appearance of Cromwell's army, such hopes were soon banished from the land with those who held them. The earl of Ormonde, still resolving to hold on to the last extremity, but having no resources left from the wreck of many brave and devoted efforts, now rested his last hope in the endeavour to protract matters for a time in order to give discipline and confidence to his handful of men; he was not also without a hope that the strong parties, not more hostile to his cause than they were to each other, might in some degree balance and check others in the field, when a single blow might place no small advantage in his power. He justly considered that Drogheda would be likely to be the first object of Cromwell's attention, and prudently took measures to have it put in a defensible condition with the utmost haste. He committed it to Sir Arthur Aston, a most experienced and gallant officer, with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all chosen men: he also supplied him with such provisions and ammunition as he desired. Having taken these precautions, the marquis retired to Portlester, to be in readiness for the event. It was generally expected that Drogheda would make a long and vigorous defence; and in the mean time lord Inchiquin was sent for to come from Munster to his aid. Before the message had reached its destination, Cromwell was before the walls of Drogheda.

This event occurred on the 3d September, 1649. He lay still before the town for a week—he had perhaps some expectation that the garrison might be terrified into a surrender; they on their part were far enough from fear, for Drogheda had hitherto baffled all attempts made during the last three years previous, and was thought by the Irish generally to be impregnable, unless by treachery or famine. On Sunday, the 9th of September, Cromwell sent in his summons, and on receiving Aston's refusal to surrender, opened his batteries upon the walls: from that moment a hot fire was kept up, till Tuesday at four in the afternoon, when a breach was made in St Mary's wall, which Cromwell judged sufficient for the purpose of an assault. His men were twice repulsed. The account which follows is in some degree hard to believe, but it stands upon authority* too creditable to be rejected. In the third assault, the brave soldiers who defended the town were disheartened by the fall of their leader, colonel Wall, who was killed fighting at their head. Seeing them waver, the soldiers of Cromwell assured them of quarter, and were thus admitted without further opposition. The same delusive proceeding was adopted while a single corner was to be won, and the appearance of the most humane forbearance kept up towards all who laid down their arms. But so soon as the town was secured, Cromwell was (it is affirmed,) told by Jones that

* Carte.

the flower of the Irish army was there, upon which he immediately commanded that no quarter should be given. On this a most dreadful massacre commenced, and continued while a soldier of the garrison remained. The soldiers of Cromwell are said to have shown great and manifest reluctance to execute the barbarous command; but the rigid and immovable temper of the lord-general was not one to be turned by the relentings of the multitude. The horror of this atrocious deed was increased, and its guilt aggravated, by the murder of the gallant Aston, the governor, with his officers. This frightful incident is described by the marquess of Ormonde, in a letter to the king, in which he writes, that "On this occasion Cromwell exceeded himself, and anything he had ever heard of in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the book of Martyrs, or in the relation of Amboyna."* Nothing can justify the deed here related, but some reasonable deductions may be made on the consideration of time and place: at the time, Ireland had been, for an interval of eight years, the scene of every atrocious crime by which human history has ever been disgraced—the ordinary social state had become one of lawless and indiscriminate war, depredation, robbery, and murder, on every scale, and on every pretence; and though to a person, during that period, intimately conversant with the country, and versed in the complex relations of its party oppositions and affinities, it might have been possible to make just distinctions, and ascertain the precise limits of right and wrong; it is well known how in the neighbouring country report confuses and exaggerates: how misrepresentations on either side, meeting with indifferent ears, combine and blacken all with mutual accusations; and while it is easy and not unpleasant to those who are at a safe distance to believe the worst, the pleas of justice or of excuse are mostly too local, personal, or limited, in character, to find their way, or to win the indolent attention of those not personally interested. In England, the acts and sufferings of Ireland were heard as the uproar of a barbarous island drunk with an inappeasable mania of murderous frenzy: and the vague horror of such an impression was heightened by the prejudices of political and religious animosity. Cromwell was too sagacious to be altogether deluded by the impression of popular ignorance, but it coloured his thoughts, and gave a direction to his policy, as regarded the affairs of a country to which but little of his mind had ever been given. It was his interest, no less than the task he had undertaken, to quell without delay the pertinacious and clinging element of destruction which must have seemed inextinguishably mixed with the very life-blood of the people. And as he perhaps was impressed with the sense, that languid operations and campaigns without result had been the main cause in protracting the state of war, in which the impunity of resistance had encouraged the aggregation of mob armies, and the reorganization of the defeated—he was not without some reason convinced of the necessity of proceeding by terror. To carry on a protracted war with the hosts of half-armed creaghts, who would scatter and reappear like mists,

* Carte.

while his resources were consuming, and flux and fever wasting away his force, were little consistent either with the probable pacification of Ireland, or his own ambitious projects. And though the course he took was an outrage upon humanity, it was not only effectual, but it may be doubted whether less rough means could have settled a country so thoroughly disorganized. The real effect of this cruel butchery upon the public mind was different from that which it would now produce on a humane age—the congenial spirit of O’Neile was rather impressed with the vigour and skill of the storm than by the atrocity of the succeeding day’s work—he is represented to have sworn, “that if Cromwell had taken Drogheda by storm, if he should storm hell he would take that too!” Carte observes, that “this was certainly an execrable policy of the regicide, but it had the effect he proposed. It spread abroad the terror of his name—it cut off the best body of Irish troops, and disheartened the rest to such a degree that it was a greater loss in itself, and much more fatal in its consequences than the rout at Rathmines.” To the same rough dealing Cromwell was not long after mainly indebted for his unimpeded march to Dublin, when obstacles sufficient to waste many months, and attended with numberless risks, were removed by the voluntary surrender of the towns and garrisons in his way. We must now return to lord Broghill. After Cromwell had proceeded south and obtained quiet possession of Cork, Kinsale, Bandon and Youghall, he sat down before Clonmel. Here Hugh O’Neile had collected 1200 chosen Ulster men, and as lord Fermoy was also known to have sent a large army of several thousand men to relieve this city, Cromwell detached lord Broghill to intercept them. Lord Broghill marched in quest of this enemy, and soon encountering a body of between four and five thousand men, he gave them a complete rout. The battle was hardly over when an express from Cromwell brought the information that he was in a most miserable condition before Clonmel, where his army was sinking under the bloody flux, and had in their exhausted condition met two severe repulses from the brave garrison. He therefore was enjoined to lose not a moment, but to lead his men to assist the lord-general in this pressing strait. Lord Broghill sent back word “that by the blessing of God he had just defeated the enemy, and would not fail to be with him in three days.” He kept his word, and was received with acclamations by the besieging army; Cromwell embraced him and congratulated him upon his victory. With this reinforcement the siege was pressed on with fresh alacrity and the town was soon compelled to surrender. The garrison had been secretly withdrawn by O’Neile on the failure of provisions, and the citizens were allowed to surrender upon honourable terms.

Some time previous to the termination of the siege, which had lasted for two months, Cromwell had been recalled by the parliament, as the want of his presence was felt elsewhere. On the capitulation, he took his departure leaving Ireton as his deputy, and lord Broghill in command of a “flying camp in Munster.” In this command the distinction he soon acquired was so great, and such was the general influence gained with all parties by his good sense, moderation and popular manners, that it soon became suspected that Ireton was either

envious of his reputation or doubtful of his fidelity. As these notions found tongues enough they were quickly conveyed to the ears of lord Broghill; he is indeed said to have received a letter from a Mr Lammas, who was Ireton's chaplain, advising him to take care of himself, for Ireton, notwithstanding his professions of friendship and letters of congratulation on his successes, had privately determined to destroy him. On this Mr Morrice, the authority for this statement, mentions that lord Broghill satisfied by so authoritative a warning, kept away from Ireton as long as he could; he was however under the necessity of joining him at Limerick.

The condition of the other party, if such an appellation is not inconsistent with its complex constituency, is at least characteristic of the people. While the storm that was to crush them was gradually rolling together over their heads, and the necessity of a resistance more systematic and concerted than was hitherto resorted to, was felt by every one, the efforts of Clanricarde and Castlehaven, were encumbered, retarded, and rendered inoperative, by the factious intrigues of those, who seemed more inclined to fight among themselves about questions, and play the old destructive game of civil intrigue—than to resist the common enemy. They were men who wrangled over a paltry game, while their leaky pinnace was running into the whirlpool of destruction. Sir Charles Coote had taken Athlone and entered Connaught, and while the earl of Clanricarde was vainly endeavouring to collect an army to resist his progress, the archbishop of Armagh convened a synod, to receive father Anthony Geoghegan, who was arrived with instructions from the congregation *de Propaganda*, in Rome: their first decree was an order that no bishop should be admitted to sit in the general assembly, until he should be absolved from the nuncio's censures; they declared the duke of Lorraine protector of the kingdom, and with all the experience of ten years of social disorganization, yet impressed in traces of desolation on every side, they only thought of beginning again with the infatuation of 1642. Their immediate object was to revive the confederacy, and to this purpose their entire means, talents, and industry, were directed. Clanricarde at this time invested with the royal authority and the sole support against the parliamentary general, they considered as the great obstruction to their designs; and thus while they impeded all his efforts, they prepared for themselves and their miserable supporters the retribution that was to follow. The chief means by which this dissension was fatal, was by intriguing with the inferior leaders to induce them to desert their posts and break their appointments; so that when Clanricarde and Castlehaven had concerted the movements immediately necessary, and fixed upon the position essential for the counteraction of their opponent, the orders were not carried into execution, and their best concerted operations were always frustrated by some traitorous disappointment. Such is a summary of the obstacles to the efforts of the royalist party, previous to the siege of Limerick by Ireton: we now come to the particulars more immediately preceding that event.

It was the object of Ireton to pass the Shannon, in order to commence the meditated attack. Having failed in the attempt to build a bridge at Castleconnel, he was on his march to Athlone, the nearest

place where he could then hope to pass. To resist his progress Clanricarde had an army of 7,000 foot, and 1,800 horse, with which he intended to fight the parliamentary army. With this view he sent to Castlehaven, to join him at a pass where he hoped to meet and check its further advance. Castlehaven left the passes of Shannon guarded, and marched to the rendezvous: but after about three hours' march, a brisk report of continued firing came from the quarter he had left, and he was presently surprised to see approaching a troop of cavalry, which he had left as a guard at Brian's Bridge: they came on in the disorder of flight, though they were not pursued. On inquiry he now learned that the parliamentarians had come on the other side of the river, and sending a few boats of musketeers across, the castle of Brian's Bridge was treacherously betrayed to them by the captain who commanded. As lord Castlehaven hurried back to arrest this threatened passage, and recover the castle, news came of the further defection of the colonel to whom he had committed the pass at Killaloe, who with all his men had fled into Limerick. The effect of this intelligence was fatal: Castlehaven's army melted away in a few hours from 4,000 to 40 horsemen, with which he himself was constrained to make his way to the lord-deputy; who finding his weakness, and the entire inefficacy of the worthless army, on which he had relied too far, retreated: and Ireton was master of the Shannon.

There was now, therefore, no obstacle to the siege of Limerick, which he at once commenced: and while he conducted his operations with progressive regularity, there was within the walls no adequate sense of the danger. Clanricarde, with the devoted gallantry of his character, offered to take the command, and share the fortune of the city: he was refused, and Hugh O'Neile appointed governor, but without more than a nominal authority; the citizens, like the ecclesiastics, thought more of protecting their own interests and immunities, than of the common and imminent danger which was collecting round their walls. There was thus little command, and no pervading authority: a laxity of discipline favoured division of councils and the intrigues of private fear and self-interest. A free correspondence with the surrounding country, was permitted, and the enemy were not suffered to be perplexed by any want of full intelligence of the councils and condition of affairs within.

While the parliamentary troops lay round the walls, an account reached them, that lord Muskerry was approaching at the head of 4,000 men, to the relief of the city. To check his approach lord Broghill was detached with 600 foot, and 400 horse, and soon came in sight of his enemy. At first Muskerry contrived by his movements to impress the notion, that he had no design to approach Limerick, and lord Broghill contented himself with a close observation of his demonstrations. At last on the 22d June, towards evening, he received intelligence, that Muskerry had sent a detachment to seize on Castlelissen, a strong place, directly on the way to Limerick. On this he ordered out his men, and about midnight, in the midst of a violent storm of rain and wind, attacked their camp, driving in the out-posts, and raising such consternation that the whole army made its escape on the opposite side, and was at some distance before morning, from

the place where it had encamped. Lord Broghill availed himself of this, by securing the way to Limerick, and then followed his enemy over the Blackwater, which they passed in the interval.

Lord Broghill soon found them drawn up to receive him, and divided his little party into three commands. Lord Muskerry's men took their ground with a degree of resolution and steadiness, then quite unusual among the Irish troops, a fact partly to be accounted for by the absence of their ordinary resources for retreat: as they generally contrived to meet their enemy on the edge of some great wood or morass, or near the defiles of some mountain pass. Lord Muskerry's men had likewise been animated by the paltry appearance of their antagonists, whom they easily surrounded: and evidently considered the victory in their hands. They offered lord Broghill quarter, who refused it for himself and his men; and a desperate fight commenced. Lord Broghill animated his men by his presence and example, and was the most exposed where danger was the hottest; at last there was a cry among the Irish, to "kill the fellow in the gold-laced coat," and a determined rush was made from which his lordship could hardly have escaped, but by the prompt aid of a lieutenant of his own troop, who before he succeeded in disentangling his lordship from the press, received two shots in his body, and had his horse killed under him. The situation of the English was desperate, and they fought with desperation added to their wonted valour. The effect of this was soon felt among lord Muskerry's ranks, and they at last after sustaining a tremendous slaughter wavered, and gave way on every side, before the fury of the parliamentary force. Six hundred fell and numerous prisoners were taken.*

In the mean time, the citizens of Limerick were engaged in discussion on the expediency of a capitulation. On the 23d October a meeting was held in the Town House, by several officers and leading citizens, who agreed in favour of a treaty of surrender, and proposed to send commissioners next day to "*the rebels*." The bishops of Limerick and Emly came to the assembly and menaced them with excommunication, if they proceeded with a design which they characterised as delivering up their prelates to slaughter. The menace was disregarded—the excommunication with an interdict followed publicly, and had no effect. The citizens were eager (and wisely) to save themselves, and it had been throughout a matter of difficulty to repress the clamorous importunity of the people for surrender. Hugh O'Neile wished to hold out, but his power went no further than to set the watch, while the mayor kept the key.†

These dissensions seem to have risen to a dangerous height: colonel Fennel, who sided with the mayor, took possession of Johnsgate and Cluam Towers, and drove out the soldiers of O'Neile. O'Neile summoned him to a council of war: he refused to attend, and being supplied with ammunition by the mayor, he turned the cannon on the town, and declared that he would not leave his post until a surrender should be agreed to. To enforce this declaration, he admitted two hundred of Ireton's men, and a surrender was speedily settled, and

* Budgell. Borlase.

† Carte.

concluded on the 27th. Twenty-four persons were exempted from mercy. Of these, the bishop of Limerick escaped in a soldier's dress, and found his way to lord Muskerry: the bishop of Emly, Fennel who had been instrumental in letting in the enemy, the mayor, who gave up the keys, and most of the other excepted persons were hanged by Ireton's order.

A few days after Ireton died in Limerick; and the progress of the campaign was checked by uncertainty as to the officer who should take the command. We shall here follow lord Broghill's fortune, and leave the thread of Irish history to be taken up elsewhere. The king had landed in Scotland—a rising in his favour under the conduct of Lesley had been effected, and the command of the parliamentary troops had been transferred from Fairfax to Cromwell, who was sent against the Scots. By the subsequent progress of events, he arrived, as the reader knows, at the highest station in the kingdom; and, under the title of lord Protector, acquired a power beyond that of which his unfortunate predecessor had been deprived after ten years outpouring of English blood. Thus raised, Cromwell acted with a degree of wisdom and efficient vigour, which has gone far to counterbalance the means by which he attained his eminent position; and it must be regarded as a high testimony of lord Broghill's merit, that this profound and keen observer and judicious statesman, should have sent for him, as one on whose conduct, prudence, and valour, he relied; and, if true, the fact, mentioned by Budgell, confers no less distinction—that he took “visible pleasure” in the conversation of lord Broghill, Mr Waller, and Milton. Such is the testimony which makes lord Broghill the selection of the most judicious, and associates him with the greatest and noblest spirit of his age.

Nor was the preference of Cromwell such as terminates in favourable regard, as it is mentioned by all of his biographers, that lord Broghill was sent to Scotland as the fittest person to conciliate and suppress the rough government of general Monk. He felt great and natural reluctance to accept of this commission, but suffered himself to be persuaded, with a stipulation for his recall in one year. After which he remained in England, using his influence with Cromwell, so as to protect the royalists. One day Cromwell told him in a playful tone and manner, that an old friend of his was just come to town; and to lord Broghill's inquiry as to the person, informed him it was the marquess of Ormonde. On this, lord Broghill protested his ignorance of the fact, and was answered, “I know that well enough; however, if you have a mind to preserve your old acquaintance, let him know that I am not ignorant where he is, or what he is doing.” He then let him know the place where the marquess lodged; and lord Broghill lost no time in making the important communication to the marquess, who availed himself of it, to make his escape without delay.

Very shortly after, his lordship had an opportunity of standing between the same noble family and the suspicions of the lord protector. Cromwell received information that the marchioness of Ormonde, to whom his own conduct had been generous and considerate, was engaged in forwarding the plots of his opponents and enemies in London, where she lived under his protection, with an allowance of £2000 a-year.

Lord Broghill denied the probability of such an accusation, on which Cromwell, who was the time very angry, threw him some letters, which he told him had been taken from her cabinet, and desired him to read. On looking at these, lord Broghill fortunately recognised the handwriting of the lady Isabella Thynne, between whom, and the marquess, there had been a correspondence of the kind suspected by Cromwell. When lord Broghill assured him that the letters were written by that lady, Cromwell demanded his proof. The demand was promptly met by the production of other letters from the same lady, "of whom," writes Budgell, "he told two or three stories so pleasant, as made Cromwell lose all his resentment in a hearty laugh."*

It is mentioned by the same writer, that when Cromwell's parliament was about to pass some very severe resolutions against Clanricarde, lord Broghill interposed, and made statements so creditable to lord Clanricarde's character, that the resolutions were not brought to a vote.

The death of Oliver Cromwell was followed by the transient protectorship of his feeble son, Richard. The general respect which the strong character of his father had impressed, secured his unquestioned succession: the turbulent and heterogeneous composition of the government, army, and parliament—the unprincipled ambition of some, and the fanaticism of others, quickly made his seat uneasy. A few persons, who, by their rank and elevated principles of conduct, were alien from the party with which they moved; but who had, partly from necessity, partly from gratitude, partly too from a just sense of public expediency, served under the late protector, now continued faithful to his son, when the crowd, whose motive is ever sordid, was falling away from him. On his father's death, Richard Cromwell chose lord Broghill, Dr Wilkins and colonel Philips to be his advisers: and the position was one which brings into a strong light the tact and sagacity of this lord. At the first meeting of his parliament a military faction entered into one of those intrigues, which hitherto had been found successful as a means to enable a few soldiers to control the government, and dictate terms to parliament. All the fanatics, intriguers, and malcontents, rallied round Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambart and other general officers, and formed a cabal, which, from the place of Fleetwood's residence, where they daily met, was called the "cabal of Wallingford house:" they prevailed on the protector to sanction their meeting as a general council, to inquire into the grievances of the army, and petition for their redress. They were no sooner met than they voted a "remonstrance," in which they lamented the neglect of the "good old cause," for which the army had fought and bled; and proposed that the military power of the kingdom should be vested in some person whom they could trust.

Richard Cromwell's friends were alarmed, they were all with one exception peaceful men, whose habits unfitted them to cope with such spirits; but Broghill was more than equal to the emergency. Having asked the fear-struck protector whether he had really consented to the meeting; Richard replied that he had. "I fear," said Broghill, "that

* Budgell.

your highness will soon repent it." The protector answered that he hoped his lordship would do what he could to prevent the mischief; to this Broghill simply answered, "that as a general officer, he had a right to be present, and would see what they were doing." He at the same time turned to lord Howard and Falconbridge, who were present, and expressed his expectation of their assistance, which "they faithfully promised." On the meeting of the military council, these lords, with lord Broghill, repaired to Wallingford house, where they found five hundred officers assembled. After a prayer from Dr Owen, Desborough made a long speech, in which, among other topics of the same nature, he expressed his apprehensions of the departure of their prosperity, from the circumstance that many "*sons of Belial*" had latterly been creeping in among them. To remedy this, he proposed "to purge the army:" as the most expedient method by which this might be effected, he advised a test oath, by which every one in the army should swear that "he did believe in his conscience, that the putting to death of the late king Charles Stewart was lawful and just." This proposal was received with a loud tumult of approbation; and the whole assembly seemed so eager to have it adopted, that lords Howard and Falconbridge, considering themselves a miserable minority to outface five hundred persons, got up and went to give the protector a sad account of this affair. But when the assembly became silent, lord Broghill rose and declared his dissent from the last speaker; he said, that "he was against the imposition of a test upon the army, as a grievance of which they had felt the effects, and against which they had repeatedly declared. That if they once began to put tests upon themselves, they would soon have them put upon them by others, and there would be an end to that liberty of conscience for which they had so often fought. To the particular test proposed, he objected, that it was unjust and unreasonable to require men to swear to the lawfulness of an action, the circumstances of which they were unacquainted with. If, however, they would persist in desiring a test to purge the army, he had as good a right to propose a test as any one, and would take the liberty to offer one, which he hoped would be more reasonable than that proposed by the noble lord who went before him. He then proposed, that any one should be turned out of the army, who would not swear to defend the established government under the protector and the parliament." Among other arguments for this, he told them, that "if that test should have the ill-fortune to be rejected in that council, he would move it the next day in the house of commons, where he was confident, it would meet with a better reception." This proposal was yet more warmly received than the former; and, while the assembly was yet in a state of noise and confusion, Broghill found his way to another place between two very influential persons, colonels Whalley and Gough, two "hot men," and persuaded them to take the same part, which each of them did. In the mean time, Fleetwood and Desborough, with some of their friends, retired to consult; and having returned, declared that they had not before considered all the disadvantages of tests, but they were now convinced so fully by the arguments of lord Broghill, that they proposed to have both the tests withdrawn. Lord Broghill consented, and the blow was parried for the

time. Lord Broghill then represented to the protector, whom he found in consternation, from the account of lords Howard and Falconbridge, that this council would infallibly do mischief if they should be suffered to hold their sittings. He advised their immediate dissolution. Richard Cromwell acceded, but desired to know how this was to be managed. Lord Broghill proposed to draw up a short speech for him, which he was to deliver next day after sitting among them for an hour. This being agreed to, Broghill prepared the speech, and at ten next morning, Richard Cromwell astonished the council by his unexpected appearance; and, having taken his seat in a chair of state, he sat for an hour listening to their debate. He then rose up, and addressed them as follows:—

“Gentlemen,—I thankfully accept of your services. I have considered your grievances; and think the properest method to redress what is amiss amongst you is to do it in the parliament now sitting, and where I will take care that you shall have justice done you. I therefore declare my commission for holding this assembly to be void; and that this general council is now dissolved; and I desire, that such of you as are not members of parliament, will repair forthwith to your respective commands.”

This speech produced the intended effect of disconcerting the conspirators, and frustrating their immediate design. But they were at no loss to conjecture the source from which the blow proceeded, and their anger against lord Broghill was vehement. They immediately endeavoured to excite the irritation of that weathercock machine of democratic impulse, a republican house of commons. Some one of them the next day moved, that “an address should be presented to his highness the protector, to know who had advised him to dissolve the council of war, without the consent or knowledge of his parliament.” On this, Budgell says, it is hard to credit such absurdities, that some of lord Broghill’s friends advised him to retire. Lord Broghill sat still until his enemies had made their speeches, and then addressed the speaker to this effect:—“I am not against presenting this address; but humbly move, that another may be presented to the protector at the same time, to know who advised the calling of a general council of officers, without the consent or knowledge of the parliament; for surely that man is guilty, who durst advise his highness to call such a council, without either the knowledge or consent of his parliament.”

Now the majority of those present, not belonging to the military council, were ready to take alarm at the overbearing demonstrations of a power, of which, the effect had been repeatedly felt by this very parliament. The speech of lord Broghill at once called up this general sense to his rescue; it was a well-timed appeal both to the fear and pride of the commons; it was warmly received and the faction of Fleetwood was again discomfited. But though the council of officers had been thus dissolved, they continued to hold private meetings and to concentrate the power which they held in their hands. It was evident that their designs were not to be defeated by votes and the forms of civil authority; lord Broghill and those who acted with him, apprized the protector of the danger of his position, and expressed their opinion that nothing could save him, but the same vigorous and direct recourse to

strong measures which always characterized the policy and ensured the success of his father. They volunteered to act for him, and pledged themselves to the success of the course they recommended. But Richard Cromwell was mild, amiable and averse from all harsh and violent proceedings, he felt himself to be unequal to the dangers and difficulties, and to the cruel and arbitrary resources necessary in such contests, and he recoiled from the suggestions of his firm and spirited advisers. "He thanked them for their friendship, but he had neither done nor would do any person any harm, and rather than a drop of blood should be spilt on his account, he would lay down that greatness which was but a burthen to him."

From this his friends came to the conclusion that he could not be supported with any success, or to any useful end. They remitted in their efforts and consulted their own interests. Lord Broghill repaired to Munster, of which at that time, he was president; on his way he had to encounter the ambushes and snares of Fleetwood and Desborough, who would willingly be freed from the risk of again having to encounter one so able and so honest. It was at this time that lord Broghill came to the resolution to exert himself for the restoration of the royal family. It had indeed become plain to every observant and considerate mind, that it was the last resource against the utter dissolution of all civil order in the clash of parties, of whom none looked beyond the object of private interest, pursued by means inconsistent with any settled state of things, or any respect to constitutional rights. With this impression lord Broghill retired to Ireland, to act as occasion might offer means: he was pursued by the suspicion of his enemies. Acting with an energy which the feeble Richard Cromwell was quite unequal to resist, his military tyrants now compelled him to dissolve the parliament, and took the reins of power into their own hands. He signed his abdication, they restored the *long parliament*, and the country was at their mercy. To Ireland, they sent their commissioners and gave them a special charge to have "a particular eye to lord Broghill, and if possible to take some means to confine him." In pursuance of this, these officials sent a summons to lord Broghill, to appear before them in the castle of Dublin. He consulted his friends, and was by them advised not to place himself in the power of his enemies. He however, determined to outface them, for the refusal would be equivalent to a direct defiance, which he did not yet consider himself able to maintain, as alone it could be maintained, by a demonstration of military resistance. He therefore took his own troop and repaired to Dublin; and on his arrival, leaving his men without the town he presented himself before the commissioners. They told him that the state had been induced to suspect that he had designs against their government, and had given them directions to confine him, unless he could give sufficient security for his peaceable conduct. Lord Broghill demanded what security they desired; they proposed that he should enter into an engagement under penalty of estate and life, that there should be no commotion in Munster; he asked for time to consider, it was refused; he then desired to be satisfied on one point, "if they intended to put the whole power of Munster into his hands, if such was their intention he was ready to enter into the en-

gagement they required, if not he must appeal to the world on the cruelty and unreasonableness of expecting, that he would answer for people over whom he had no control." The commissioners were embarrassed and ordered him to withdraw, and had a long discussion as to the most expedient proceeding; one of them, who was the lord chancellor of Ireland, declared that "even the honest party in Ireland would think it hard to see a man clapped up in prison who had done such signal service to the protestants; but that on the other hand, he could never consent to an increase of lord Broghill's power, which the state was apprehensive might be one day employed against them. He for these reasons proposed, that they for the present should not take any steps but contrive to send lord Broghill in good humour back to his command, to continue there till they should be further instructed." The board agreed—lord Broghill was called in, received with compliments and smiles, and invited to dine with the commissioners, whom he understood very well and repaid in their own coin.

Returning to Munster he proceeded steadily in the prosecution of his design; first securing his own officers, he also made a friend and confederate of the governor of Limerick where there was a garrison of 2000 men, and having secured Munster, he opened a communication with Sir C. Coote, who engaged in the same undertaking with an ardour which demanded all the restraint which could be exercised, by his more cool and cautious ally. Their efforts were soon successful beyond expectation; the country had long been ripe for the desired change. Wearied with the continuation of a series of contests for power and gain which appeared interminable, as one party succeeded the other with the same objects, and as little regard for any consideration divine or human, but the fear, revenge and cupidity which were the common spirit of every side.

Lord Broghill sent lord Shannon to the king to invite him over to Ireland, assuring him of a force sufficient to protect him against his enemies. But Charles had at the same time reason to hope for a similar invitation from England.

The activity of Coote had excited the notice of the commissioners, and finding that he could no longer proceed in secret, he urged lord Broghill to an open course, Broghill reluctantly consented, he had indeed no choice. His confederate was acting with a vigour which quickly produced extraordinary changes: having seized Galway, Coote surprised Athlone, marched to Dublin and impeached Ludlow. While the spirited example diffusing a general excitement, the royalists seized Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick and Drogheda.

The magistracy of Dublin now acted their part and called a convention, which met and held its deliberations in defiance of an order from the English council of state. The members of this assembly declared their abhorrence of the proceedings of the high court of justice, and of the late king's murder. They secured the payment of the army and declared for a "free parliament;" a phrase then universally understood to imply the restoration of the royal family, for such was known to be the universal sense. The English parliament were this time compelled to confine their attention to the desperate effort of self-

preservation; after a few last efforts they recalled their agents; and the king was soon proclaimed in Ireland.

Lord Broghill met with a cold reception from the king. He suspected that he had been injured by Coote, and to counteract the impression which he thought to have been made upon the king by the misrepresentations of a rival, he sent his brother lord Shannon with a letter of Coote's, containing an acknowledgment, that it was at his instance that he first entered on the design of declaring for the king and parliament. This lord Shannon contrived to show to his majesty, and it had the effect desired. Lord Broghill was soon after created earl of Orrery, made one of the lords-justices in Ireland and president of Munster.

We have now to conclude with some notice of the literary productions, which would entitle this nobleman to a place in a different section of this work, if his far more eminent qualities as a soldier and a statesman, did not place him among the most eminent political characters of his own time. When the political state of the two kingdoms at last subsided in that repose so much and so long desired, the activity of the earl of Orrery's spirit no longer exercised in the field and council, found its occupation in the pursuits of literature; or as one of his biographers describes this change of employment, "finding that there was no longer any occasion for his sword, resolved to employ his wit and learning for the diversion and amusement of his royal master."* The first results of this new turn of the earl's loyalty were his plays, which we must admit owed their eminent success to the exceedingly depraved state of literature and literary taste in the time of Charles II. They were received with a degree of applause which might be appealed to as a test of merit, but which when justly appreciated only shows the absurdity of such a test; and their court favour was no less than their public success. Of this it is mentioned as a proof that in his play of Henry V., "Mr Harris who acted as king, was drest in the duke of York's coronation suit; Mr Betterton who played Owen Tudor, in king Charles's, and Lilliston who represented the duke of Burgundy, in the lord Oxford's."†

He wrote many poems, of which the composition may be described as poor and inartificial, though the thoughts display the moral elevation of the writers mind. We here extract a portion of one upon the death of Cowley, for whom the earl entertained a high regard.

"Our wit, till Cowley did its lustre raise,
May be resembled to the first three days;
In which did shine only such streaks of light,
As served but to distinguish day from night.
But wit breaks forth in all that he has done,
Like light, when 'twas united to the sun.
The poets formerly did lie in wait
To rifle those whom they would imitate;
We watch'd to rob all strangers when they write,
And learned their language, but to steal their wit;

* Budgell's Memoir.

† Budgell.

He, from that need his country does redeem,
 Since those who want, may be supplied by him ;
 And foreign nations now may borrow more
 From Cowley, than we could from them before -
 Who, though he condescended to admit
 The Greeks and Romans for his guides in wit,
 Yet he those ancient poets does pursue,
 But as the Spaniards great Columbus do ;
 He taught them first to the new world to steer,
 But they possess all that is precious there.
 When first his spring of wit began to flow,
 It raised in some, wonder and sorrow too ;
 That God had so much wit and knowledge lent,
 And that they were not in his praises spent :
 But those who in his dauides look,
 Find they his blossoms for his fruit mistook.
 In diff'ring ages diff'rent muses shin'd ;
 His green did charm the sense his ripe the mind.
 Writing for heaven, he was inspired from thence,
 And from his theme derived his influence.
 The scriptures will no more the wicked fright,
 His muse does make religion a delight.
 Oh ! how severely man is us'd by fate !
 The covetous toil long for an estate ;
 And having got more than their life can spend,
 They may bequeath it to a son or friend :
 But learning (in which none can have a share,
 Unless they climb to it by time and care ;)
 Learning, the truest wealth a man can have,
 Does with the body perish in the grave :
 To tenements of clay it is confined,
 Though 'tis the noblest purchase of the mind :
 Oh ! why can we thus leave our friend possess'd
 Of all our acquisitions but the best !
 Still when we study Cowley, we lament,
 That to the world he was no longer lent ;
 Who, like a lightning to our eyes was shown,
 So bright he shined, and was so quickly gone :
 Sure he rejoiced to see his flame expire,
 Since he himself could not have raised it higher,
 For when wise poets can no higher fly,
 They would, like saints, in their perfections die.
 Though beauty some affection in him bred,
 Yet only sacred learning he wou'd wed ;
 By which th' illustrious offspring of his brain
 Shall over wit's great empire ever reign :
 His works shall live, when pyramids of pride
 Shrink to such ashes as they long did hide."

His lordship's leisure at the end of a life of busy political labour, appears indeed to have been more productive of great and varied efforts of literature than the whole lives of most writers, and lead us to infer that if he had lived in a later age when the education of public men became more elaborate and extended, his genius would have displayed itself to advantage in some more congenial labours than those of poetry or even prose, inventions which to ensure any result of standard value, demand a more peculiar combination of powers than are required for the ordinary toils of either cabinet or camp. Besides the produc-

tions which we have already noticed, the earl composed the romance of "Parthenissa," in six parts, dedicated to Henrietta Maria Duchess of Orleans. We extract the opening of this dedication which is characteristic of the writer and of his time.

"Madam,—When I had last the honour to wait on your royal highness, you ordered me to write another part of Parthenissa, and you gave me leave at the same time to dedicate it to you. Only your commands, madam, could have made me undertake that work; and only your permission could have given me this confidence. But since your royal highness appointed me to obey, it was proportionate to your goodness to protect me in my obedience, which this dedication will; for all my faults, in this book, cannot be so great as his, who shall condemn what has been written for you, and is by your own allowance addressed to you."

The earl of Orrery also wrote a treatise on the art of war, in which he displayed much acquaintance with the ancient writers on that art. He wrote a reply to "a scandalous letter lately printed and subscribed by Peter Welch, procurator for the secular and regular priests of Ireland," and lastly "poems on most of the festivals of the church." The preface to this latter little work merits attention. "God of his abundant mercy, having convinced me how much precious time I had cast away on airy verses, I resolved to take a final leave of that sort of poetry; and in some degree, to repair the unhappiness and fault of what was past, to dedicate my muse in the future entirely to sacred subjects."

He is mentioned to have mostly written his poetry while confined by fits of gout; on which Dryden's compliment has been preserved: "like the priestess of Apollo, he delivered his oracles always in torment; and that the world was obliged to his misery for their delight."

Lord Broghill is known also to be the writer of the act of settlement which soon after passed. This we shall have again to notice, when we come to detail the events of Irish history after the restoration.

He continued to obtain the respect of the country and the favour of the court; and was so esteemed for his superior sagacity and knowledge of affairs, as to be almost uniformly consulted on every occasion of moment by the king. His time was divided between his presidency and London, where he attended both as a peer of parliament and a member of the council.

He died 16th October, 1679, leaving a high character as a soldier, a statesman and a writer. Among the prominent peculiarities noticeable in the history of his life, the extraordinary combination of readiness and self-possession which so often extricated him from difficult emergencies in which most persons would have been lost, must have repeatedly attracted the reader's notice. His personal appearance is thus described: "his person was of a middle size well shaped and comely, his eyes had that life and quickness in them which is usually the sign of great and uncommon parts. His wit rendered his conversation highly entertaining and amusing."*

* Budgell.

Murrough O'Brien, Earl Inchiquin.

DIED A. D. 1674.

MURROUGH O'BRIEN was probably born nearly about the year 1616, and was the eldest son of Dermid, fifth baron of Inchiquin. He was made ward to P. Fitz-Maurice, Esq., in 1628, and had special livery of his estates in 1636. Being of a spirited and martial temper, he early took to the study of arms, and served in the Spanish army in Italy for a couple of years, for the purpose of completing his military education. He returned home in 1639.*

He soon entered on the field of public life, and in a season that was to afford full development to his warlike taste. He was appointed vice-president of Munster, under St Leger, and was with him in the campaign into the county of Waterford, already described in our notice of St Leger.†

He soon distinguished himself, not only by his bravery, by many distinguished successes on the small scale, on which the early encounters of that long rebellion were fought. And when St Leger died, he was considered by the lords-justices as the most competent person to fill his station. He was first appointed in conjunction with lord Barry, who was manager of the civil departments as O'Brien of those connected with military affairs. Lord Barry, however, soon dying, his colleague was left to the general command. His lordship commanded in the battle of Liscarol, where he was opposed by Mountgarret, at the head of 7000 foot, and 500 horse; and with 1850 foot, and 400 horse gained a signal victory, with the slaughter of 800 of Mountgarret's men: when he might have marched on to Limerick, and put an end to the rebellion in that part of Ireland; but from the entire want of the necessary means to support his army upon that long march through a wasted country, he had not from this for some time an opportunity to perform any remarkable exploit.

After the cessation was concluded, he sent aids in men to the king; and soon after waiting upon his majesty in person to obtain his confirmation in the presidency of Munster, he had the affliction to discover that he did not stand as highly in his majesty's favour as his services had deserved. A nobleman, in no way connected with Ireland, but high in court favour, had supplanted him, and the presidency of Munster was pledged to the earl of Portland. During this visit to the court, O'Brien was also strongly affected with grief and indignation to perceive that the king, in order to strengthen himself in any way he might, was inclined to court the popular party, and to abandon the protestant interest in Ireland: urged by these considerations, and considering the interest of his country to be preferable to that of any other, he soon after his return, began to consider that for the present at least, this would be most effectually consulted by adopting the parliamentary side; and, with this opinion we must so far concur as to say, that, judging according to the principles of the party he had uni-

* Lodge.

† Vol. II. p. 417.

formly acted with, he was not wrong. On this point two grounds of common prejudice are likely to bias the judgment: one is the confusion of the parties in Ireland with those in England: the other the judgment formed from the after circumstances of the war. The war between Charles and his parliament was viewed in Ireland as secondary to the great struggle for existence between two great parties who were otherwise in no way further connected with English politics than as they might promote their several interests; and for this reason, in judging of the consistency of individuals, it is not to be regarded whether or not they adhered throughout to the king or to the parliament; but whether or not they adhered to their own principles and party. As to the subsequent misfortunes of Charles, and crimes of his parliament, they could not, at the period to which we here refer, have been in the contemplation of any one, and must be left out of the question. In Ireland, the Roman catholic party, while in direct opposition to O'Brien's, were also in declared opposition to the king: the royal party soon saw reason to endeavour to conciliate them, and in this, were to a great extent successful, while the parliament, on the other hand, maintained those principles which had a closer affinity with the protestant interest throughout both kingdoms. It is thus apparent with what perfect consistency some of the most eminent persons on the stage of Irish affairs may have changed their paths and kept steady to their principles.

In 1644, we find O'Brien among the most spirited opponents of a cessation, which he viewed as more in accordance with the interests of king Charles, than for the protestant interest. He adhered to the parliament, and acted under its command, and by its assistance. Joining with lord Broghill, he drove the Roman catholic magistrates and inhabitants out of many of the southern towns, Cork, Youghal and Kinsale. After which he received from parliament the appointment of president of Munster. It was at a time however when the parliament was yet compelled to confine its resources to the wars in England, and their Irish adherents were left to carry on the struggle as they might themselves find the means. O'Brien was even compelled to enter into a truce with the rebels, which continued till the next spring, when the war was again renewed by the earl of Castlehaven.

On this occasion, he took the field with 1000 horse, and 1500 foot, and took several castles. But he was not supported by the parliament, and for some time nothing occurs in his history of sufficient magnitude to be specified: his zeal for the parliament was probably but small, as we find some accounts of disputes between him and their commissioners. In the year 1647, he obtained a very decided victory at Knocknonnes, near Mallow, 13th November, over a strong body of Irish under lord Taaffe. He had on this occasion 6000 foot, and 1200 horse: the Irish army amounted to 7000 foot, and 1076 horse. The loss of life was considerable on both sides: among the slain on the part of lord Taaffe, was the well known Alexander MacDonell, or Colkitto, so called for being lefthanded, and famous for personal prowess; his name is however best known as occurring in one of Milton's sonnets;

“ Colkitto, or MacDonell, or Galasp.”

On receiving the account of this victory, the parliament voted £10,000 for the war in Munster, and £1000, with a letter of thanks, to lord Inchiquin. This money did not however arrive, and in consequence, the army, under lord Inchiquin, began to suffer severely from want: nor was he without much cause for apprehension from the increasing armies of the Irish, who were on every side watching for the favourable moment to attack him in his distress. In this extremity he wrote a spirited remonstrance to the parliament, in which, alluding to his services, he complains, that of the £10,000 only £1500 had been remitted for the army. The delay he attributes to the misrepresentations of parliamentary agents in Ireland, with whom he considered himself to be an object of jealousy. The remonstrance was signed by his officers; but was ill-received by the parliament, who committed several of them, but soon after released them.

This may perhaps be the truest way of accounting for his shortly after opening a treaty with the marquess of Ormonde; though in his case as in that of others, the exposure of the real views of the parliamentary party may have been sufficient to cause his desertion of them. He did not publicly declare an intention, which would at the moment have only the effect of putting him completely in the power of his enemies. He became suspected by his officers, but by considerable effort, and the exertion of much firmness and self-possession, they were first repressed, and then gained over. The parliament from this began to keep a close watch over his actions; but not having it in their power to displace his lordship, he was still enabled to take such private measures as appeared best to favour the party he had recently adopted. Cromwell sent over lord Lisle, with a commission, for a limited time, under the expectation that he might thus both supersede the command, and undermine the influence, of one whom he knew to be so dangerous as O'Brien. But the expedient proved unavailing for Cromwell's purpose: the authority of O'Brien was not to be shaken by any effort of a stranger; and as no step more direct could have been conveniently or safely adopted, against one, who had not openly declared his designs in favour of the royal party; the result of this proceeding was rather an increase than a diminution of his power. At the recall of lord Lisle, the suspicion against O'Brien seems indeed to have slumbered, for he was left in the command of the whole English army in the province of Munster. This force he carefully endeavoured to strengthen, and to animate with the spirit of his own intentions. In the mean time he kept up a constant correspondence with the marquess of Ormonde, whose movements he tried to accelerate, by all the resources of entreaty and strong representation.

On the 29th September, 1648, the marquess of Ormonde landed at Cork. Lord Inchiquin publicly received him as the lieutenant of king Charles, and by this decided step, drew upon himself the long impending bolt of parliamentary indignation. The parliament voted him a traitor; but the king appointed him president of Munster. Nor was it long before he signalized his newly awakened loyalty. The marquess of Ormonde having received intelligence, that Jones, the parlia-

mentary governor of Dublin, had sent a large detachment of cavalry to Drogheda, sent lord Inchiquin after them. Inchiquin took first an entire troop by surprise; and soon after coming up with colonel Chidley Coote at the head of three hundred horse, he gave them a bloody overthrow: killing a great number, and compelling those who escaped, to scatter in every direction.* Encouraged by this success, and not unjustly reckoning upon the impression of terror it would create among the parliamentarians in that quarter, Inchiquin sent messengers to the marquess with intelligence of his success, and proposing to besiege Drogheda. The marquess assented, and forthwith detached to his aid, two regiments of foot, two cannon, with a sufficient supply of ammunition. With this reinforcement he proceeded to lay siege to Drogheda, which capitulated within a week, having made a very gallant resistance. The garrison, to the amount of six hundred good soldiers, entered into the ranks of the victorious regiments, by which lord Inchiquin was considerably strengthened for further exertion.

A little before this Owen O'Neile had joined the parliamentary side, and Inchiquin now received information that Monk, who governed in Dundalk, had orders to supply this new ally with ammunition, and that a strong party, under the command of general Farrel, had been sent by O'Neile to receive this important aid. Determining to interrupt this proceeding, Inchiquin marched towards Dundalk. Within a few miles of that city he met Farrel, who was on his departure with the supplies he had acquired; and attacking his forces vigorously, he destroyed nearly the entire party, routing the cavalry, and killing or taking the whole of five hundred foot. The supplies designed for Owen O'Neile thus fell into his hands. Advancing to Dundalk, he invested it, and in two days, contrived so much to dishearten the garrison, that they compelled Monk to surrender. This was an acquisition of exceeding importance: the military stores were richly supplied, and the whole garrison, officers, and soldiers, joined him freely. Monk departed alone for England.

But in the mean time the parliamentarians having at length prevailed in England, had their hands set free, and their attention disengaged from a conflict for existence. They now began to turn their attention to the settlement of affairs in Ireland, which they had hitherto regarded only as subsidiary or adverse to their struggles with the royalists. Cromwell was preparing to come over, and there was diffused a very general impression, that the war would on his arrival, assume a widely different character, and suffer a change of fortune unfavourable to the royal party. Under such a sense, the minds of many began to fall away, and many to undergo a prudent change. Lord Inchiquin's troops, of whom the greater part had been parliamentary, and all ready to join the most solvent employers, deserted—so that by the end of the same year in which his successes had appeared to promise a different issue, he was left without a man, and compelled to take refuge in France.

In France he was advanced by the French king to a command with the rank of lieutenant-general. And on the conquest of Catalonia

* Borlase.

appointed viceroy there. He afterwards continued for many years in the French service in Spain and the Netherlands. On one occasion he was with his family taken prisoner by the Algerine corsairs; but redeemed himself and them. During his captivity, count Schomberg had been sent to take his command in Portugal, where he had been sent to assist the Portuguese in the revolt against Spain. Lord Inchiquin returned therefore to France, where he lived privately till the restoration. He then came to England, and was by the act of settlement restored to his estate, and had £8000 granted to him as a compensation out of the treasury, on account of his losses.

His lordship died 9th September, 1674. He had married a daughter of Sir W. St Leger, and left three sons and four daughters.

Sir Charles Coote, Earl Mountrath.

DIED A. D. 1661.

SIR CHARLES COOTE, son of the first baronet of that name, who fell in 1642, when making a gallant and successful resistance against the rebels in their attack on Trim, succeeded his father as provost-marshal of Connaught, and inherited both his loyalty and heroism. He early distinguished himself in arms, and was returned a member for the county of Leitrim when he could have been little more than of age. On the rebellion breaking out in 1641, he was besieged in Castle-Coote, by 1200 Irish, under Con O'Rourke, and made so good a defence that they raised the siege in less than a week. He shortly after defeated Hugh O'Connor, son of O'Connor (Dun) of Ballintobber, and in a subsequent encounter, took his former assailant O'Rourke, and most of his party prisoners. He also made a successful sally from Castle-Coote upon the camp of the rebels at Creggs, and possessed himself of their baggage and provisions. From similar successes in the neighbourhood of Ballinasloe and the surrounding districts, he was enabled to supply Athlone with provisions and other necessaries, of which they stood much in need. In May, 1642, he took Galway, and advanced to the very borders of Mayo. He and his brother Richard, were jointly appointed to the office of collector and receiver-general of the king's composition money, rents and arrears, in Connaught and Clare, which office was to last during their lives.

During this and the following years, the vacillating conduct of the king, his unconstitutional concessions, and still more, the intrigues carried on by secret agents, under his sanction, served to diminish the zeal and confidence of many of his protestant adherents, and to detach them from his interests. The parliamentary army, bold and consistent in their conduct, and calculating in their policy, lost no opportunity of seducing to their ranks the valiant and the high-minded, and Sir Charles, amongst others, fell under their influence. In 1645, he had been made lord-president of Connaught, which office the parliament confirmed to him, with an allowance of £500 a year. They also recommended him strongly to Sir James Montgomery of the county of Down, to whose place he removed his wife, mother-in-law, and

several of his children, where he left them, and proceeded with Sir James to visit Belfast and other northern towns of importance. He was supplied with a draught of fifty men out of each of the northern regiments for the defence of his province, besides provisions and ammunition, and these men were afterwards formed into a regiment, and placed under Sir Charles's command. In subsequent years he obtained from the parliament large portions of forfeited lands in various counties, and while president of Connaught, he purchased from transplanted Irish papists 4444 acres, which purchase was subsequently confirmed to him by Cromwell. After the restoration, several other grants of land also passed into his family under the act of settlement.*

With the forces committed to him, he secured the safety of the province, and in 1645, he was despatched by the parliamentary army to the British generals in the north, to entreat their assistance for the subjugation of the rebels in his government, and particularly to aid him in the reduction of Sligo. They granted him four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and with these he quickly took Sligo, and desolated to a great extent the surrounding country. About this time the confederates of Kilkenny ordered Sir James Dillon to lead eight hundred men to the aid of the Roman catholic archbishop of Tuam, who undertook the recovery of Sligo. The archbishop had nearly effected his object, having penetrated into the town, when intelligence arrived of the approach of Sir Charles Coote with a large northern army, on which they precipitately retreated and relinquished all the advantages they had obtained. Sir Charles, not satisfied with the simple evacuation of the town, attacked the retreating army, and gained a decisive victory over the archbishop, who showed much bravery, but fell in the action. Some very important documents were found in the baggage of the archbishop, amongst others, an authentic copy of the private treaty between the king and the confederates, of which lord Glamorgan, a Roman catholic lord, and a particular favourite with Charles, had been the secret agent. This document was quickly published, and became a very effective weapon against the king, as, from its conveying the impression of double-dealing on his part, it not only justified in their own eyes those who fell from their loyalty, and sided with the parliament, but it perplexed and alarmed his most faithful adherents. Sir Charles now pursued a more reckless course, and with his parliamentary forces ravaged in the west of Ireland the property of all those who continued faithful to the king, or supported the confederates. These latter vehemently urged the marquess of Ormonde to proclaim him a traitor, and were supported in this petition by the marquess of Clanricarde, whose lands he had despoiled.

In 1649, Sir Charles maintained Derry for the parliament; but as the British forces in Ulster had strongly expressed their abhorrence of the king's death, the marquess of Ormonde hoped after that event, to induce him to make common cause against the regicides, and to declare for the young prince. From Sir Charles, however, he only received vague and general professions, although he had on former occasions expressed his determination never to support or join with

* Lodge.

those who contemplated the slightest injury to the person or descendants of the king. In the year following he routed the Irish at the battle of Skirfola. He drove Sir George Monroe from the counties of Down and Antrim, and possessed himself of that entire district with the exception of the castle of Carrickfergus. He subsequently extended his conquest;—Carrickfergus surrendered, and nearly the whole of the northern provinces fell into the hands of the republicans. Ireton and Coote advanced towards Athlone, but at that time failed to get it into their possession. In the following year however, Sir Charles made a sudden descent from the Curlew mountains and invested the town, and before Clanricarde could come to its relief, it was taken, and Sir Charles on his way to Galway.

He succeeded in gaining two good passages over the Shannon, to enable the parliamentary army to besiege Limerick, and after the surrender of that city Sir Charles again appeared before Galway, when the assembly there convened, prevailed on Clanricarde to send an offer of submission in the name of the nation to general Ludlow. No general treaty of submission would then however be accepted, and it remained with the parliament to make what distinctions it might hereafter think fit, according to the political conduct previously exemplified by the individuals. Few who could escape, cared to commit themselves to the tender mercies of the republicans. Preston the governor of Galway fled by sea, and the city contemning the authority of the marquess yielded itself almost without a struggle.

On the death of Cromwell, his successor summoned the members for Ireland to his parliament, and Sir Charles brought back the account of its dissensions, dissolution and the intrigues of Wallingford-house.

On the abdication of Richard Cromwell there was a general sensation in favour of the king, which was augmented by the jealousy and severity of the republican commissioners. They immediately dismissed those in power, who they thought had a leaning to the royal cause, and amongst others lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote, and on the quarrel between the army and parliament they cashiered two hundred officers without any trial, or any crime being imputed to them that could tarnish their military honour.

Broghill disgusted at the anarchy which prevailed in England, and having a natural leaning to monarchy, strengthened both by education and experience, secretly determined to further and foster the re-action which pervaded the kingdom, and which he saw must ultimately lead to some decided result. He communicated his views on the subject to Sir Charles Coote, who had already shown symptoms of disaffection to the parliament, which he had originally joined not from principle but interest. This powerful guide now pointed in the opposite direction, and he readily followed the indication: conscious that his past political conduct required a zealous and energetic reparation, he determined to declare at once in favour of the king, and by a bold and decisive course to obliterate the past. The time was not however yet come for such a measure, and it, at all events but ill accorded with the prudent and cautious policy of his friend, who with difficulty restrained him from an untimely and fatal disclosure of their designs. Gradually however a large portion of the nobility and gentry secretly joined their ranks,

and suddenly burst on the astonished republicans with a force not to be resisted. By a sudden and determined effort they seized on the Castle and made prisoners of Jones, Corbet, and Tomlinson. Sir Charles went over his old ground in the re-conquest of the town and fort of Galway, where he changed the governor, planted a new standard, and marched a large body of men (chiefly of old English) to the assault of Athlone, which he also took, and then led his victorious followers to Dublin; there he impeached Ludlow, and the commissioners of high treason, and he and Broghill invited Charles immediately to repair to Ireland, declaring their own devotion to his cause, and their abhorrence of the unholy proceedings in England, and of the murder of the king. Ludlow shortly after arrived in the port of Dublin, but they failed in making him a prisoner, as he would not venture to land, and was soon after recalled to England by the humbled parliament. He had however sent letters and emissaries to the garrisons to endeavour to revive their old republican spirit, and to exasperate them against the new party but in vain. Sir Hardress Waller, one of the late king's judges remained, and left no means untried to get the partisans of the royal cause into his power. He mixed himself in their councils, and when they were in the act of preparing a violent remonstrance to be forwarded to England, he suggested the adjournment of the council to the castle, of which he had taken steps to obtain the possession, when he would at once have seized their persons; failing in this plan he publicly denounced them, and declared his determination to bring them to immediate and condign punishment. Sir Charles with his usual energy instantly mounted his horse, and accompanied by Sir Theophilus Jones, rode through the streets loudly denouncing him in turn; and calling for a free parliament, succeeded in rousing the passions of a large concourse of people, with whom he invested the castle, and after about a week's resistance obliged him to surrender, when he was sent a prisoner to England.

Charles, glad of the accession to his party of so successful a general, and such a zealous partisan, wrote him the most flattering answer, accepting his services, offering him an earldom, with any command he might select, and promising to take his family under his especial protection. Sir Arthur Forbes (afterwards lord Granard), was the bearer of this communication, and Sir Charles, whose zeal was redoubled, exerted his energies and influence with such effect that crowds flocked with incredible rapidity to the royal standard. When it was debated at their councils whether they should stipulate for a confirmation of their estates previous to the restoration of the king, Sir Charles urged that they should intrust their interests wholly to him and leave him unshackled, and he at length prevailed over the more cautious policy of lord Broghill and others. This triumph however sowed the seeds of jealousy between these two candidates for the royal favour, which might have had very prejudicial effects on the cause they were both pledged to uphold.

After the restoration, Coote was appointed one of the commissioners for Ireland, in conjunction with major Bury, and in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, governed the kingdom. In 1660 he was again made sident of Connaught, keeper of the castle of Athlone, constable of

the town, &c., &c., besides being put in possession of the lands and privileges enjoyed by lord Clanricarde as president of that province, with permission to appoint a deputy in his absence. He was also made governor of the county, town and citadel of Galway; and in 1661 was created earl of Mountrath, and afterwards one of the lord-justices of Ireland, in conjunction with Sir Maurice Eustace, lord-chancellor, and the earl of Orrery. He was also appointed receiver-general of the composition money in Connaught and Thomond, and was governor of the Queen's county. In the latter end of this year he was attacked with smallpox, of which he died, and was buried in Christ's church, Dublin. He married twice, first a daughter of Sir Francis Ruish, by whom he left one son, who succeeded to his title, and next, Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Hannay, by whom he had several children, who succeeded to his various estates in the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, Kerry, Rosecommon and Limerick.

James, Duke of Ormonde.

BORN A. D. 1607—DIED A. D. 1688.

THOMAS, the tenth earl of Ormonde, who was among the most illustrious warriors and statesmen of the sixteenth century, was yet living in the next at an extreme old age, at his house on Carrick-on-Suir, where he died in his 88th year, in 1614. As he had no male heir his estates were limited to Sir Walter Butler of Kilcash, his nephew, and grandson to the ninth earl. Sir Walter's eldest son Thomas, by courtesy lord Thurles was drowned 15th December, 1619, near the Skerries, in his passage from England, twelve years before his father's death. By his lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Pointz of Acton, in the county of Gloucester, he left seven children, of whom James the eldest is the subject of the following memoir.

This distinguished statesman is said by Carte to have been born at Clerkenwell in London in 1610, but Archdall shows from the unquestionable evidence of an inquisition taken at Clonmell, April, 1622, before the king's commissioners and twelve gentlemen of the county of Tipperary, that his birth took place in 1607. The words of the inquisition are "Predictus Thomas vicecomes Thurles, 15th die Decembris, anno dom., 1619, obiit et quidam Jacobus Butler, communiter vocatus dominus vicecomes Thurles, fuit filius et hæres præfati Thomæ Butler, et quod præfatus Jacobus Butler, tempore mortis prædicti Thomæ fuit ætatis duodecim annorum, et non amplius."* Carte refers to the difference of date thus maintained, but mentions that he never obtained a sight of the inquisition, and therefore considers it insufficient ground for rejecting the duke's own statement, which makes it 1610.

At the period of his birth his father was under the displeasure of Sir Walter Butler for having married contrary to his wish. And when he went with his lady into Ireland, they lived for some time in the

* Quoted by Archdall.

county of Cork at the house of Mr Anthony Southwell; but their first born, James, was left with his nurse, who was a carpenter's wife at Hatfield.

In 1613 they sent for him, and his first voyage at this early age, and at a time when travelling was more tedious and liable to casualties than is now easily appreciated, made an indelible impression on his memory. He was often afterwards heard in the last years of his life, to allude to his recollection of being carried over the bridge at Bristol, and of the varied new sights which attracted his childish notice.

His grandfather's resentment had by this time passed, and the old earl his great-granduncle was desirous to see a descendant who was to be the future representative of his honours. And the duke often mentioned his recollection of this ancestor, then a blind old man, having a long beard and wearing his George about his neck whether he "sat up in his chair or lay down in his bed." He remained while in Ireland with his grandfather at Carrick-on-Suir, until 1620 the year after his father's death; he was then removed by his mother to England, and received by courtesy, the title of viscount Thurles. He was then, according to his own statement, nine years of age, and was placed at school with a Roman catholic named Conyers, at Finchley near Barnet.* This arrangement was not long allowed to continue. King James who considered that the principles of the rising generation would constitute a most important element in the plans on which his mind was then intent, the furtherance of the reformation and the improvement of Ireland, had made some rather arbitrary stretches to secure this important point. By some manœuvre of Sir W. Parsons the wardship of lord Thurles became vested in the crown upon his father's death, although he inherited no lands the tenure of which involved this consequence.

The king equally apprehensive of the family and kindred, as well as the schoolmaster, all Roman catholics, removed the young nobleman from Finchley and gave him in charge to Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom his education, as well as that of other youths committed to his charge, was much neglected. Carte who mentions these particulars, observes that his writings afterwards were such as to show that their great excellence both as to matter and method, were rather due to the force of his clear and vigorous understanding than to early cultivation. In the archbishop's family he was but indifferently attended to in other respects. Abbot received no compensation from the king, and must have indeed felt the charge to be rather onerous. Lord Thurles was allowed but £40 a-year for himself and his attendants. His own small estate was under sequestration, and as the reader may happen to recollect, the bulk of the family estates had passed from them by an unjust decision of king James.

Thomas the 10th earl of Ormonde, having no issue male, had settled the chief part of his estates upon his nephew, Walter Butler, with remainders over to the male heirs of Walter, and in the succession of inheritance, to the male representatives of each branch of the family, from the first earl of Carrick. He moreover, specially, reserved cer-

* Carte.

tain manors and £6000 for his daughter. On his death the title came to Sir Walter, who also thought by the settlement here mentioned to take possession of the estates. But king James had given the daughter of his uncle in marriage to Sir Richard Preston, one of the grooms of his chamber, whom he created earl of Desmond. Preston preferred a claim to these estates in right of his wife, who was heir general; a long and vexatious suit followed, during which the king interfered at every step to overrule the judges: the case was however too plain, for even the compliance of that day, and the judges decided contrary to the desire of the king, who then decided the question himself by a stretch of arbitrary power, for his favourite. The earl attempted to resist this grievous wrong, for which the king seized on all his estate and committed him to the Fleet, where for eight years he was reduced to the most shameful extremes of want. This occurred when lord Thurles had attained his nineteenth year; he then went to live with his grandfather, at a house which he took in Drury Lane, upon his liberation from the Fleet prison.*

The young lord Thurles had been brought up a protestant, while the earl was, as his ancestors had been, a Roman catholic. He did not however show any concern in the religion of his grandson, who it is said, at this interval of his life entered very much into all the most approved gaieties of his age, and passed but little time in the earl's company. He manifested a very strong preference for the theatre, which seldom wanted his presence, and was on terms of intimacy with all the actors. He was no less assiduous in pushing his way at court; and we are inclined to think, began already to be governed by that superior sagacity, prudence and discretion which so prominently colour the whole conduct of his life. His active spirit must have manifested itself early to his nearest acquaintance, by many small incidents not recorded; and we doubt not but he already began to be marked by the observant, as one likely to take a prominent place in the foremost wave of the age's progress. It was perhaps with some such perception that the duke of Buckingham when about to embark for the relief of Rochelle, refused to allow lord Thurles to accompany him, on the pretence (for with the unprincipled Villiers, it must have been such) that he had not the permission of earl Walter his grandfather. The earl was then in Ireland, whither he had returned to look after his property, and had not been consulted by his grandfather, with whose actions he had not been in the habit of interfering. The young lord would have pressed his wishes, and remained for the purpose at Portsmouth, where the expedition was on the point of sailing; but the assassination of the duke put an end to this expectation and he posted back to London.

It was about six months after this incident that he first met the lady Elizabeth Preston, his kinswoman, and the heiress of those large estates which by the settlements of her grandfather should have descended to himself. Her mother was at the time not long deceased, and her father had like his own been drowned near the Skerries, in his passage from Dublin to Holyhead. The king had given her guardianship to the earl of Holland, then groom of the stole, and a favourite at court.

She had reached her fourteenth year, and is said to have at that early age been well informed in the history of the lawsuit, which had been so disastrous to the house of Ormonde, and was yet, likely to be attended with further mischief to both parties, as it was yet kept alive. It was also perhaps strongly felt, that the injustice by which her right commenced was not likely to outlast the favour and the obstinate self-assertion of the king. These impressions appear to have had their full weight on the minds of both parties, and no less on those of the more prudent part of their kindred. Among others, the lord Mountgarret is mentioned,* as having entered strongly into the interests of his kinsman, and as he had constant opportunities of visiting the young lady, he was sedulous in his endeavours to interest her in favour of lord Thurles. She was designed by the king for some favourite whom it was his desire to enrich, but she soon manifested a lively preference for her young relation, whose very handsome person, spirited manner, and engaging conversation, had with the representations of others engrossed her entire affection. This could not be long concealed at court, and soon reached the royal ear. One day when lord Thurles went to court he was called by the king, who warned him "not to meddle with his ward." Lord Thurles answered that "he never saw her any where but at court, where all paid her respect; and he having the honour to be her kinsman, thought he might do the same as well as others; but if his majesty would forbid him his court he would refrain from it." The king was embarrassed and replied, "no, I do not command that."†

The object of lord Thurles' most anxious wishes was thus apparently brought near by affection and choice; while the prejudices and projects of the king seemed yet to interpose a wider barrier; but some of the main obstacles had recently been removed and others had to be combated by exertion. The duke of Buckingham's assassination had cleared a formidable opponent from the path. Buckingham had a sister married to William Fielding, earl of Denbigh, for whose youngest son he had obtained the promise of the young lady in marriage; and her father was not only thus pledged, but in order the better to secure his own claims to the estates of the earl of Ormonde, he had prevailed on the king to grant him the wardship of lord Thurles, by which means he had acquired as much power over him as over his daughter. The death of both these parties opened a way for the negotiation of the matter; and to this lord Thurles determined to resort. There were some slighter impediments, but the only one worth naming was the influence of the earl of Holland, who obtained the lady's wardship from the king on her father's death. As however lord Holland had no object but the then common one of the pecuniary advantage accruing from such an office, lord Thurles took the obvious and direct course of an offer of £15,000, which was more than in the ordinary course the guardian could hope to make by the other proposed marriage. Accordingly he agreed: and the suit being thus advanced through this legitimate authority the king soon consented: he had a strong regard for the memory of Buckingham, and felt desirous to fulfil his known wishes in favour of his nephew; yet he could not but have recognised the hard-

* Carte.

† Ibid.

ship and injustice attendant on the whole proceeding, from beginning to end; so that when applied to through the formal channel he had no reluctance to wave claims, which could only be maintained by the impotency of court favour. He issued letters patent dated, 8th September, 1629, declaring that "for the final end of all controversies between Walter earl of Ormonde, and Elizabeth, daughter of Richard earl of Desmond, he had given his consent, that there shall be a marriage between James viscount Thurles and the said Elizabeth, and, grants her marriage and the wardship of her lands to the said Walter earl of Ormonde, &c., &c."

This marriage was solemnized in London, Christmas, 1629, and four days after lord Thurles went with his lady to Acton in Gloucestershire, the seat of his uncle Sir Robert Pointz, where for the following year he remained, chiefly occupying himself in study. His education had been neglected while he resided with the archbishop, and after he left his tutelage, he had entered into the dissipation of the court with too much zest to admit of much profitable cultivation. But in the calm and tranquil seclusion of domestic life his good taste and good sense recognised the disadvantage, and his active spirit prompted the correction. The chaplain of his uncle was his able and willing assistant, and gave him such instruction as was thought requisite at that period.

At the end of 1630 he went to reside with his grandfather in Carrick, where he chiefly resided till 1632 when the earl died; and lord Thurles thus succeeded to the estates and honours of his illustrious race. Of the most active disposition, he had at once on coming to Ireland determined to enter into the service of the crown, and purchased a troop of horse in the king's army in Ireland; and soon after made a journey to England, to solicit in some matter of confiscations due to the king. We only mention the circumstance here for the sake of a few slight incidents, which Carte relates, and which help to throw some light on his personal qualities and character. "Having travelled over part of the country and visited his lady's relations, he rode from Edinburgh to Ware in three days, and could easily have been in London that night, had he not thought it convenient to stay there; but so little sensible was he of any fatigue, that, finding books in the room, instead of going to rest, he fell to reading, and about the dead of the night lighted on the '*Counter Scuffle*' which he had not seen before, it put him into such a fit of laughter, that the landlord and his wife started out of their sleep amazed, and scarce able to imagine what the matter could be."* His journey home, in about a year and a-half after, is no less descriptive of the travelling of his age. He left London on Saturday morning in September, having two horses upon the road; he proceeded to Acton within eight miles of Bristol, where he received a message from the captain of the "Ninth Whelp," in which he was to sail, that the wind was fair for Ireland, and the vessel would sail by eight next morning. "His lordship took care to be on board by that hour, and first making a hearty meal, went to his rest and slept eleven hours at a stretch. The ship set sail by nine with so favourable a gale, that by nine next morning they ran up to Waterford, and his lordship meet-

ing with Sir Robert Welsh there, got horses from him, rode sixteen miles to his house at Carrick, and dined there that same Monday at three of the clock."

It was about the same time that the earl of Strafford was sent over to the government of Ireland; and the reader is aware of the state of this country at the time. Half-conquered, half-settled, having imperfectly undergone those reducing and civilizing, though cruel processes by which all other nations have attained political maturity; planted, subjected, and ruled sufficiently to cause immense irritation, but insufficiently for the purpose, the country existed in a state not to be classed under any political category, or described truly, unless by comprehensive exceptions, negations, and qualifications. The common people were slaves, and in a state of the most barbarous degradation; the chiefs were disaffected to government and discontented with their condition, and anxious for the return of their ancient despotisms. The English were balanced between the oppressions of unsettled law, and the encroaching anarchy which on every side pressed upon its ineffective control; the clergy were strenuously wielding a newly acquired popular influence, to obtain an ascendancy for their church, and to crush the growing power of the church of England; while this latter in its turn, was compelled to maintain its existence by the use of such weapons of defence as the political forces of government afforded. Such was the involved state of the political elements which Strafford came to overrule, by the exertion of a sagacious understanding and a degree of political courage rarely if ever excelled.

It is hard now to pronounce, how far the policy of Strafford might have been eventually successful in reducing to a state of civil order such a chaos of troubled elements. But the juncture of events was singularly unfortunate for the undertaking, and the rough means of which it demanded the employment, became in the event sad aggravations of the evils which followed. At the same time that Wentworth was endeavouring with a rough hand to mould the heterogeneous elements of Ireland, into the form of constitutional polity; the very power on which all authority over this country could subsist, was beginning to be rudely shaken by the beginning of a revolution. The contentions between king Charles and his parliament, soon withdrew the attention of the English cabinet from the real interests of Ireland, and the policy of lord Strafford was crossed, entangled and rendered inconsistent by the interference of considerations arising from the position of English affairs. The sound and sagacious system of controlling and improving policy, soon degenerated into a mingled system of forced expediency and state manœuvre, which neutralized the good of a firm government and added to the evils which were to follow.

It was in such a critical position of both countries that we are to introduce the young earl of Ormonde into public life. The earl of Strafford, whose policy it was to control every spirit, had exercised a despotic personal control over such of the aristocracy as were not the partakers of his councils. Of this we have already offered some examples. Among other things indicative of the stern and absolute temper of his government, was the order by which the members of the Irish parliament were disarmed by the usher on entering the house.

This order, was, it is true, warranted by several precedents in both countries, and was rendered seemingly expedient by the animosity of parties, and by the circumstance, that the parliament then held its sittings in the castle. It is also likely that the parliamentary character of the dangerous proceedings then passing in England, made it seem expedient to tread down to the utmost the temper of the Irish parliament which was more likely to show the insubordinate temper than the constitutional wisdom of that of England. Whatever was the policy, the order was made by proclamation, that the lords and commons should enter the house without their swords; and the usher of the black rod was stationed at the door to receive them from the members as they entered. To the demand of this officer all assented, and no demur was made until the earl of Ormonde came. As he proceeded to enter, without taking the slightest notice of the usher's first intimation, he was brought to a stand by a more peremptory check from this officer, who stepped before him, and with the usual "jack-in-office" impertinence of state menials, demanded his sword. The earl shortly answered, that if he had his sword "it should be in his guts," and without further notice of the cowed official, walked to his seat. This incident could not fail to find its way at once to the viceregal ear: Strafford felt outraged at so unexpected a defiance of his authority, and resolved to make the refractory young noble feel the weight of his power. Without a moment's delay, he sent to summon the earl to his presence at the rising of the house. Ormonde came; he was asked if he was not aware of the order, and if he had not seen the lord-lieutenant's proclamation? he replied in the affirmative, but added, that he had disobeyed them in deference to a superior authority to which his obedience was first due, and then he produced the king's writ, by which he was summoned to come to parliament *cum gladio cinctus*. To this there was no immediate reply; though Strafford regarded the words as merely formal, they were too express a justification, and on too specious an authority to be slighted, and he was unwillingly compelled for the time to dismiss the offending earl without even a reprimand. This was not very agreeable, either to his policy or to his peremptory temper, and he seems to have for a while balanced on the adoption of some vindictive course. He consulted Sir George Radcliffe and Mr Wandesforde, the master of the rolls, who were both his confidential friends and advisers: he told them that "the single point under consideration was, whether he should crush so daring a spirit, or make him a friend."* Sir George Radcliffe, the friend of both, gave this prudent advice, "that as it was necessary for the lord-deputy to have some friends among the great men of the kingdom which he was to govern, so he knew none among them all who so well deserved to be made a friend as that earl, whether he considered the power which his birth, alliances, estate, and capacity, gave him in the nation, or his personal qualities, the zeal which he had both by principle and inclination for the service of the crown, the generosity of his nature, and the nobleness of his sentiments which qualified him for such a friendship as he should wish his patron to enjoy and cultivate." Such was the

* Carte.

counsel adopted by lord Strafford. It was indeed amply recommended by other considerations as likely to have immediate influence. Ormonde already possessed the weight which was due to his active energy of character and his property in the country: in parliament he had not only his own voice and vote, but was fortified with the proxies of the lords Castlehaven, Somerset, Baltimore and Aunger. Strafford entered with the determination of his own character into the course he now adopted, and soon came to the most friendly understanding with one whose principles were all conformable to his own on the questions of main importance. The friendship of Strafford was probably of no small use to the earl in the conduct of some private affairs respecting his estates, which he had then for some time been engaged in negotiating with government. A project for the plantation of the large tracts of territory, known by the designation of Upper and Lower Ormonde, had long been entertained, and at several times taken up by the crown. It was important to the earl, as involving the question of rights in a district of which he was the chief proprietor. The plan was revived under the active and improving administration of the earl of Strafford, and Ormonde received notice of it from Sir W. Ryves, who at the same time pressed him to take the same course which his grandfather had done, which was to enter with zeal into the project and make a composition with the government for the saving of his own rights and estates. This was the more likely to succeed, as the inquisition essential to the purpose of government, to ascertain the title of the crown, required the inspection of his lordship's title deeds. The king had also written to enjoin, that every attention should be paid to the wishes and to the interests of the earl. Under circumstances so favourable, the plan was highly to the advantage of Ormonde, who entered into it readily, and won the favour of the king and the Irish government by the alacrity with which he offered his services, and afforded the use of the necessary documents. The spirit of compliance was desirable to encourage, and there was thus an additional reason on the part of government for making every concession to Ormonde, so as to display to others in a strong light the advantages of the concession he had made. By the help of these advantages, and his own active temper, Ormonde not only secured his own estates but contrived also to settle and establish some claims which had been rendered questionable by the encroaching disposition of his neighbours. He obtained also in addition, a grant of the fourth part of the lands to be planted by the crown. He also obtained grants of a thousand acres each for his friends, "John Pigot, Gerald Fennel and David Routh, esquires."*

After some minor honours, not sufficiently important to detain us here, the earl was in 1640 appointed lieutenant-general of horse, with £4 per day; and during the absence of the earl of Strafford, he was made commander-in-chief of the forces raised by this earl for the aid of the king against the Scots. Strafford sailed for England 3d April, 1640, leaving Wandesperde his deputy; and by the extraordinary activity and diligence of Ormonde, an army of 8000 effective men was rapidly collected in Carrickfergus. As there was no result of any im-

portance, we forbear from entering into the full details of this service: the levies were easily made, but the means for their payment were not so readily forthcoming, and the delay caused much inconvenience, and some false movements in the council not essential to relate. This army was actually commanded in Carrickfergus by St Leger, as the earl of Ormonde was obliged to remain in Carrick by the illness of his countess, who was soon after delivered of a daughter—the lady Elizabeth Butler afterwards married to Philip earl of Chesterfield.

The absence of Ormonde from parliament, where his great influence and commanding ability had leading weight, was now strongly felt, and his presence was importunately desired by Wandesforde. As however he was reluctant to leave his countess in her illness, he compromised the matter by sending the proxies intrusted to him, together with his own to noblemen in whom the government might confide. The parliament had become at this time more difficult to manage than hitherto: the example of the English parliament, the infection of the covenanters, the yet latent springs of the approaching rebellion, had given a tone to their temper, which the absence of Strafford left uncontrolled. Strafford was detained, first by his own protracted illness, and then by the illness of the earl of Northumberland, whose place he was compelled to fill in the command of the king's army against Scotland. During this time, the Irish parliament made a violent and partly successful effort to diminish and delay the subsidies which had been voted for the public service: so that in consequence a considerable sum was not levied, till the eruption of rebellion in the following year put an end to the proceeding.* The expedition against Scotland was rendered abortive by the king's irresolution and the intrigues of his leading officers, who were secretly promoters of the parliamentary party, and consequently favourers of the covenanters; and the foundation of all his subsequent disasters was laid by the treaty of Rippon. The prosecution of Strafford followed and the death of Wandesforde.

In the course of 1640, and the following year, the earl of Ormonde exerted his best abilities in parliament to resist the strong popular current that had set in against the king. The absence of the earl of Strafford, and the perceptibly increasing power and success of the English commons had first produced a new and sudden change in the temper of the commons: from being obsequious and complying, they took at once the tone and entered into the views of the English commons. Their former loyalty, which was the subserviency of fear and self-interest, was at once and wholly thrown aside; and the spirit which it had required a firm hand to suppress, and would have required a long continuance of civil subordination to correct, blazed forth with all the fierceness of sect and party: the personal animosities, the national prejudices, the resentment of wrongs, the long-fostered aims, ambitions, discontents, and jealousies, all rushed into a contest, in the course of which all had something to gain, to redress, or to revenge. The Roman catholics and the puritans, hitherto violent in mutual fear and hate, felt for a moment the tie of a common interest, and advanced together to the work of confusion. Yet, as ever has been the case in

* The detail of this intrigue will be found in Carte, I. pp. 99—102.

the public movements of faction, the declared motives and the public complaints were such as to impose upon the general historian a necessity of admitting that their language is not contrary to reason, or their complaints and demands devoid of justice. The reason, however, and the justice, will, in the case before us, upon a fair view of the facts, appear to be little more than specious pretences, addressed to the ignorance and prejudice of the public mind—ever facile and precipitate, and more so then than now. We cannot here devote a dozen pages to the minute analysis necessary to expose this error; which is however of the less importance, as it seldom imposes upon any person capable of reflection, unless when he imposes on himself. It will appear on strict investigation, that the chief part of the demands and complaints of this parliament owe their present appearance of right and justice to the want of an adequate conception of the real state of Ireland, its parties, interests, and civil state at that period: the remaining portion was advanced, not for its justness or expediency, but for the vexatious purpose of party. It may be looked on as a maxim, that in any state of things the disposition to find fault can never be at a loss for fault to find; and having guarded our meaning with these qualifications, we may say that the first ebullition of the commons, though evidently vexatious in purpose, was highly warranted in justice. The principle of taxation was unequal, and threw the burden almost exclusively on the aristocracy: the subsidies, which had nevertheless been freely voted, were exorbitant, and the method of rating them unequal and oppressive. Their complaints of the conduct and fees of the ecclesiastical courts and other similar institutions, perverted for the purpose of exaction, were founded in truth, though mainly recommended to the parties as affording a common basis for present union.

In the following session they met in a temper of still increased resistance, and went more directly to their purpose. The laws which Strafford had obtained for national improvement, were the first objects of attack, they represented the inconveniencies attendant upon the enforcement of the laws against plowing by the horse's tail, burning corn in the straw, plucking sheep alive, &c.; and in their violence displayed their sense of constitutional freedom by urging the remedy of these complaints by the application of arbitrary power on the part of government.

Their attack upon the subsidies was the most effective effort of their combination with the English parliament. Having in the beginning of the year voted four entire subsidies, and of their readiness to add to this tribute of zealous devotion, if the king should require it: in a few months more, they complained of the burden and postponed its levy; and on their next meeting, before the same year was past, they passed a resolution for the purpose of defeating it entirely, by which it was reduced to the tenth of its amount.

The contest, as it deepened, supplied them with more weighty and better considered topics of grievance, and having become closely cemented with the English commons, they received the aid of profounder knowledge, and were urged on by more long-sighted atrocity than their own. The remonstrance contrived by the prosecutors of Strafford gives a deeper and more statesmanlike tone to the pro-

ceedings of this otherwise trifling assortment of factions. In this remonstrance they set forth the happy subjection of Ireland to England—the descent of the greater part of the people from English parents—the ancient extension of magna charta to Ireland—its flourishing condition, and its liberal subsidies. From these they pass to the misgovernment of the earl of Strafford, and the various exactions, oppressions, impolitic measures, and malversations, by which this country, the great and flourishing descendant of England, was suddenly reduced to a state of exhaustion and poverty: the decay of trade—the perversion of law—the denial of rights and graces, monopolies, tyrannies, &c. A remonstrance composed of sixteen articles—specious in sound, and grounded on partial statements as well as gross misrepresentations and false views of justice and political expediency, but well suited to the temper of the time—had been voted by the commons. It was introduced in the lords, where it was defeated by the strenuous efforts of Ormonde; aided by the superior intelligence of that body, which then, as ever since, and indeed it always must happen, combined a greater portion of the political knowledge of the existing period.

On the death of Wandesforde, the earl of Strafford earnestly advised the king to appoint Ormonde to the government of Ireland. But though such also was the king's own judgment, a very violent opposition was made by the Irish commons, and it is attributed to the animosity and the intrigues of the earl of Arundel that this opposition was successful. The earl of Arundel conceived himself to be entitled to large property in Ireland, which was in the possession of the earl of Ormonde and others. The lands in question were a portion of the lands of Strongbow, which had passed with one of his daughters by marriage into the family of the earl of Norfolk, from whom lord Arundel derived his claim. But upon inquisition, it was discovered that the lands which might be affected by this claim were different from those for which it was made: the inheritance of the lady who married Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, being in the county of Catherlogh, (Wicklow,) while the territory of Idough now claimed, had been brought by another daughter into the possession of an earl of Gloucester, from whom it was traced till it came by regular descent through the family of March to Edward IV. Being thus vested in the crown, it was granted by James I. to Francis Edgeworth and his heirs, from whom it was purchased by the earl of Ormonde and the earl of Londonderry. These facts were affirmed by an inquisition issued 11 Car. I. On this occasion it would appear from Carte's statement, that some flaw which he does not sufficiently mention, was found in the titles, and that consequently the earls of Ormonde and Londonderry passed the lands in fee-farm for a rent of £30 a-year to Sir Charles Coote, who afterwards joined them in passing the same lands to Mr Wandesforde, who took out new letters patent on the commission for the remedy of defective titles. The earl of Arundel's pretence to any title seems to be clearly out of the question; but his desire to obtain the lands was excited and kept alive by an artful projector who filled his imagination with glittering dreams of Irish gold; and when the king's title was found, he got letters from his majesty to the lord-deputy to give him the preference of such lands as had belonged to his ancestors. As no lands were

found to answer this description, he was disappointed, and his pride mortified, and he became the active enemy of both the earls of Ormonde and Londonderry.

King Charles, whose facility in yielding to influence was among the first means of that reverse of fortune, which was aggravated perhaps by the obstinacy of his conduct, when resistance became dangerous, now yielded to the counsellors by whom he was surrounded; and we are inclined to attribute it more to the influence of his own enemies than to those of the earl of Ormonde, that this nobleman was set aside in deference to the clamour of the Irish commons, who were wholly unworthy of regard. The appointment of Dillon and Parsons followed, of whom the former was as we have already explained soon dismissed to make way for Sir John Borlase.

A stormy session of parliament followed in which nothing worthy of detail occurred. The two houses were engaged in mutual conflicts, which mainly originated in the irritable temper and the perverse obstinacy of the house of commons: they met with well-tempered and effective opposition in the lords, where the earl of Ormonde took the lead of the king's party, and displayed a degree of firmness, judgment, and sagacity, which would indeed be a sufficient reason for the detail of the circumstances, had we not by far too large a fund of more important matter, illustrative of the character of this great man. The most memorable proceedings of the session consisted in a factious and scandalous impeachment of the members of Strafford's council at the suggestion of the conductors of his prosecution in the English parliament, for the sole purpose of preventing their attendance to give testimony in his favour. The charges were vague, and upon that frightfully iniquitous abnegation of all the principles of justice, the rule of cumulative treason, by which it was assumed that many slight misdemeanours not separately treasonable, might in their sum amount to treason. As these charges were futile, so the collision to which they gave rise did not consist so much in their consideration, as in a continued struggle on either side to effect or frustrate their real and direct intent, which was the confinement of the persons accused. The most curious of the small incidents of this protracted and turbulent discussion, was a suggestion prompted by the bold and ready ingenuity of the earl of Ormonde, in answer to the urgency of the opposite party for the arrest of the lord-chancellor; to this importunate proposal he answered that his removal would be a suspension of their authority; a point which caused great discussion, and thus with many other such frivolous questions helped to divert the efforts of the parliamentary faction in both houses, from graver mischief.

The next affair which immediately engaged the attention of the earl of Ormonde, was of far more interest. There was not money either for the maintenance or the dissolution of the army which had been raised in Ireland. And the king was insidiously urged upon the subject by the parliament, for the evident purpose of embarrassing him. His resources had been entirely exhausted, and it was felt to be a matter of the most pressing necessity, to disband a large body of men for whom he could not afford either pay or sustenance. As however this could not well be managed without the immediate disbursement of a

large sum of money, no expedient seemed better than to send this force into foreign service. The English parliament urged by the Irish agents in London, addressed the king on the expediency of their being speedily disbanded, and he answered, by informing them of his difficulties and of the expedient he intended to adopt. On the very next day, 8th May, 1641, he sent an order to that effect to the Irish lords-justices, and a letter to the earl of Ormonde to take the necessary steps, for the cautious and peaceable discharge of a duty so nice and difficult. He signed also warrants for seven of their colonels to transport a thousand men each, out of Ireland for foreign service. Meanwhile, the provision of the requisite expense was entirely left to the Irish government. The lords-justices consulted with the earl, but they could only agree to execute the order as they might, and Ormonde sent his warrants as lieutenant-general to have the soldiers' pay stopped from the 25th of the same month. By great efforts, among the king's party in Ireland, a small sum sufficient for a part payment to the soldiers, enabled the earl to succeed in his difficult task, and by the aid of precise arrangements, and much vigilant and active precaution, he succeeded in disbanding them without any of the disorders that were apprehended.

Preparations had at the same time been made to send the regiments as already ordered into Spain, and the Spanish ambassador had expended large sums, when suddenly the commons started a new discontent and clamoured loudly against this disposition of the army. They affected to fear, that the king of Spain would use them only to raise rebellion in Ireland, after the example of his grandfather. The suggestion was perhaps more founded in probability than sincerely meant, as we have already stated in our notice of Roger Moore;* and it was a fact well known to one of the parties then composing the popular faction in the house, that the rebellion was at that moment in the course of preparation, and its first outbreak actually under contemplation, in the very place and among the very persons pointed out by their suggestion, the Irish refugees in Spain. Such was the substance of the speeches of the parliamentary leaders, Darcy, Cheevers, Martin and others, who specially mentioned several of those Irish officers who commanded the Irish in the Spanish service, with the titles of their Irish rank, "Prince of Ulster, marquis of Mayo, and earls of Desmond and Beerhaven." By this clamour the king's design was interrupted and a most violent contest ensued, which in the course of the summer was transferred to the English house, where it was pursued with equal violence and pertinacity, to the great embarrassment of Charles, whom it involved with the Spanish ambassador and humiliated in the eyes of the public, and of all Europe.

On the attainder of Strafford, he urged upon the king to give the garter, which would thus become vacant, to the earl of Ormonde; as considering him the person most likely to be both efficient and zealous in his service, under the pressure of those great embarrassments which were progressively thickening around him. Nothing can indicate more plainly the impression made by the character and con-

duct of Ormonde upon the mind of that great statesman; and it is not less a high proof of Ormonde's elevated disinterestedness, that he refused the honour on the ground that in the king's present difficulties, it could be of use as a means to win over, or to fix the adhesion of some one less steady and principled than himself.

We now come to the rebellion of 1641, which we are to view mainly in relation to the conduct of the earl of Ormonde; but from the central position which his power and station, as well as his conduct and character affords, we shall take the occasion to give a more methodical and broader sketch of this marked portion of our history, of which we have already been enabled to offer select details and scenes. For this purpose, little more will be necessary than to notice briefly in their order of time the main series of general events, only expanding into detail those which bear any direct reference to the immediate subject of our narration.

Upon the fullest investigation of the preceding history, we can have no doubt that a rebellion was for many years in preparation. It was looked to by the clergy as the only means of raising them to that position of authority and influence, of pomp and splendour, which they saw exercised by their order upon the continent. The native Irish chiefs, looked upon it as the only hope of their restoration to their ancient rank and estate. The lawyers viewed it as the harvest of their order, whether as opening the field of legal extortion, or the path to official malversations. The people who were poor, lawless, and barbarous, had visionary ideas of advantages, artfully suggested by their leaders, and more substantial notions of the harvest of plunder and the delights of military license. These combustible elements lay crudely combining under the quiet surface of peace, and progressive improvement, the results of the plantations and institutions of the last reign; and slowly matured for the moment of occasion.

That moment was brought on by those various and rough collisions of party, which we have slightly sketched in this memoir. The troubles of the king were the fundamental cause; from this all received a violent accelerative impulse, and in the separate lines of their several views, came together, to seize the evident occasion and to fix and widen the breach which was made in the ramparts of civil order, for the surer and safer execution of their several designs. Within the walls of parliament and within the circles of office, influence and power, all may be considered as having had their definite aims: every one was for himself, his party, or the constitution, or the king. Without, the views of the multitude were agitated and fluctuating, the people whose understandings are the tongues of their leaders, or the report of rumour, were filled with various sentiments of discontent, anger, fear, and expectation. The specious misrepresentations of a parliament of which the main weapon was the language of grievance and accusation, filled the country and gave a prevailing tone to popular feeling. And thus under circumstances from which rebellion would have arisen out of the position of the king's affairs, a long organized rebellion was kindled. Roger Moore and his associates as isolated individuals could not have moved a man, or done more than to organize a burglary; but the moment was come and the country prepared, and they had only to apply the fatal

firebrand to the issue of the inflammable vapour, and the fiery volume broke out with its broad red blaze, to wrap the land in conflagration beyond their power to quench or moderate.

For many years before 1634, Ever MacMahon afterwards titular bishop of Clogher, was, by his own confession to the earl of Strafford, employed upon the continent, with others of his order and country in soliciting aid for this event. Early in 1641, the period of the parliamentary outbreaks which we have related, Roger Moore was at work; the conspiracy between himself, Macguire, Sir Phelim O'Neile, MacMahon, and others was concerted, late in the autumn of the same year; on the 22d October, 1641, Owen Conolly's information was received.* The next day had been appointed for the surprise of the castle: and in a few days more the rebels had obtained possession of the principal forts of Ulster. By whom, and by what means, and under what circumstances these exploits were performed, our notices of the principal actors describe.

At this time, the entire military force in Ireland consisted of 943 horse and 2297 foot; an effort which had been made by the king to strengthen this force, had been effectually resisted by the English parliament. The earl of Ormonde was at Carrick-on-Suir, when he received the accounts of the first acts of the rebel chiefs. He had a little before dispatched Sir Patrick Wemyss to the king on some application concerning his palatine rights in Tipperary, which king James had unjustly seized, and which he was now endeavouring to recover. Sir Patrick was immediately sent back to him with the king's commission of lieutenant-general of Ireland. The lords-justices had also sent dispatches on the 24th October, two days after their first intelligence, but their letter miscarried, and on the 2d November, they sent another. But on the arrival of Wemyss with the king's commission, they also made a formal appointment to agree with it, saving however the authority of the lord-lieutenant.

It would have been fortunate for Ireland in that most critical moment, if the sole authority had been trusted to the earl of Ormonde; and these miserable officials had been wholly set aside. Borlase was an old soldier, unversed in state affairs. Parsons was worse than incompetent. To his want of the statesman-like ability which the juncture needed, he added a want of political integrity, steadiness, and firmness. He was a lawyer who had worked his way by his expertness and pliable subserviency; and who was incapable of comprehending any motive beyond the care of his own interest or safety, and unfit for any employment beyond the chicanes of official circumvention, by which life and property were ensnared. He did not clearly perceive the position of circumstances, and entertained neither adequate views of what was expedient, nor upright motives of action; and hence his conduct was inconsistent throughout and wavering. In his moments of terror, desirous to crush, burn, and execute indiscriminate vengeance; in the return of his confidence, as anxious to foster the rebellion of which he could not calculate the real results or see the progress. He thus repressed the zeal and exertion of others, and protected while he exasperated the rebels. To this is to be added, that he was a zealous

* Vol. II. Life of Roger Moore.

puritan, and was chiefly indebted to the support of the parliament for his continuance in power. On this party his expectations were founded, and it is therefore not a mere conjecture, that he was the instrument of their views. It was their principal object by every means to distress the king, and the disturbance in Ireland was no slight assistance. Parsons faithfully pursued the turnings of their policy to the utmost extent of his efforts.

The earl of Ormonde at once urged a decided attack upon the confederates: he represented how easy it would be to suppress them before their people could be armed or fully disciplined. He therefore proposed to march against them with the small body of troops at the time under his command, with a few of the new levies which had been raised on the discovery of the danger. To the great surprise of the earl, the lords-justices refused, on the ground of want of arms for the troops which were to take the field. The earl knew that there was no such want, as there was at the time laid up in the castle a store of arms and ammunition for 10,000 men, besides a fine train of artillery. He was thus therefore reduced to the mortification of finding his commission nugatory, and seeing the time for action pass, while in Dublin he was witness to the frivolous proceedings and the absurd and fraudulent councils, in which nothing was sincere but mischievous proceedings against all such as were not of the faction, and had the ill-fortune to be within the circle of their authority. Carte relates a circumstance which took place about this period of our narrative. A council was sitting in the castle on 13th December, at which the earl of Ormonde was present—when Parsons proposed a court-martial on captain Wingfield, and was steadily resisted by the earl. Parsons lost his temper, and in violent language insisted upon it, assuring him that it should be done for common safety; and that if he did not do it, he should be responsible for losing the kingdom. The earl of Ormonde, who says Carte “was never at a loss in his days for an answer equally decent and appropriate, replied, ‘I believe, Sir, you will do as much towards losing the kingdom as I, and, I am sure, I will do as much as you for saving it.’”

The English parliament for a little time affected great zeal for the tranquillization of Ireland: their object was to obtain the entire authority, and as much as possible to set aside all efforts on the part of the king. They appointed a committee of the members of both houses, which sat daily on the affairs of Ireland. Their real object was favoured by the zealous co-operation of the Irish lord's-justices, and the inadvertence of the king, who, still anxious to conciliate and to leave no room for complaint, recognized their authority by his communications: he was under the delusive notion that their professed object was genuine, and hoped that something might thus at last be done to restore the peace of Ireland. With the same view he exerted himself to obtain some aid in men from the Scottish parliament, which listened to his urgent applications with cool indifference, while the English parliament, having secured their object, let the affairs of Ireland take their course, and pursued the deeper game upon which their leaders were intent. They asserted the power of the sword and treasury, by liberal votes of men and money, which they took care not to send:

large supplies were ordered, but, in the little that was sent, they contrived to make the act subsidiary to the purpose of further weakening the king, by ordering for the Irish service whatever stores lay at his disposal.

Meanwhile, the rebellion was rapidly spreading in Ireland, and though much retarded by the Boyles and St Leger in Munster, and by the influence and activity of Clanricarde in Connaught, every country was in a state of fear and disturbance. The plunders and massacres of Sir Phelim O'Neile, and the first insurgent bodies which were mainly composed of the lowest classes, followed: and many months had not elapsed till the impolicy and oppression of the lords-justices transferred a numerous and respectable party of the best Irish nobility and gentry to the ranks of rebellion. Of these facts, we have already entered into considerable details. The lords-justices in their first terror, were willing to trust these noblemen with arms; but when prematurely elated by the liberal votes of the English parliament, they thought they might safely treat them with suspicion and insult. The accession of these persons to the rebellion had the beneficial effect of considerably mitigating its savage character; and the evil consequence of giving it for a time concert, military talent, resource, and all the formidable attendants of a regular war, conducted by regular means and skill.

The parliament was called, and allowed to sit for two days in Dublin: the Irish gentry who had assembled there had seen and felt the horrors of the rebellion,—they would have entered with an exclusive unity of purpose into the necessary measures for its suppression. The lords-justices were, with the utmost difficulty, prevailed upon to allow them a second day's existence, and they could only vote a representation of the means necessary for the pacification of the country: their representation was transmitted by the justices to the English committee who suppressed it. They offered to vote a large supply, but, before this could be done, they were dissolved, and sent away to abide as they might the storm that raged round their houses. Before their departure from town, the principal members of both houses met, and agreed upon an address to the king, in which they expressed their loyalty, and recommended that the government of the kingdom should be committed to the earl of Ormonde—a circumstance soon after productive of some annoyance to the earl. While he was engaged on his expedition against the rebels at Naas, and was pursuing them with such effect that they were loud in their complaints against his severity, a person named Wishart, who had been a prisoner in the rebel encampment, assured lord Blayney and captain Perkins at Chester, that the earl of Ormonde was in secret correspondence with the rebels. The secret instructions of the Irish members, sent through Sir James Dillon to England, and there taken on his person by the parliamentary agents, gave an unlucky colour to this scandal. The character of the earl stood too high for these low missiles to have any effect further than the moment's irritation. The representation was easily shown to be the act of the parties, without the presence or privity of the earl. The calumny of Wishart was brought forward by the earl himself, and

the calumnious charge refuted by the confession of the accuser, who, having for a while absconded, was discovered and arrested by Sir Philip Percival, and brought before the lords at Westminster, on which he denied having ever spoken to the purpose alleged. He acknowledged that he had said to lord Blaney and others at Chester, that the rebels had always notice of the earl of Ormonde's and of Sir C. Coote's military operations : but the rest of the charge, "that his lordship was the means of advertising the enemy, was the mere invention of some persons who maligned the earl's honour and his own reputation."

In the course of 1642, the rebellion became universally diffused; but with its diffusion, it did not gather strength: the efforts of the several leaders and parties of which it was composed, were little directed or invigorated by any pervading unity of aim. The objects of both leaders were mainly directed by their private ambition—those of the people terminated in plunder. They were however resisted, with still more inefficient means, and less consistency of purpose and effort. The lord's-justices wavered between fear and vindictive animosity, and relaxed their efforts, or adopted measures of severity, according to the pressure of motives which seldom find their way into the light. They looked anxiously to their patrons, the puritans of England, for the aid which was insincerely promised; and, in the mean time, thought it enough to keep Dublin from the rebels. A suppression of the rebellion by the friends of the king was far from their wish, but they were not the less alarmed and vindictive when the approach of rebel parties awakened their own apprehensions and cut off their resources by seizing upon the neighbouring districts. Thus it was that while they sent out their troops with orders to ruin, waste, and kill, with indiscriminate ravage, in the disaffected districts immediately surrounding Dublin, they restrained the earl of Ormonde from any vigorous and systematic effort to reduce an insurrection ready to fall to pieces of itself, and only requiring a slight exertion of strength to dispel it. We have already noticed the earl's expedition to Naas, and the signal success with which it was attended: we have also had occasion to advert to his short and successful march to Kilsalaghan, within seven miles of Dublin. At this time the garrison in Dublin had been reduced to great distress, as there was a grievous want of means for their support; the lords-justices, contrary to every precedent of military prudence, had not only exhausted entirely the surrounding district by exorbitant exaction, but by burnings and ravages, ordered on the least provocation. A small reinforcement was sent over, without money or provision, to aggravate their distress, and it was more to employ the discontented troops than to check the operations of a disorderly and marauding army of 3000 rebels, which were posted at Kilsalaghan, that the earl was sent out to meet them. He was accompanied by Lambert, Coote, and other commanders, with 2500 English foot, and 300 horse. The position of the enemy was strong: a country still intersected with ditches of unusual depth, breadth, and strength of old fence, attests the description of Carte, of "a castle called Kilsalaghan, a place of very great strength, in regard of woods, and many high ditches and strong

enclosures and barricadoes there made, and other fastnesses.”* The orders given to the earl were, “not only to kill and destroy the rebels, their adherents, and relievers, and to burn, waste, consume, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses, where they had been relieved and harboured, and all the corn and hay there, but also to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms.” It was fortunate that the power of this ignorant administration was not equal to its will; and that the sword was committed to one who was as just and merciful in the discharge of his duty as he was prompt and successful. The earl of Ormonde, with as little injury to the surrounding country as the duty in which he was engaged permitted, attacked the difficult and guarded position in which the O’Briens and MacThomases had intrenched themselves, formidable alike in their numbers, position, and the fierce undisciplined bravery of their men; and after a rough and sanguinary contest, drove them from their ditches, and scattered them in rout and confusion over the country.

The lords-justices were at this period strongly urged by the earl and others equally zealous for the termination of a state of affairs so disastrous, to permit them to march to the relief of Drogheda, at that time besieged by the army of Sir Phelim O’Neile. To this they refused their consent; but still feeling the necessity of sending away on some expedition a body of men whom they could not maintain in Dublin, they ordered an expedition towards the river Boyne, alleging the probability that a diversion might be thus created, so as to induce the rebels to raise the siege. On this occasion there seems to have been a resistance to some parts of their order, to waste, kill, and burn, on the part of the earl, who with some difficulty extorted permission to use his own more temperate discretion in the execution of this order. And shortly after, before the departure of the force under his command, he received an intimation from the castle, that the lords-justices having considered the matter, made it their earnest request that he would “stay at home, and let them send away the force now prepared, under the conduct of Sir Simon Harcourt, wherein they desired his lordship’s approbation.”† The earl understood the design of this artful and slighting application, and felt no disposition to suffer his office to be thus set aside for purposes so opposed to his own political principles. He was resolved not to let the cause of the king go by default, and the violence and vindictive temper of Sir W. Parsons find scope for indiscriminate and mischievous oppression, by a compliant desertion of his post. He firmly refused to let the army which the king had confided to him, march under any command but his own.

He accordingly marched on the 5th March, with such troops as could be prepared in time, and when he had reached a sufficient distance from town, put the orders of the lords-justices into a course of moderate execution, according to the more merciful terms, which on first receiving their orders he had with difficulty extorted. Instead of spreading indiscriminate destruction and massacre, which if executed according to the will of the castle would have degraded his name

* Carte.

† Ibid.

to the level of Sir Phelim O'Neile's; he wasted the villages only which had been in known concert with the rebels. Even this, it must be admitted, would according to the principles now recognized be still an excess, revolting to policy and justice; but when referred to the warfare of the age, to its opinion, practice, and to the then existing state of the country, it will appear in its own true light, as a mild and indispensable measure of severity. One remark is to be made, that such is the nature of popular insurrection, in which the struggle on the part of the insurgents is necessarily carried on by plunders, murders, and civil crimes, for which their previous habits have prepared them, rather than by military demonstrations, for which they are undisciplined; and it too often occurs that the only resource left for the protection of the social system, requires the adoption of means partaking of the same lamentable character. The spirit of insurrection rising from the lowest ranks, spreads out like a *malaria* upon the face of the country, felt not seen; tracked by fires and the bloody steps of the prowling and assassinating marauder; to the charge or battery of regular war it offers no resistance, and but too often was only to be met by the dreadful justice, which visited the homes of the offending peasantry with the retaliation which is not so much to be excused by the strictness of justice, as by the essential necessity of a resource, which has the effect of turning the torrent upon its fountain; and carrying the just, but fearful lesson, that the secrecy of the midnight crimes, or the mistlike gatherings and dispersions of these freebooting mobs, such as then assumed the much abused pretence of a national cause, though they save their bodies from the crows on some inglorious field, cannot fail to involve their homes in the ruin, which they in their ignorance and wickedness would inflict upon the unoffending and respectable classes—against whom such hostilities are ever directed.

The earl was not interrupted by the rebel parties which he had expected to meet upon his march, but ere long he received an account that the rebels had raised the siege of Drogheda, and were then in full retreat towards Ulster. It was his opinion and that of his officers that they should be pursued as far as Newry; and as a large force could be spared from Drogheda, it appeared to be a favourable occasion to disperse the insurgents by a decided system of operations, with a force which might not so easily be collected again. The possession of Ulster, once obtained, would leave the rebellion little spirit or power to proceed further. The earl wrote to the lords-justices, stating his plan, and the means of effecting it. They, it is said, were in a "terrible fume" on the receipt of his letter, and without a moment's delay returned an answer forbidding him to cross the Boyne; and reiterating their commands to waste, burn, and destroy, without any distinction of rank or consideration of merit. In the mean time the earl pursued his way to Drogheda, where he consulted with lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne, who concurred in his opinion and joined in another letter to the lords-justices. But the plan of enterprise which they had concerted, was broken by the arrival of the letter from the lords-justices, already mentioned. The earl's indignation was strongly excited, he did not think fit to resist the orders of government, but in reply he

told them, "that there was usually such a confidence reposed in the judgment and faithfulness of those that are honoured with the command of an army, as that it is left to them when and where to prosecute and fall upon an enemy; that he took this to be due, though he was content to depart from it, because he would not confidently depend on his own judgment; that they might see lord Moore's and Sir H. Tichburne's judgment, by a letter signed by them and the rest of the chief officers, except the lord Lambert, and Sir R. Grenville, who were left in their quarters for the security thereof, and keeping the soldiers from disorder, but were as far consenting to the execution of that design, as himself who proposed it, or any of the rest who approved of, and signed the letter; that however he was applying himself to perform their last commands, and for that end had sent forth horse to destroy the dwellings of traitors for six miles about, and would quarter the night following at Balruddery, and thence continue his march to Dublin; want of bread causing him not to make use of the short enlargement of time granted in their letter of the 9th, which they could have been furnished with from Drogheda, if they had pursued their design towards Newry." He added, "that with regard to the gentlemen who came in, his method was to put them in safe keeping, and either to send them before, or to bring them along with him to Dublin, without any manner of promise or condition, but that they submit to his majesty's justice; nor did he dispute by what power they came in, leaving it to their lordships to determine that point when they had them in their hands, and he had given them an account of the manner of their coming."

The lords-justices were not to be influenced by such considerations as might appear to the earl of Ormonde of the most imperative moment, for they were governed by motives wholly different. To maintain their own authority; keep the rebellion away from the capital; and at the same time impede all proceedings which would have the effect of giving ascendancy to the friends or partisans of the royal cause, were the guiding principles of their whole conduct. They paid no regard to the strong representations or to the remonstrances of the earl and his officers, who saw in a strong light the real importance of an occasion, for pursuing and extinguishing the insurrection in its last retreats. According to the views of Sir W. Parsons, it was of little consequence what food for future vengeance lay collecting in the north, but it was in the last degree important, that their own hands should be strengthened in Dublin, and the surrounding country by the immediate presence of those troops which the zeal of the earl would have directed to more important purposes. Thus then, the communications here mentioned and others which followed, with a laudable pertinacity were set aside, and the earl was compelled to return. He was only allowed to leave a small reinforcement of 500 men, with lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne. The whole of this tortuous proceeding is the more worthy of the reader's attention, as it is plainly indicative of the real policy of the puritans, not only in Ireland but in England. The attention of historians of our own time, has been singularly misdirected by the propensity of the human mind to look to results, and to form their judgments of men either from the remote consequences of their actions,

or from principles subsequently developed. We, for our part, cordially concur in approving the fortunate and providential results of the great revolution which began in the reign of the unfortunate Charles: but we attribute all these advantages to the providence which overrules the wickedness of men to good events. It is not here permitted us to enter at length into the analysis by which it would be easy to separate the high professions, and the low conduct of a revolution begun, and consummated by the perpetration of every political crime; and to prove by the plainest tests that the motives of the *responsible* actors, were not merely different from the sounding eloquence of their pretensions, but far more reprehensible than the abuses which they overthrew. There were, no doubt, on either side, a few exalted characters who adopted with sincerity the purest principles of which their several positions admitted; but, upon the whole, the contest was a struggle for unconstitutional power on either side, in which fortunately for England neither party was successful, and both, as the strife advanced, endeavoured *per fas et nefas*, to attain the advantage. The conduct of both may be seen in some respects more clearly by looking to Ireland, the field in which their policy was pursued with least disguise. If the parliament of England was then enabled to dazzle the understandings of their own and after times by impressive commonplaces and specious complaints, and to veil their most unprincipled course in the fair disguise of public spirit and piety; it is plainly to be discerned that they were most recklessly indifferent as to the means. The virtue may be doubted of those zealots, who propose to raise the condition of their country by murders, massacres, and confiscations, which may effect the purpose pretended, but offer far nearer advantages to the perpetrators. The politician who is ready to purchase remote and abstract improvement at the expense of torrents of blood, and by the commission of present wrongs, must be either a fanatic, or is indifferent to the real benefits he pretends to seek. There is no real human virtue which would serve the unborn, at the expense of the living. But the understanding and passions of England were to be conciliated, by the leaders of that fanatic and intriguing corporation, the regicide house of commons: in the eye of England they endeavoured with the common discretion of all who play the game of revolutionary intrigue, to adorn and veil their purposes with the ordinary cant of civil justice and virtue, the lofty apothegms which cajole the multitude and spread a lying sanction over dishonesty, and impart a spurious elevation to baseness: but in their contempt of Ireland and Irish opinion, the whole truth of their policy was suffered to appear and to leave a record for the cool judgment of aftertimes; Ireland was a by-scene on which they crossed the stage without a mask. To prolong for their purposes a fearful conflict of crime and every evil passion, which the mind of Milton could combine for his description of the infernal habitations:

“Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell.”

such was their manifest policy. But we are treading upon dangerous ground; so much has been latterly written, and ably written, to magnify this party and depress their opponents, that the writer who takes an

opposite view, must be prepared to enter upon a full and minute detail of the entire history of the period.

The lords-justices, at the period of our narrative, appear to have entertained but one solicitude which is not quite explicable; a vindictive eagerness to visit with the utmost severity in their power the parties remotely suspected of any connexion with the rebellion, which they evinced no anxiety to check. To waste, plunder and kill, was the entire substance of their orders to the earl, whose activity to encounter the rebels they impeded. Their vengeance was confined to the territories of the pale, where it was rather directed against the inhabitants than the rebels; and their conduct appeared equally unaccountable on the score of common prudence, for they were unable to maintain the troops which they endeavoured to retain about Dublin in a shameful state of destitution.

On the return of the earl of Ormonde, the rebels at once returned and took possession of Drogheda, Atherdee, and Dundalk. The gallant achievements of Moore and Tichburne, by which they were defeated with comparatively small forces, in several bloody sieges and encounters occurred in this interval, and have been already related in these pages. We have also taken several occasions to relate the impolitic and unjust treatment received at the same time by lord Dunsany, and other noblemen of the pale, when they came in on the faith of the king's proclamation, to offer their adherence to the government in Dublin. Their rejection forms a consistent part of the case against that government, of which we have here but faintly sketched the outline. This case is strongly aggravated by the iniquitous indictments which at the same time disgrace the courts, and the still more revolting proceedings of the castle, where the rack was freely employed, for the purpose of involving the whole of the Irish nobility and gentry in one sweeping charge of treason and rebellion. These demonstrations may be sufficient *ex abundantia*, to fix the real policy of the castle, and to class these flagitious officials, among the lowest of those enemies of the people of Ireland, whose aim it has been to promote insurrection for the service of a small political intrigue. We reserve some special proofs, as we shall be compelled in a subsequent memoir to revert to this topic. These circumstances and this grievous state of affairs at length roused the anxious attention of the king, who very justly considered that his personal presence would be the most likely means to offer some decided check to this tissue of disorder and misconduct. Such a step might probably have been attended with the best results: his coming over would at once have brought to his side, every particle of right reason, prudence, or loyalty in the kingdom, and at this period there must still have been a preponderance in favour of his cause. For the Roman catholic clergy had not yet fully entered into the contest; the insurgents had already experienced its danger and folly, and the numerous and respectable body whose part in it had been involuntary, would all, on their own several grounds, have rallied round the standard which would have united them in one cause and feeling. The lords-justices and all their little junto of extortioners, pettifoggers and executioners, would have been set aside.

But a result so inimical to the views of the great and powerful

party by which the king was opposed in England, was not to be quietly effected without resistance. On the 8th April, 1642, the king, by a message to the two houses, communicated his intention, with the obvious reasons which require no detail. In this message he proposed to "raise by his commission in the county of Chester a guard for his own person (when he should come into Ireland,) of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which should be armed at Chester from his magazine at Hull."* To this the lords-justices remonstrated, on the grounds of the great power of the rebels, the weakness of the government force, the inadequacy of the means for the support of his majesty's army and court. The parliament urged their pretended solicitude for the personal safety of his majesty: with more sincerity they intimated the encouragement the rebels might derive from the assumption of his countenance: they contradicted the remonstrance of their own officers, the lords-justices, by observing that his presence was rendered unnecessary by the late successes against the rebels, and ended by throwing aside pretexes, and fairly declaring their desire to have the war left to their own management; and their intention "to govern the kingdom by the advice of parliament for his majesty and for his posterity." To this the distressing position of the king's affairs compelled him to submit.

In the mean time, the English parliament concluded a treaty, highly favourable to the system of policy they were pursuing, with their own party in Scotland, by which, without suffering the hazard of their policy, they contrived to arrange with their allies the Scottish commissioners in London for the occupation of the north of Ireland by a body of ten thousand Scottish soldiers. Such was the origin of the armament under Monroe, who landed at Carrickfergus about the middle of April, while the communications just adverted to between the king and parliament were pending. The conduct of Monroe we have already commented upon: it was in precise accordance with the policy here attributed to the parliamentary party, and there can be no ground for hesitation in identifying them. Monroe occupied an influential and central position in Ulster, but only acted so far as appeared necessary for the security of a commanding neutrality; seizing on the king's partisans when they fell into his power; or attacking the rebels when they appeared to endanger his own security. Along with his own force, and under his command, were joined such forces as were subject to the authority of the parliament in that province, making altogether an army sufficiently formidable if commanded to any purpose.

The earl was during these events mainly confined to Dublin a reluctant witness of counsels to which he could little consent, yet had no power to resist. Under these circumstances his conduct was discreet and cautious. It is one of the prominent traits indeed of the character of this great man, that while his conduct was always firm and strenuous, his manner and his professions of opinion were marked by prudent moderation. Where it was vain to resist by actions, and where nothing was to be expected from remonstrance, he quietly

* Husband's Collection, quoted by Carte.

yielded to circumstances, and contented himself with watching for occasions, which, when they presented themselves, were never suffered to pass, though often to the sacrifice of the nearest personal considerations. Of this an instance finds its place here. In the end of March, the lords-justices resolved on sending out a large detachment for their favourite purpose of wasting and burning the lands and tenements of rebels who had left their homes in Kildare. On this expedition the earl of Ormonde received orders to march. The earl, who was always averse from such a task, saw nevertheless an occasion for exploits of a more worthy and honourable kind. He marched out and commenced a series of able and effective operations, which the lords-justices presently attempted to interrupt. The earl's countess and his family, with an hundred protestants who had found refuge at his house in Carrick-on-Suir, had just arrived safe in Dublin, and the lords-justices sent to acquaint him of the event, with permission to join them: the earl declined the insidious offer and pursued his march. He advanced to Kilocullen, Athy, Stradbally and Maryborough, as he went detaching parties to the relief of the principal castles and forts in the rebels' possession, and securing the country on every side. It was upon this march that the distinguished conduct of Sir C. Coote, who was detached to the relief of Birr, occurred* in the woods of Mountrath.

As the earl was on his return to Dublin, after the full execution of these important services, he was checked near Athy by a strong rebel force under lord Mountgarret, who had under his command the chief rebel leaders with 8000 infantry and several troops of horse. The incident was indeed alarming; for, at this period of the march, the forces of the earl were exhausted, their horses out of serviceable condition, their ammunition spent in supplying the garrisons which they had relieved, and the whole force trifling in numerical comparison with the enemy, which seemed to menace inevitable destruction.

The earl, attended by Sir T. Lucas, took a party of 200 horse, and marched out to reconnoitre, after which he called a council, in which the above circumstances were taken into account, together with the advantageous position of the enemy. It was agreed on to march towards Dublin, and not to attack them, unless they should themselves be tempted to begin, a highly probable event, which would have the effect of altering their position, and placing them in circumstances more favourable for an effective assault. In pursuance of this plan, the earl, with 2500 men, pursued the march to Dublin. In front he detached Cornet Pollard with a party of thirty horse to spread out among the numerous bushes which then covered the road sides, and facilitated those ambushes which were the prevalent danger of Irish war. Next followed Sir T. Lucas with six troops of horse. The baggage of the army filled the intervals: after which came the earl himself leading a troop of volunteers, among whom were lord Dillon, lord Brabazon, and other distinguished persons. Four "divisions" of foot, came next, not much like the divisions of modern war, amounting each to three hundred men, and followed by the artillery: after these four other divisions of foot, and

* Vol. II., Life of Sir C. Coote.

then three troops of horse, headed by Sir C. Willoughby; the rear was closed by a few companies of foot led by Sir C. Coote.

They had scarcely gone a mile, when, about three miles off on the other side of a red bog, the long files of glittering pikes appeared in dense order, passing rapidly by the tower of Killika, with the evident design of intercepting them on their march. It must, under these circumstances, have been concluded by the earl, that he was not likely to pass without a battle. His dispositions were prompt and decisive; he caused his pioneers to clear a road on the right, and thus enabled the foot to disengage themselves from the baggage. He sent out Cornet Magrath with thirty horse to observe the rebels' march. He easily inferred that their design was to seize on the pass of Ballysonan, through which his march lay. Not being encumbered by baggage, the rebels marched much faster than the English. But they had a considerable circuit to take, and the earl, anticipating their purpose from their speed, sent on Lucas to seize the pass, with some troops of horse—a movement which may, in some degree, have been favoured by the accident of not having been seen by the rebels, as at this part of the way a hill intervened between the armies. They were thus obscured from each other for about two miles.

The detachment under Lucas was successful, and when the rebels came within view of the pass, they were surprised and mortified to find it in the possession of their enemies. They halted upon the hill side. In the mean time the earl came up: he caused the baggage to be drawn into the rear, and sent to hasten the march of Coote and Grenville.

The rebels were partly seen, as they stood half-way up the hill and facing the pass. They were marshalled with considerable skill, and presented an imposing appearance with their close array and their numerous ensigns waving on the breeze. The earl drew up the four divisions of foot which were on the ground, in order of battle, within "two musquet shot" of them, and marked the places into which the remaining divisions were to fall as they came up. These divisions, or rather companies, hurried forward, and as they were small bodies, were quickly in their places. The earl, without further delay, commanded the whole line to move forward against the enemy, and they advanced at a rapid pace up the hill. They had not gone far before they met with a check, the consequence of which ought to have been fatal, had there been on the enemy's part the skill or promptitude to take advantage of such an incident: their forward movement was interrupted by a hollow which had concealed a hedge until their line was stopped by it, and they were compelled to take a considerable circuit, after which they formed again on the other side within musket shot of the rebels, who should unquestionably have attacked them during this awkward movement. But the courage of undisciplined soldiers, when not excited by action, is always apt to be chilled at the appearance of an enemy's advance. Their leaders could, in all probability, have no authority sufficient to move a body of men, who, though resolved to fight, were waiting to be roused by blows. With this infatuation the rebels stood their ground, and suffered a considerable number of the English to regain their order of assault, and draw up again just beneath them,

without any interruption. This was indeed in some measure, aided by the skill of the earl, who contrived to amuse their attention by a continual fire of cannon and musketry, and also, by sending forward several small skirmishing parties; and, while this was going on, Sir T. Lucas, who occupied the right wing of the English, fortunately discovered a wide gap in the hedge, and passed through with three troops of horse. Without a second's delay they charged at a round trot into the left of the rebels, who had manifestly looked on their movements with a wavering resolution. The moment the English horse reached them, they gave way without a blow; and as the infantry at the same time came rushing up the hill, the disorder ran along their line, and immediately the entire of the left wing, with their officers, were hurrying on in a tumultuous and panic-stricken disorder, down towards the red bog. Their horse stood for a few minutes longer, but were charged by Sir C. Grenville at the head of his troop, and followed the fugitives. The right of the Irish were commanded by Mountgarret in person, and comprised the more select companies under Moore, Byrne, and other principal officers: these men looked calmly on the rout of their companions and kept their ground; on these the hope of the rebel chiefs had been fixed. The earl of Ormonde seeing this, advanced in person against them with his volunteers, and three hundred infantry, led by Sir John Sherlock. They maintained their reputation, by standing during the exchange of some volleys, and when the earl began to advance, they retreated in order before him till they reached the top of the hill; there they caught a sight of the bog and their flying companions, and breaking into utter confusion, rushed in wild disorder down the hill. The number of their slain was seven hundred, among whom were numbered several colonels and other officers. The earl lost twenty men. A detailed account of the fight was transmitted by the Irish government to the house of commons, in which it was read, and afterwards published by their order. In this account the earl is mentioned as "ordering the battle and manner of fight in all the parts of it, and doing it with very great judgment, laying hold quickly and seasonably on all opportunities of advantage that could be gained, and sparing not resolutely to expose his own person to hazard equally with any other commander." The earl, not being allowed the means to follow up this success, returned immediately after to Dublin.

On the May following the synod of the Romish clergy was held in Kilkenny, and those formal acts took place which established the confederate assembly, and gave another form to the rebellion. The history of these events we have introduced in our memoir of the rebel leader Owen O'Neile, with whose arrival in Ireland this change was coincident. In that memoir may be found, sufficient extracts from their acts and resolutions, and something of a brief internal view of their designs and composition. We must here be compelled to view them occasionally and at a greater distance, receding in the mass of circumstances.

The lords-justices during this time were hurried on into inconsistencies of conduct, of the motives of which, were it worth a lengthened investigation for so trifling a purpose, it would be hard to give any

very precise explanation. But it may be generally observed that their position was beginning to be a little more intelligible to themselves, as their difficulties increased; and that thus while maintaining the same system of policy in subservience to their puritan masters, they were from time to time alarmed by incidents which made them apprehensive for themselves and doubtful of the safety of carrying much further the inconsistent plan of irritating and insulting, without taking any step for effectual coercion. They had pursued this course from the commencement of the rebellion, scattering vengeance with unsparing and indiscriminate fury, and driving the peaceful and unwilling into rebellion; while with equal constancy they restrained the hands of the earl and his officers, from meeting the enemy as they should alone have been met, in the field. Until at last, about the time at which we are arrived, the resources which might but a few months sooner have terminated the war, became exhausted, while the army, in want of every necessary, and unpaid the balance due to them, became insubordinate and refused to march. The parliament of England saw with indifference a state of things favourable to their own purposes; the zeal which they affected was but specious and supplied an ample source for slanders against the king. But it was otherwise with Parsons—he with his colleague in office, was compelled to endure the inconveniences and dangers of such a course. His very safety might depend upon the balance of parties, of whom the majority of those, even on his own side, disapproved of all his proceedings. Thus though willing to paralyze the arms of the earl of Ormonde and of the loyalists, he was anxiously alive to the danger of being left without an army on which he could reckon.

Thus while the officers immediately under the influence of the lords-justices, and who acted in the spirit of their instructions were rousing the towns and cities of Connaught into a second outbreak, by the most wanton and insolent outrages; the lords-justices were petitioning for aids in men and money to the parliament, and striving to force their crippled, starved, naked, and mutinous soldiers to march on their petty expeditions. In this state of things, the rebels were again growing formidable in the western counties. They had been restrained by the spirit, activity, and prudence of the earl of Clanricarde, but the able and judicious combination of force and moderation by which this nobleman induced the most turbulent spirits to submission, was frustrated by the intolerable tyranny of a few parliamentary officers, whose savage and unprovoked brutalities excited a general alarm and resentment. Clanricarde himself was reproved for accepting of submissions; his protection violated, his own people, and even an officer who served under him seized and imprisoned. Lord Ranelagh, then president of Connaught, and the earl of Clanricarde remonstrated strongly against these proceedings, and their representations were strenuously supported in council by the earl of Ormonde. The consequences were not slow to appear in a general and rapid growth of dissatisfaction through the counties of Mayo and Galway, while the rebels were completely masters of the field in Sligo and Roscommon.

In this most alarming condition of affairs, the Irish administration was roused to some show of opposition, and a considerable effort was agreed upon in the council. The earl of Ormonde was ordered to

march with 4500 infantry and 600 horse, for the purpose of re-inforcing the lord-president. Leaving Dublin for this purpose on June 14th, on a service which from the state of the country at the time, was considered to require his ability and prudence, the earl proceeded on this march. On the way he took the castle of Knocklinch by storm, and gave the rout to a strong party of rebels, who posted themselves to dispute his way in the pass of Ballinacor. Lord Netterville fled at his approach, leaving his castle which he had fortified and burning his town. Sir James Dillon, who had besieged Athlone for six months, retired before him. The lord-president who was shut up there without the means of defence, was thus set at liberty to meet the earl and to receive command of the reinforcement intended for him. The earl of Ormonde marched back to Dublin.

During his absence, the lords-justices had been proceeding in that most insidious and pernicious course of measures, by which they were at the same time working to transfer the king's authority, already reduced to a mere form, to their masters the rebel parliament of England, and swelling the ranks of their enemies, by the most unmeasured and unprovoked acts of tyranny. Had their power been levelled directly against the hierarchy and priesthood of the church of Rome, it would be an easy task to vindicate their policy; however we may feel inclined on the score of conscience to acquit that able and consistent body for their steady hostility to the church and government, which they were bound to regard as heretical, there can be little doubt of the reciprocal obligations of those who were by ties of no less force bound to the defence of these institutions. But there was neither wisdom, sound expediency or justice, in the unmerited severities which had the effect of rousing the pride, resentment, and fear of the Roman catholic laity; of driving them into the precincts of a powerful and dangerous hostility, and thenceforth converting religious persuasion into an influential element of political division. These wretched and incapable tools of a grasping and usurping fanaticism, had not the power to calculate the full consequences of arousing the action of one of an opposite character, far more longbreathed and vital, because founded upon principles more removed from impulse and enthusiasm. They could not observe, (or reason upon the observation,) how little influence their creeds have upon the main conduct of most men, until they become embodied in the tangible element of party feeling, when the basest felon who is ready to bid defiance to every sacred obligation, will fight to the death for his altar, because it is his party. It is indeed a matter of nicety to mark the line of moderation and firmness; but we are inclined to think that the laity of the Roman church, would never have been thus embodied into a religious party, by a line of firm and decisive control, directed against the then visibly dangerous influences of the Roman see. They saw the real state of things, and their predilections were all on the side of the crown and constitution of England. They had with a wise and politic moderation, been satisfied to see their church subsist under restraints by connivances, which were the mild but effective outwork against inroads, of which they knew the danger. They were peaceful, submissive, and always prompt to assert their loyalty. But by the policy now adopted it was no longer a matter of individual con-

duct, feeling or opinion; a line of conduct conveying disqualification and prescription beyond the letter of the law, spread terror, discontent and indignation through every rank. The most loyal and influential persons of most counties, were first by an order and then by a bill excluded from the parliament, which was then called, and by such a comprehensive insult and injury sifted into a lesser counterpart of the English commons. The alarm and offence were, as ever happens with unpopular measures, still more injurious than the acts; the Roman catholics were terrified with apprehensions of utter extirpation, and it is little likely that such fears were allowed to fall unimproved to the ground. To add to these mischiefs, it was a most flagitious and scandalous part of the system of proceedings at this time adopted, to drive out of Dublin resident gentry of the Roman catholic persuasion, into the arms of those among whom they could only find safety by enlisting in their ranks. That such was the direct design of the lords-justices is indeed the inference of Carte, and upon no slight grounds; he reasons from their letters to the parliament of England, and a variety of circumstances, that being fearful of committing the injustice of a more direct attack on the liberty and property of the Roman catholics, they proceeded to effect their purpose by means which were calculated to work by terror and anger. Among these the principal was an urgent and oft repeated application for permission to bring the penal statutes, which were in fact nothing more than a precautionary provision against dangers always possible, into full and active operation: a step equally precipitate and cruel: whatever were their intentions, the purpose of kindling a universal discontent was effected.

Among the most effective of their opponents, the earl of Ormonde was foremost. His great ability is indeed strongly illustrated by the mere fact of his being enabled to stand his ground and hold a very influential authority under a system of usurpation so grasping, lawless and intriguing. His wisdom, honesty and courage were more than equal to the little official cunning of Parsons; but he was unsupported, and his authority was undermined, by powers against which he was altogether unprovided with any means of resistance: he was even tied down by those very laws, which his opponents only regarded as instruments to be used and thrown aside. His movements against the rebels were overruled; his attempts to moderate the councils of government slighted; his efforts to protect the innocent baffled and counteracted. His private fortune was chiefly in the hands of the rebels, and his pay as the king's lieutenant-general was withheld. The difficulties with which he had to strive were great beyond the possibility of any ordinary stretch of apprehension. In his command he was thwarted and crossed by the earl of Leicester, at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but living in England, from which he sent his orders at the prescription of parliament, which had thus the disposal of every thing. And thus even the army under the earl of Ormonde's nominal command was officered by his enemies, the creatures and servants of the parliament, so far as this change could be brought about by filling the vacancies as they fell. To this injustice the earl was compelled to submit, for though the inconvenience of which it was productive was quickly and severely felt, and though on the earl's application, the king

gave his express warrant empowering him to appoint his officers; yet such was the difficulty of the king's position, and the necessity of conciliating his powerful enemies, that it was thought wise to keep this warrant secret for a time; a most unwise course and evidently tending to cause future misunderstandings, if the earl should in any way have recourse to what would thus seem to be an unwarranted assumption of authority. And such indeed was the actual consequence when on the death of Sir C. Coote, the earl appointed lord Dillon to his command. The earl of Leicester was violently offended; while the earl of Ormonde was placed in an embarrassing situation, and both parties were impelled to maintain their assumed right, by complaints and angry representations. The earl of Ormonde on this occasion felt himself obliged to assert his right and support lord Dillon, whose claims on the score of public service and private friendship were such as to make it both unjust and embarrassing to insult him by withdrawing his appointment. Another instance of the same nature occurred on the appointment of Sir Philip Perceval, and on this occasion the language of the earl of Leicester, seems strangely inconsistent with the fact that he really took no concern in the duties of his office, and that, unless for the purpose of embarrassing the king and the actual administration of Ireland, he took no part in the affairs of a country which he did not even think fit to visit. The assertion that "the lieutenant-general had not given him so much as the respect due to a private colonel, who in most places have the naming of their own officers," involves a singular confusion of ideas, as it precisely describes the injustice which the earl sustained from his lordship's interference, and has very much the tone of the wolf accusing the lamb in one of *Æsop's* fables. Yet this absurd resentment of lord Leicester was genuine; so great was his wrath on this occasion, that he would not write to the earl, but sent over to his own son lord Lisle, a commission for another to fill the command given to Perceval. The inconvenience of this proceeding was no less apparent than the injustice was glaring, and Perceval himself had probably some interest in the castle, for the council interfered in his behalf. The earl sent over Sir Patrick Wemyss, when the earl of Leicester met him before the king at York, and had the effrontery to justify his own conduct, and to hazard a declaration that no one should be admitted to any command without the consent of parliament. The king felt himself compelled to support his own servant, and from the house of Sir Thomas Leigh, where he was then residing, he wrote to the Irish lords-justices and council "that it was by his own special command and authority under his hand, that the earl of Ormonde had, in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, conferred upon divers persons several places in the army; that he had given him this authority to encourage the soldiers to exert themselves with greater readiness and vigour, in obeying and executing his commands in the important services wherein they were employed against the rebels there; for which it was necessary that the commander in chief should have a power to prefer them, and that it was his will and command, that all such persons as had been already, or should hereafter be so preferred by the said lieutenant-

general of the army, in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, should be continued in places and commands."*

The resolution of the king on this occasion was become necessary. The commissions of the earl of Ormonde, were still subject to be rendered of little avail if the lord-lieutenant should think proper to visit Ireland in person. Of these commissions the first was terminable on such an event, and the second placed his authority entirely under the discretion of the lord-lieutenant; there is also much reason to think that such is the course which would have been adopted for the mere purpose of setting aside one whose known principles were not to be reconciled with the parliamentary policy of keeping Ireland disturbed to weaken the king; the castle of Dublin was even got ready for the reception of the earl of Leicester. But this part of the design was rendered null, by a new commission to the earl of Ormonde appointing him to hold his command directly from the king and independently of any other authority; he was also at the same time advanced to the dignity of marquess. These arrangements had an immediate and salutary effect, and very much tended to counteract the efforts then made to engage the army in Ireland to declare for parliament. For this purpose, among other means of a less ostensible character, a draught of a declaration to be signed by the officers of the army was prepared, and submitted to the marquess of Ormonde, who objected to its main averments ascribing the success of the government in keeping down the rebellion, to the counsels of the administration, and praying in the king's name for a compliance with his parliament. The marquess produced an amended draught, removing these objectionable points, and changing the last mentioned prayer into a form, "that the parliament by its timely compliance with the king, would save the nation," the declaration in consequence fell to the ground.

The military events of this interval, composing chiefly the history of the year 1642, have been already related. The battle of Liscarrol was won by the earl of Inchiquin. The various battles and other incidents which marked this period of the rebellion in the counties of the west and south, are not such as to need repetition. Owen O'Neile's arrival in July, and the confederacy in Kilkenny are fully detailed in the memoir of this leader. We have also had occasion to mention the use which the king's enemies in England made of these incidents to embarrass him more deeply and to increase their own strength, by levies of men and money under the cover of an Irish expedition. As the rupture between the king and parliament rapidly approached its full maturity, the lords-justices encroached with more boldness, decision and success, on the authority of every adherent of the king in Ireland; and the marquess found himself involved in deeper difficulties. The absolute exhaustion of all resources of a public or private nature, reduced him to the painful position of looking on during the entire mismanagement of affairs which were nominally under his charge. His own debts were accumulated to a great amount, and his property had become unproductive. In the same year he was attacked by a violent fever, which brought him

to the brink of the grave, and he had not well recovered when the marchioness and lord Thurles were seized with an illness of the most alarming nature. During his illness the marquess dictated a letter to Sir Philip Perceval, addressed to the king, a part of which will give the reader a lively idea of the condition of things at that time:—He represented the condition of his own estate, which he said “was torn and rent from him by the fury of the rebellion, and nothing left to support his wife and children whilst the rebellion should last, but his majesty’s great goodness, which had never failed him, and which he besought his majesty to extend towards them, by making some honourable provision for them, till his own estate might be so settled as thereout they might receive convenient maintenance. He added, that his estate was at present in such circumstances, that if his majesty did not in his abundant goodness think of some course, how his debts (as great part whereof had been contracted and drawn upon him in his majesty’s service) might be thereafter satisfied, his house and posterity must of necessity sink under the weight thereof, since they were many and great, and the interest growing thereupon would in a short time exceed the debts. As an help towards the payment thereof, or at least as a means to prevent their increasing, he besought his majesty to grant him, or (if he died of that sickness) to the lord Thurles, so much of the tenements and hereditaments in the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, as should accrue to his majesty by forfeiture, and owed rent or service to him or his wife; this being conceived to be in the king’s free disposal, as not being within the intent of the late act in England, which seemed to extend only to lands to be admeasured, and not to houses.”*

The lords-justices availed themselves of the illness of the marquess, to make some very influential alterations in the army. These we must pass in order to confine this memoir within reasonable limits. At this time, and during the year 1643, the efforts made to draw the army into the service of the parliament were unremitting and unconcealed: but the main sinew of all such efforts was wanting: the parliament had no desire to waste its resources on Irish ground. The army was found untractable: the soldiers had nothing more than a penurious subsistence, and the condition of the officers was deplorable indeed: they did not receive any pay, and were suffering all conceivable privations. An insidious attempt was made to bribe them with a most fallacious expectation: a book was made and sent round to the officers for subscription, in which they were to declare their free consent to take portions of the rebels’ lands, “when they should be declared to be subdued,”† in lieu of their arrears and pay. To give the more speciousness to this trick, the official persons of the Irish government subscribed; and thus, many officers were drawn in. The officers however who had subscribed, and many who had not, insisting on certain further security, soon found reason to suspect the real design, and retracted; nor could they be satisfied until the book was given up to a committee of their own body. A remonstrance which the earl of Kildare, and other principal officers in consequence drew up, will give the most authentic view of

* Carte.

† Ibid.

the real state of military affairs at that time, and no small insight into the views of every party. In their preamble they mention their having appealed in vain to the parliament for the supply of their wants, and having failed in every application, they were obliged to appeal to his sacred majesty, &c., and they then go on to state, "that as well by the act of parliament in England, as by the covenants with the lord-lieutenant, and by the promises of the lords-justices and council of Ireland, they were to have their pay made good to them as well for their carriages as themselves and their soldiers. That both officers and soldiers had faithfully answered all services that could be expected from them, not only in the frequent hazard of their lives, but also in the constant discharge of their duties. That notwithstanding the starving condition of the army, all the extremity of strictness in musters was put upon them, with an oath tendered as well to the soldiers as officers, which could not but leave upon them a character of distrust of their integrity in the cause; and yet they had no assured hopes of assistance, but rather their fears increased of having the highest severities used to them in these checks, which in an army so ill paid and oppressed with want and misery, was without precedent. That in all armies military offences, of what nature soever, had been punishable by martial law only, and no other; a privilege which they pleaded, and maintained to be inseparable to their profession. That there never had since the beginning of the service been any account made with them, so as if they should miscarry, their heirs were ignorant what to demand, which not only discouraged the officers, but disabled them to subsist and continue in the service. That with all humility they craved leave to present to the memories of the lords-justices and council, what vast sums of money had been raised and paid in England for the advancement of the service and supply of their wants in Ireland; a great part whereof had been otherwise applied, even when their necessities were most pressing, and the cause most hopeful. That when their expectations were most set upon the performance of what was justly due to them, the small pay issued out was given them in a coin, much a stranger to that wherein the parliament had paid it, and yet continued to be so, though publicly disallowed by them; by which means the officers suffered an insupportable loss, whilst others wanted not the confidence to advance their own fortunes out of their general calamities: a crime they conceived highly censurable; and if in indigent times so much strictness were needful in the army, they conceived it as necessary for the state to find out such offenders, and to measure out a punishment suitable to an offence of so high an abuse. *That their arrears, which were great, might be duly answered them in money, and not in subscriptions, which they conceived to be an hard condition for them to venture their lives on:* and likewise humbly offered it to consideration, whether they might not be thought to deserve rewards in land without other price, as well as in former rebellions in that kingdom, others had done. For these reasons, in acquittal of themselves to God, the king, the cause, the country, and the state of Ireland, they had thus represented their condition, craving what their rights and necessities required for them, that they might be duly answered what was, or should be due to them in their employ-

ment according to their capitulation, their services being justly esteemed. Musters without oath, unless duly paid; checks according to the articles of war; their offences limited to the proper judicatory, their own oppressors found out, and punished exemplarily, with satisfaction to those they had wronged; that their pay might be converted only to the use the act of parliament had prescribed; their accompts speedily made up according to their several musters; their arrears secured, and due provision to be made for the subsistence of officers and soldiers. All this they desired might be answered otherwise than by verbal expressions, and that their lordships would speedily make it appear that there was a real care taken for their subsistence; or otherwise, by receiving so small hope of further assistance from the parliament (of England) their lordships would leave them to themselves, to take such course as should best suit to the glory of God, the honour of the king, and their own urgent necessities."

This remonstrance was entrusted to the care of the marquess, who communicated it to the council. The lords-justices were anxious to appease the army, and equally unwilling to forward their petition to the king. They suppressed the paper, but made an attempt, at the same time ineffective and oppressive, to levy a small sum for the relief of the officers. The marquess when he ascertained their design of withholding the petition, himself enclosed it to the king.

At this time an anxious effort was made by the nobles of the rebel party, and seconded as anxiously by the king's friends, to effect a pacification. The lords-justices opposed the proceedings adopted for this purpose by every method in their power: among other courses adopted for this end, none was so likely to be successful as the promotion of active hostilities: a course indeed otherwise rendered necessary by the active operations of an enemy which moved unresisted in every direction. The presence also of an army which they found no means to pay, and could ill restrain, was not very convenient, and it was on every ground desirable to send them out of town on some expedition where they might be more useful and less troublesome. With this view, the army was ordered out to take possession of Ross and Wexford, under the command of lord Lisle; this expedition had already been strongly urged by the marquess, but deferred by the lords-justices for the expected arrival of the lord-lieutenant. The marquess now came forward and declared his intention to command the troops in person, and the declaration was a shock to the council. They had subscribed to facilitate their object, but on this disappointment, they were strongly urged by the parliament committee, who governed all their conduct, and in fact, presided over the Irish council, to withhold the money. With this intention the council passed a vote, declaring that "the intended expedition should be left wholly to the lieutenant-general and the council of war, notwithstanding any former debate or resolution taken by the board concerning the same."*

On March 2d, 1648, the marquess left town with 2500 foot, and 500 horse. After taking Castle Martin, Kildare and other castles on

* Cate.

the way, they proceeded by easy marches toward Ross, where he arrived on the 12th, and erected his battery before the walls.

The garrison was inconsiderable, but the rebel army lay in great force in the vicinity, and during the night 1500 men were added to their strength.

The marquess anxiously awaited the vessel which the council had agreed to send after him with bread and ammunition, but of this the motives of their party policy served to retard the execution. Under various pretences it was deferred until the wind became unfavourable, and the marquess, after seeing his troops suffer severely, was compelled to send for supplies to Duncannon fort, from which the governor, lord Esmond, forwarded to him all the bread and ammunition he could spare: with these he also sent his own bark, and another vessel mounting a small gun, which for a time gave much trouble to the garrison, but a battery was planted against it, and as the wind and tide were unfavourable to escape, the crews were compelled to leave their vessels and make the best of their way to the marquess.

Unable to wait any longer for supplies of which he must have had slight expectation, the marquess opened his fire, and a practicable breach was soon effected. He commanded an assault; but the garrison were in fact as strong as their assailants, and these were retarded by wool-packs and other obstacles under the cover of which they were repulsed with some loss. The position of the marquess was become perplexing enough, his whole stock of food amounted to four biscuits a man, and at this moment general Preston hung upon his rear with 6000 foot, and 650 horse. The marquess called a council, and after considering all circumstances, resolved to face Preston, and take the alternative of a battle, or a retreat towards Dublin. On his advance, Preston retired towards a strong line of wood and bog, and was joined by the body of men which he had thrown into Ross. The marquess took his ground for the night on a large heath within two miles of Ross, and within sight of the rebel quarters. On the next morning early, he observed that they were in motion, and conjecturing from their movements that they intended an attack, he rode up to Sir H. Willoughby the serjeant-major-general, and gave orders for the disposition of his little army. The soldiers of the marquess were drawn up in battle array on the slope of a rising ground, with the six pieces of artillery between the divisions. Between the two armies there lay a low swell of the ground just sufficient to conceal the infantry from each other. To the top of this both generals sent out small parties, which returned without coming to blows. After closely inspecting the ground, the marquess gave orders to Willoughby to advance the men to the top of the hill, as they would thereby gain the advantage of the sun and wind. Willoughby obeyed his orders, but a mistake was committed by the lieutenant of the ordnance who neglected to bring forward the guns. While this error was repaired, the enemy's horse collected for an attack in a broad lane between two high ditches: two regiments were advanced to oppose them, and drawn up against the entrance of the lane, and as this for a short time had the expected effect of checking their intended movement, the two culverins were in the interval brought up and planted to advantage, so as to bear into the mouth of

the lane: when this was completed, the two regiments were commanded to open to the right and left, very much in the style of Milton's rebel host, who probably took a hint from the battle of Ross, which was fought perhaps before the composition of his poem: the reader may recollect the manœuvre in *Paradise lost*,* which we should here quote, but that thirty lines of verse would be an unsuitable interruption in the middle of a fight. As the English infantry unfolded their front "to right and left," the culverins discharged their contents upon the rebel cavalry with such effect, that eighty men were killed at one fire: they were thrown into a panic, and with cries of dismay and terror, rushed out of the lane into the next field. The cannon of the marquess were that day worked by Sir T. Esmond's seamen, who maintained their fire with unusual skill and effect, by which means the disorder of the enemy's cavalry was kept up; the marquess sent orders to his cavalry, commanded by lord Lucas and lord Lisle, to charge them. This charge was rendered in some degree difficult by the hot cannonade which the English sailors kept up, and the entrance into the park was obstructed by a formidable ditch. The gallant officers nevertheless promptly obeyed their lieutenant-general's command, and rode up to the ditch in a style not unworthy of Melton, where the ditches are not often as formidable, and the steeds much better. Lucas had the misfortune to be thrown with his horse, and before he could rise, was severely wounded in the head. Lisle's horse was so severely wounded that he was forced to mount another: a confused and desultory skirmish which was rather individual than collective, ensued: and thus the two bodies continued for a long time mixed together, and fighting man to man. During this time the marquess was in great uneasiness about his horse, as the confusion of the combatants was so great. He now decided to cross the ditch and to attack the main body, which as yet stood inert under the fire of the battery which had played on their ranks from the commencement of the cavalry's charge. He caused a strong party of the musqueteers to fire a few vollies upon them while he led his men across the ditch; and when they had come within a convenient distance, the word was passed to charge, and setting up a loud cheer, the English rushed forward against the enemy. The enemy did not await the collision; but turning about, fled in great confusion over the bog. The flight continued until they reached a hill on the other side where they had quartered the night previous. Here they attempted a stand, but on four regiments moving forward to attack them, they turned again and continued their flight until they had the Bannow between them and danger. Preston then ordered the bridge to be broken behind them: his loss amounted to five hundred men, with all his ammunition and baggage: among the slain were many persons of rank. The marquess lost twenty men. His victory was complete, but the conduct of his cavalry gave rise to mysterious doubts and suspicions: as the result of their charge was both unusual and difficult to be accounted for on any supposition, but that they were privately, under some influence, engaged to counteract the operations of the marquess. They were in point of number, nearly equal to the rebels, who, in addition

* *Paradise Lost*, book VI. 558.

to the state of confusion and flight in which they were assailed, were extremely inferior in all respects, both in men, horses, arms and discipline; nor could it on any reasonable ground, drawn from previous experience, be imagined that they could continue for a few minutes to exchange blows with their opponents, without being routed with much loss: such had, till then, been the uniform result, and mostly under circumstances less favourable to the English. On the flight of Preston's foot, his cavalry were allowed to march off without further molestation, to the great vexation of the marquess, who clearly saw that some sinister influence had accompanied him to the field, and paralyzed one of his most effective arms, so as very much to impair the value of his victory. Preston had indeed committed an oversight, in a very high degree advantageous to the earl's subsequent movements: as it was imperatively necessary that he should lead back his men, destitute as he was of all means of subsisting them or keeping the field. He must otherwise speedily have become involved in difficulties, which would place him at the mercy of a force like Preston's, overwhelming in numbers, and amply provided with every munition of war. Had Owen O'Neile been in the place of Preston, he would undoubtedly have pursued a far different course; instead of the unpardonable mistake of a battle, he would have watched with Fabian caution the movements of an exhausted enemy who had neither food nor ammunition for more than the effort of an hour: he would have hung upon his retreat, which could not have been postponed another day, and pursued his daily diminishing numbers and exhausted force into the defiles and dangerous passes of sixty miles of most difficult march; and before half of its difficulties were overcome, he would have burst upon his exhausted and broken troops at some unfavourable moment, and with twenty men to one, have rendered even a struggle hopeless. Instead of this, Preston, having rashly ventured the fight, with the precipitance of fear, overlooked the real condition of the conquerors, and to prevent a pursuit which was not to be expected, by breaking down the bridge over the Bannow he cut off his only prospect of success, and secured the retreat of the marquess. By this ill-conceived step of his enemy, the marquess was left unmolested by a foe, to pursue his difficult and distressing march over a road nearly impervious to his artillery and baggage; and which presented difficulties formidable to his officers and men. In the mean time, the distress of the lords-justices was fast increasing: they were become so destitute of all means of support for the small garrison retained in Dublin, that at last they were compelled to quarter them upon the inhabitants who were themselves in a condition not much better. The suffering in consequence rose to a considerable height, and the fear much greater; for while the citizens were deserting their homes, under the apprehension of approaching destitution, it was known that the marquess, with his famishing army, were on their approach to the city. To ward off this severe emergency, some means were taken by the government, but ere they could in any way be effective, the marquess arrived. The effect was deplorable; to have the slightest hope of maintaining the army thus unseasonably increased, they were not only forced to expel all strangers, amounting to many thousand English; but were compelled to make a second inroad upon the merchants' stores, which

deprived them of all their remaining commodities, and was insufficient to remedy the evil.

We shall not here need to dwell on the treaties and commissions which commenced about this time between the king's commissioners and the confederates. We have already in several memoirs, had occasion to notice them as fully as their intrinsic importance demands. The reader is probably aware of the general view which we have taken of the conduct and designs of the two main parties thus opposed to each other. The popular party and their opponents are at this time little to be recognized in their real and peculiar characters, from the overwhelming agency of a party and of a policy, wholly distinct from either: and of which it was the present object to keep up the contention between them. This fact is here the more essential to our purpose to notice: because in strongly animadverting on the line of conduct observed by this middle party, the parliamentary rebels of England, it has been difficult to preserve with any tolerable distinctness the just line between the actual parties of Irish growth; a difficulty much increased by the complication which existed in the composition of the popular party. There were the mob, under the control of their spiritual guides, who acted solely with the view of obtaining the ascendancy of their church: they were mainly headed by a class of adventurers, who while they were subservient to those, had purposes entirely peculiar to themselves. Another great party who acted with these, but under the influence of far other motives, were the Roman catholic nobility and gentry, who were driven to arms by the wrongs and insults they had received from a government, equally cruel, unjust, and insolent to all, and acting under the authority of the rebel parliament of England. It was unfortunate, and led to much added bitterness, and has left prejudices not yet abated, that this confusion of objects and interests was not at the time sufficiently understood or allowed for. The Roman catholic lords, by confusing their own cause with that of the clergy, rendered redress difficult, and gave a tone of injustice and extravagance to their complaints, by demands which were embodied in most of their state papers, and which we believe to have been very far from their real objects: and thus it occurred that their real, just and constitutional complaints, were not very unreasonably classed with the pernicious and exorbitant demands with which they were thus embodied. Far worse at the time than these, was the animosity pervading the minds of the mass on either side, always incapable of just distinctions, and never correctly informed: to all of these, one impression distorted by a million fears and rumours, refracted into every monstrous uncouth and unholy shape through the universal atmosphere of terror that had fallen upon the country, presented itself to the apprehension: it was the combined effect of the worst crimes committed by fanatics, plunderers, or oppressors, in each of the many parties and political sects which on either side were confused together. The most moderate of the rebels were involved in the massacres committed by the banditti of O'Neile and his plundering confraternity: while the most humane, loyal and temperate of the protestants were not free from the odium of the parliamentary puritans, who had an equal disregard for both. To these reflections we shall here only add, that having attentively per-

used the documents of a public nature in which the representations of each of these parties is set forth, we should be reluctant wholly to subscribe to any one of them. But generally speaking, the real objects of the aristocracy on both sides only required to be sifted from demands that were not sincere, and reproaches which were not just, to bring them to a perfect agreement.

It is to the immortal honour of the marquess of Ormonde, to have stood clear from the crimes and prejudices of both parties, and to have been trusted and honoured by the wise and good of all; an honour more conspicuous, because of all the great public men of his day, it can be claimed by himself and the earl of Clanricarde alone. While he beat the rebels in the field of battle and resisted the lords-justices in council, he was at the same time anxiously watching for every occasion to bring about that peace which was so desirable to all, on the most just and equitable basis. The confederates forwarded their remonstrance, already quoted in this volume, to the king, who sent to the marquess, observing strongly the impossibility of complying with some of the petitions it contained. He was equally unfavourable to a letter which he received from the lords-justices and council. The terms proposed by either party were indeed sufficiently extreme, to leave room for ample modifications between; if the Roman catholic lords would alter the entire existing constitution of Irish laws and government in favour of their own party, the lords-justices were as importunate in their remonstrances against any peace with the rebels, unless on the terms of a universal forfeiture of the estates of all who had taken arms, without any distinction of persons or circumstances. The marquess of Ormonde, disapproving of the misrepresentations by which they were endeavouring to mislead, and at the same time harass and distress the king, sent over private messengers to rectify these mischievous and delusory statements. This expedient had been indeed prevented for some time, as the lords-justices in their displeasure at the result of a former communication to the king by means of which the marquess was vested with new powers, endeavoured to remove the future recurrence of such an inconvenience, by an order in council, that, "the lieutenant-general of the army should licence no commander, officer, or soldier of the army to depart out of the kingdom upon any pretence whatever, without the allowance of the board first had obtained, &c.*" The order had been easily passed in council, where for many months there was no attendance of any but the most obsequious of the lords-justices' own creatures, as the intrusion of the committee of the English parliament who were allowed to sit in the council and govern all its proceedings, had the effect of disgusting and deterring every respectable person of any authority or independence. Hearing this, the king sent over an express prohibition against this irregularity, so inconsistent with his own authority where it was as yet least impaired. The Irish council which had not yet arrived at the point of direct defiance of the royal authority, was compelled to yield in a case where it had acted with manifest illegality; and the parliamentary officers were excluded. Of this the immediate consequence was the

* Carte.

return of the seceding members, who being most of them favourable to the king, the order above cited was revoked, and the marquess was thus enabled to communicate with the king. He was joined by several members of the council in a letter, stating the distress of the army, the great difficulties to which they had been reduced by the want of money, the miserable exhaustion of the kingdom, and the dangerous consequences to be speedily apprehended in case they should be left in the same condition any longer, and praying for his majesty's directions now they were to act under the circumstances.* This letter was sent by Sir P. Wemyss. In the mean time the marquess had much to do, to prevent all his officers from throwing up their commissions and returning to England. They had long borne the absolute privations to which they were subjected by the want of their pay, as evils not to be remedied; but their resentment was excited by petty attempts to defraud them in the small instalments, which the government were seldom able to pay. They sent in a petition to the Irish parliament, full of strong and true complaints, both of the misapplication of the remittances made for their support, and of the imposition effected by means of a light coin; and desiring their lordships "to call Mr vice-treasurer, his ministers, and all others employed about the receipts and disbursements aforesaid, to a present strict account of all moneys sent out of England and issued here since October 23d, 1641, and also to take notice of other of his majesty's rights misapplied to private uses; and out of the estates of the persons offending, to enforce a present satisfaction, that may in some measure relieve the distressed army which now groans under the burden of these wrongs, and extreme wants; and further to take into your considerations the necessities of the said officers and soldiers, which if there may not be subsistence for them in this kingdom, your lordships cannot but know, will consequently enforce them to quit the same, and abandon this service."†

The lords-justices met the embarrassment which the discussion of this petition would have occasioned, by the prorogation of parliament, just as it was entering upon the consideration of the subject. The parliament desired to have the prorogation suspended, which was refused; they next desired to be informed of the reasons for the prorogation; to this an answer was also refused. The lords therefore ordered a letter to be written by the lord-chancellor to be laid before the king, and directed the draught of this to be first submitted to the marquess of Ormonde, the lord Roscommon, and lord Lambart, in order that they might see that a full statement was made of their endeavours to discuss the petition, their reasons, their sense of the state of the army and the necessity of some immediate interposition for their relief. But in reality the king had no means to remedy the evil, and the English parliament no will. The lords-justices who, with all their acquiescence in the policy of the English commons, had begun to fear the full extent to which that policy would be carried, or the full effects which might recoil on their own government, were at this moment in the deepest perplexity. They had paralyzed the military operations of the marquess, until it was too late; they had roused all parties into a union to resist

* Carte I. p. 414.

† Carte.

them. They now saw themselves in the midst of a disturbed and irritated country, without men, money or food. In this condition they, too, made the most earnest appeals to the parliament in letters, which gave the most appalling and heart-rending pictures of the ruinous condition of Dublin, and of the abject condition of helplessness to which they were reduced. They also vindicated their own conduct, by one of those partial statements of facts so familiar to all who know the common arts of faction: omitting their own previous errors, which were the entire cause of all the existing evils, they exhibited the true facts of their unavailing and not very laudable efforts to retard the ruin they had blindly drawn down, by turning it upon the merchants and citizens of Dublin, whom, in good set terms they acknowledge themselves to have plundered freely and unreservedly, for the support of the government. The parliament of England which had gone on amusing them, and urging them on their purblind courses with high promises which were never kept, now saw that their purpose was gained for the present, and turned a deaf ear to all their complaints. The application here mentioned was the last official act of Parsons. The king who had repeatedly been irritated by his conduct and felt all through that he was betraying him to his implacable and bitter enemies, was at last made aware of acts of more unequivocal treachery, of which he had hitherto been kept in ignorance. He had not been acquainted with the fact that Sir W. Parsons, in all his official acts had looked solely to the authority of the parliament, with which he kept up a direct, constant and confidential communication, while his communications with his majesty were but formal and for the most part partial and illusory; being in fact framed on the suggestion of the commons, and to forward their aims. On receiving certain intimations of this fact, the king without further delay, ordered a commission to be made out appointing Sir H. Tichburne in his place.

It was under the general state of affairs here related, that the king began very clearly to see that it was full time to put an end to a war which could not be maintained, and which must terminate in the ruin of every party. He therefore sent to the marquess of Ormonde a commission to conclude a cessation with the rebels. The preamble of this commission is a correct statement of the question, as between himself and his enemies. "Since his two houses of parliament (to whose care at their instance he had left it to provide for the support of the army in Ireland, and the relief of his good subjects there,) had so long failed his expectation, whereby his said army and subjects were reduced to great extremities; he had thought good for their preservation, to resume the care of them himself; and that he might the better understand as well the state of that kingdom as the cause of the insurrection, he had thought fit to command and authorise the marquess of Ormonde lieutenant-general of his army there, with all secrecy and convenient expedition, to treat with his subjects in arms, and agree with them for a present cessation of arms for one year, in as beneficial a manner as his wisdom and good affection for his majesty should conceive to be most for his honour and service; and as through the want of a full information of the true state of the army and condition of the country, he could not himself fix a judgment in the case, so as to be able to

prescribe the particulars thereof, he referred the same entirely to the lieutenant-general, promising to ratify whatsoever he upon such treaty should conclude and subscribe with his own hand in that business.”*

This step was indeed anxiously looked for by all whose passions were not strongly engaged in this ruinous conflict. The provinces were harassed by desultory but destructive war between leaders, who on either side maintained themselves by resources destructive to the country. The new government endeavoured in vain to restore the trade which the old one had destroyed. A proclamation informed the trading part of the community that they might expect to be paid for their goods; but there were little goods to be had from a wasted and impoverished land, and on these an excise amounting to half the value, amounted to a species of partnership not much to the encouragement of trade.

We have already had occasion† to give some account of the negotiations for the cessation, and to advert as fully as we consider desirable, to the conduct of the several parties while it was carried on with much interruption, and many difficulties. It may be enough here summarily to mention, that it was mainly rendered difficult by the unwillingness of two great sections of the rebel party, who threw every obstacle in the way of any conclusion between the government and the rebels, short of the entire concession of their own several objects; these were the ecclesiastical party, who were under the control of the Roman cabinet, and of whom the majority either from inclination or compulsion entered into its policy; and the old Irish chiefs, of whom Owen O’Neile was now the leader, whose object was the recovery of certain supposed rights, and the resumption of their ancient state and authority. In consequence of these divisions, it so happened that while one party was engaged in treaty, another was actively pursuing hostilities, and many of the principal battles which we have had to notice, took place while the confederates were actually engaged in negotiation with the marquess, and other noblemen who co-operated with him for the purpose of restoring peace to the country. Much delay also arose from the effect of the successes of those who were continuing the war, which caused the confederates to raise their demands and assume a tone of insolence not to be submitted to in prudence. The marquess in his turn was reluctant to allow the enemy to gain advantages unresisted, and was occasionally compelled to defer the treaty for the purpose of defeating manœuvres, which the rebels were assiduous in practising under every pretence. The difficulties which arose in the council, were not less than those among the confederacy; entirely overlooking the utter prostration of their own military force and the increased armies of the rebels, and mainly engaged in a miserable attempt to induce the English commons, by the most absurd misrepresentations, to some active effort to carry on the war, they wasted the time in opposition, and were met on the part of the marquess by demands for means to carry on the war: he asked for soldiers and money, and silenced their reasons without conquering their obstinacy. And thus the first commission for a treaty, sent over in April, came to nothing.

* Carte.

† Life of Owen O’Neile.

On August 31st, another commission was sent over; and the commissioners on the part of the confederates met the marquess with more moderate demands, insomuch that the only obstacle which prevented their full agreement, arose from the difficulty of settling the quarters of the parties. During the discussion of this point, the prospect of any amicable conclusion was much endangered by the ignorant interference of the council which opposed the temporary cessation of hostilities. Notwithstanding this interruption, the parties came to an agreement by which the king was to receive £30,000 from the confederates, in money and beeves, to be paid in several instalments during that year. The treaty was signed September 15th, and publicly proclaimed through the kingdom.

The cessation now concluded was in a high degree unacceptable to the popular portion of the confederacy. It was still more so to the rebel parliament of England; a fact deserving of notice for the side light which it throws upon this period of English history, which is also a standing theme of party misrepresentation. The general view upon which the foregoing narrative has been mainly framed, as well as our particular sentiments as to the conduct and policy of this flagitious parliament, derive much valuable confirmation from an able and authoritative document from the hand of Sir Philip Perceval, who was himself appointed under the authority of that very parliament by lord Leicester, commissary-general of Ireland; and who had therefore the more intimate means of knowing the most minute particulars, both of the condition of the Irish army, with its means of subsistence and operative efficiency, and of the actual conduct of the parliament compared with their pretensions to the conduct of Irish affairs. This body was as violent in its denunciations of any overture towards peace, as it was remiss in support of the war: its members were content that every process of extirpation should destroy every sect and party, popular, aristocratic, priestly, royal and parliamentary, provided only that a peace favourable to the king might be obstructed. And as they were as harsh, summary and absolute in vindicating their authority as they were prompt to assume the language of constitutional principle, when complaints were to be maintained against the prerogative of the crown, it became necessary for one of their own officers a man of virtue and ability to defend the conduct of himself and his colleagues in the Irish parliamentary government, for their assent to the Cessation. In Sir Philip Perceval's vindication of this measure, a plain irrefragable and uncontradicted statement of the main facts is to be found, which we have noticed directly, or taken into account in our general commentary. Sir Philip commenced by adverting to the charges against him as a consenting party to the cessation; he regretted "that it was necessary for the vindication of the truth of his injured reputation, ingenuously to offer to their honours' consideration, that nothing but want and necessity, not feigned, but imminent, real, and extreme necessity, and the exceedingly great discontents of the army, to the apparent danger of the sudden and inevitable ruin and destruction of the remnant of our nation and religion, there did or could compel his consent to the cessation." He then begins at March 23d, 1641, and by a historical series of private statements down to the end of the treaty of the cessation, he makes

good these facts, viz: that the parliament voted large supplies for the conduct of the war in Ireland; that the sums thus raised did not come to Ireland; that the Irish army was without clothes, shoes and food, in a condition of the lowest exhaustion, ill health and discontent, arising from continued and unmitigated hardships and privation, and only preserved in a languishing and wretched existence by occasional acts of robbery and piracy on the authority of government. Of this Perceval's various statements would occupy ten pages of this volume; we extract a few facts which lie within the least compass. He first mentions two large votes of £10,000 and £5000, one of which ended in a miserable remittance of £500 and the second of £200. He mentions also that the Dublin merchants were stripped of their property by the consent of the parliamentary committee, who he observes, "knew the extremity which had obliged *the state* with their privity to seize by force the goods of merchants, without paying for them." It is also made plain from several statements of the relief actually sent, that the larger proportion was supplied by Sir P. Perceval and other officers engaged in the commissariat department themselves, by incurring large debts on the faith of parliamentary promises never redeemed. On the condition of the army he mentions, that the "state" had for the six months previous to the cessation, frequently represented to the parliament of England through its committee, the "frequent mutinies of the army for want of pay, the impossibility of keeping up discipline; that divers captains being commanded to march with their soldiers, declared their disability to march, and that their soldiers would not move without money, hoes and stockings, for want of which many had marched barefooted, and bled much on the road, had been forced to be carried in cars; and others through unwholesome food, having no money to buy better, had become diseased, and died; yet no competent supplies came, and very few answers were returned."*

On the condition of the rebel armies he mentions, "the Irish all this while subsisted very well, carrying their cattle (especially their milch cows) with their armies for their relief into the field, and there at harvest cutting down the corn, burning (as their manner is), grinding, baking, and eating it in one day."

He also mentions that the confederates had three armies on foot, "well furnished with every thing" even in Leinster, while at the same time, the want in Dublin was so great, "that upon several searches made in Dublin, and the suburbs thereof, from house to house, by warrants from the state, as well by the church-wardens as by particular persons intrusted for that purpose, there could not be found fourteen days' provision for the inhabitants and the soldiers; a circumstance of great weight, considering that both the parliament ships, and the Irish privateers interrupted all commerce and importation to that port and these quarters."

Concerning the efforts made by the marquess of Ormonde and other loyalists, to remedy this grievous state of things he states, "that the marquess of Ormonde would have prosecuted the war, if £10,000, half in money and half in victual, could have been raised to have fur-

* Sir P. Perceval's Statement: Carte.

nished the officers and soldiers, and enabled them to march; and his lordship, the lords-justices, and most (if not all) of the council had entered into various bonds, some jointly, some severally, for provisions spent by the army, whilst any could be had on their security; and he heard the said marquess at several times offer in public to divers merchants and others that had formerly furnished the army, to engage himself for provisions to subsist it, as far as his engagement would be taken, or as his estate would bear, if provisions could be had thereupon, but little or nothing could be procured on any of their securities before the treaty of cessation began. The state likewise had been necessitated to seize by force goods of considerable value on ship board after they were put on board by license, all duties and customs paid, and the ships ready to sail, and to take many other hard ways to gain relief for the subsistence of the army."

We have selected a few from a multitude of parallel statements, which together represent all the effects of a continued state of civil war, kept up without any efficient means to give a decided turn to the aims of either party, but operating by a slow process of waste and exhaustion to the ruin of the kingdom. On the side of the rebels an armed mob, only qualified for plunder and living on plunder; on the side of government, a starved, unarmed and unpaid army, barely kept alive in a state of utter incapacity for any effort, by the most ruinous and unwarrantable stretches of power. And it is no less evident that this condition of affairs in Ireland, was neither more nor less than according to the well concerted policy of the leaders of the parliamentary confederacy in England, who saw the efficiency of the Irish rebellion for their main designs, to depress the king and to work out a rebellion in England. It exhausted the resources both of the king and of his party, and brought large supplies into the funds of his enemies, who contrived to raise exorbitant sums from both countries on the strength of their assumed authority to conduct the Irish war. From Ireland alone they contrived to draw nearly £300,000 by forfeitures, during the time that the Irish armies were in a state of destitution clamouring for their pay; and while they sent £500 to Ireland, they were enabled to send £100,000 to the Scots to engage them to send an army into England, and £60,000 to the Scottish army in Ulster, whose inactivity plainly makes it appear for what purpose they were maintained.*

After the cessation, the king who began more and more to perceive the full aim of his enemies, was anxious to strengthen himself against them. He sent over to the marquess of Ormonde, desiring such assistance as could be spared. And the question was raised in the king's council as to the expediency of the marquess himself coming over to take the command. But his presence in Ireland was felt indispensable; there he was the main spring of the royal cause, and the only earthly safeguard of the peaceful of any party: as moderate and equitable as he was effective and firm, he was looked to with respect and confidence even by his enemies. The cessation was but a suspension of hostilities between armed soldiers, who watched for advantages and

* Carte.

were ready to fight for their quarters. It was also considered how much it might be injurious to the king, by affording matter for reproach to his enemies, if the absence of the marquess should occasion any calamitous result to those whom his presence alone protected. A small body of Irish troops was accordingly sent over under different leaders, and it was resolved by the king to nominate the marquess to the entire management of the perplexed affairs of Ireland, with the appointment of lord-lieutenant.

In this appointment there was nothing desirable to the marquess; it was the adoption of a lost cause, glory and gain were no longer to be thought of; but on the other hand certain loss, fatigue, reproach, perplexity, and without the intervention of singular good fortune, ultimate ruin. The marquess met the occasion with the heroism of his noble spirit, and expressed his devoted willingness to the undertaking. There was a difficulty in the appointment, as the earl of Leicester was actually lord-lieutenant, and it was judged fit to have his resignation. He was applied to and gave a reluctant consent, and sent his commission to the king, who had the marquess' commission drawn up in the same form, and with the same powers; he was after many delays sworn lord-lieutenant, 21st January, 1644.

During this year the chief object of the king's friends was the levy of forces to assist him against his parliamentary enemies in England. Of the main circumstances the reader may find a sufficient account in our notice of the earl of Antrim, who was now the second time engaged to use his influence for the purpose, and succeeded in obtaining a small force for his majesty. Among the incidents connected with these armaments, we shall here only stop to mention one characteristic incident. One of the ships which the marquess of Ormonde had hired for the transport of 150 men under Sir Anthony Willoughby, was taken at sea by captain Swanly a parliamentary officer, who ordered 70 of the soldiers to be thrown into the sea, under the pretence that they were Irish.* The parliamentary ships which were not to be had while they pretended to support the king, were now in full force, employed in blockading the harbour of Dublin, and in intercepting all communication between the king and his party in that country.

During the cessation it was the main object of the marquess to preserve its continuance; his chief difficulty arose from the fears of the rebel confederacy, that their party might become weakened by the division consequent upon the advantageous offers or overtures of the government. This year was spent in negotiations, in which to those who look back with a full knowledge of after events it is likely to appear that every party committed grievous and fatal mistakes. The popular party insisted upon such terms from the king, as were not consistent with the interests of the protestant inhabitants of Ireland; they were rejected with a decision not compatible with the position of the king's affairs at the time. The marquess was desirous to be released from his embarrassing post, from the consideration that the compliances which might become essential under the circumstances were such as it would not be consistent with his honour to advise: as

* Carte.

he had not only numerous relations and friends among the Irish party, but as his large estates were entirely in their hands, his conduct could not fail to be attributed to motives of an interested nature. It is also evident that he saw the growing failure of the royal cause, and the vast weight of censure which was likely to be directed against the authors of the required concessions, which would seem to have amounted to the entire surrender of the protestant, and consequently of the English interest. Such a step he could not justifiably have advised under any circumstances; and he was quite aware of the wretched and paltry tissue of intrigues which were then beginning to be resorted to, for the purpose of conciliating the Confederacy either by a base deception or a sacrifice as unworthy. The marquess has been censured by some very latitudinarian writers for this reluctance; and views have been imputed which could not possibly have occurred to the marquess, whom no turn of affairs could reimburse for the sacrifices of property he had made through the entire rebellion. But such writers judging simply from their party views, have in fact been incapable of appreciating the main principles of the marquess' conduct, a determination to support the king and not to compromise the protestants; a compromise which was then anxiously weighed in the scale of party, and not to be made without that of honour, conscience and of all the permanent interests of Ireland. It was during these negotiations that the wretched and contemptible farce of Glamorgan's treaty, so mortifying to the marquess and ultimately so prejudicial to the king took place. We shall mention it here as briefly as we can.

In the desperation of his affairs the unfortunate Charles was driven to the necessity of endeavouring to make peace on any terms with the confederates. They, speculating on his necessities, and urged on by the violent temper and extreme views of the nuncio Rinuncini, (already explained in this volume,) raised their demands to a height which appeared altogether inconsistent with the civil interests of the nation. To the concessions thus demanded it was impossible that the marquess could be a party, and the king found it necessary to employ a more pliant agent for the execution of a desperate and unprincipled design. The earl of Glamorgan was sent over to treat with the confederates, publicly on terms fitted for the public ear, and privately on terms more adapted to their own desires and demands. The private treaty was concluded; but Rinuncini who felt little respect for the opinion of the protestant public, and overrated the real power of the rebels, was importunate for the publication of the treaty; in this desire he was joined by his own party, and the report of such a treaty having been concluded between the king and the rebels soon got abroad, and did infinite mischief to the royal cause in England. The rumour was confirmed by an accident; Sir C. Coote, the younger, having routed the titular archbishop of Tuam before the walls of Sligo, found a copy of the treaty in his baggage and transmitted it to the English parliament, which rejoicing in a document so likely to cast disgrace on the king, published and circulated it through the kingdom.

The king was thus placed in a position of extreme embarrassment, and compelled to soften the matter by an explanation which no one received as accurately true; and which involved the admission that de-

ception had been intended in some part of the transaction; as he denied having given a power to Glamorgan to conclude the treaty, while he admitted that having sent over the earl for the purpose of raising forces, he thought it necessary to fortify him with such authority as might obtain him credit among the Irish. He wrote an apology to the marquess of Ormonde assuring him, that "he never intended Glamorgan should treat of any thing, without his approbation, much less his knowledge," a letter which, it should be observed, exonerates the marquess from all privity to such a transaction. The earl of Glamorgan was accused of high treason, arrested and imprisoned for exceeding his orders, and a scene of shuffling followed which is not worth detailing here, but which shows the nature of the whole proceeding, to be precisely that which we have described it, a scene of unworthy collusion from beginning to end. The earl of Glamorgan made such declarations as were adapted to save the credit of the king, who consoled his imprisonment with private letters of friendly approbation, and stood between him and all consequences; the marquess though offended by the whole conduct of both parties, yet when the mischief was done endeavoured to lessen the pernicious consequences, by favouring the efforts of the king to secure his weak minister from further exposure.

The parliamentary party from this began to gain ground in both countries. The confederates became divided, and the army hitherto in the main obedient to the king's officers, began to be tampered with by parliamentary agents and to be divided into factions. The solemn league and covenant was taken by Monroe and his troops, as well as by several bodies of the English forces in Ulster. And Monroe began to make more determined and earnest efforts to possess himself of the principal garrisons of Ulster. A long and intermitting negotiation of which the details are monotonous and of no historical importance, continued to be carried on between the king and the Irish confederates. As the difficulties of the royal cause increased, the confederates raised their demands, and the king showed signs of a disposition to give way, but was mainly impeded by the firmness of the marquess, who although he had freely sacrificed his fortune and faced all dangers and labours in the royal cause, never once made the slightest compromise of principle. Under these painful conditions he struggled on during a distressing and laborious period of three years, without means, or any steady or efficient aid from others, pressed by a hundred daily necessities and cruel embarrassments, zealous to save the king, rescue his own property, and restore peace, but resolute in rejecting the compromise which these interests appeared to demand:* and displaying with a striking reality not often met in the page of history, the example of a great and good man struggling with adversity.

In this desperate condition of the protestant party, the nuncio Rinuncini who had confined those members of the confederate assembly who had consented to the peace, called an assembly in Kilkenny of persons more favourable to his own views. And while Owen O'Neile held the

* On the justice and wisdom of the concessions demanded, there may be room for difference of opinion. We only insist upon motives.

greater part of Leinster with an army of 8000 men, introduced the question of the proposed peace, together with the conditions on which it might be concluded. The greater part of the members were nominated by the clergy, and were completely at their disposal. Soon after they met, a paper was presented from a synod of the clergy at the same time convened by Rinuncini, containing the outline of their project for the settlement of the country. They proposed the establishment of the papal church through every part of the country, with the entire and absolute possession of all churches, benefices, and ecclesiastical offices and dignities; the repeal of every statute by which any ecclesiastical right was vested in the crown, &c., &c., amounting to the full and entire jurisdiction of all ecclesiastical concerns in Ireland. The nuncio proposed in addition, that the monasteries should be restored their lands, a proposal which the assembly rejected, as most of the members were themselves largely possessed of such lands. With a few slight modifications these proposals were passed into a vote by the clergy. The commissioners who had assented to the late peace, were severely handled, and an attempt was made to pass a vote of censure upon them; this question prolonged the debate, but the peace was itself condemned and rejected by an overwhelming majority.*

These incidents are here selected from the events of two years, in which amongst the confusion of numerous parties and the absence of all preponderating control, no progress of historical interest can be traced, further than the desolating effect consequent upon a state of disorganization so long protracted. Their present importance to the subject of this narration, is however not inconsiderable. The treaty of the marquess of Ormonde by which he delivered up the country to the parliament, has been noticed by a writer of opposite politics, as affording proof of the insincerity of his loyalty and the selfishness of the entire of his policy. The charge is indeed too absurd to be formally combatted. If ever an instance could be found of the entire abandonment of all self-interest it would be the marquess; but in this special case, the accusation has altogether proceeded from the singular oversight of not considering the whole principles of the conduct of the marquess, but in their place imputing to him the views of the writer himself, who seems to have imagined that the proposed establishment of a papal ascendancy in Ireland, must have been as indifferent to the leader of the protestant party in Ireland, as it appeared to the historian, who was either a Roman catholic himself, or as is more probable, indifferent to all creeds. Much historical injustice would be avoided by the adoption of an obvious but constantly neglected rule; that of weighing the motives of eminent public men according to the principles of their own party and profession. So long as the act is consistent with the uniform and professed principle, it is unfair, and a fallacy to ascribe other motives different from those professed; these may, it is granted, be *in themselves* unjustifiable, but this is not the question here. The marquess had indeed no choice, and acted from an absolute necessity; but waving this consideration it would be sufficient to reply to the dis-

* These particulars are stated in great detail by Carte upon the authority of the nuncio's memoirs.

ingenuous insinuations of the historians of the popular party, that he acted in precise and rigid conformity with the conduct of his entire political life. Loyal to the king, he was more loyal to the protestant party in Ireland, and when their affairs became desperate by the want of all protection, and the complete ascendancy of the nuncio's party; when the peace was rejected and a war of extermination declared, on the very principle of exacting the entire demolition of all the stays and defences of his own church; the marquess knew his duty, and chose his part. The one *last* hope for Ireland, (according to the views of the marquess,) lay in the timely interposition of the parliament of England. It did not require all the sagacity of the marquess to perceive that any other earthly prospect for his party of deliverance from entire and rapid ruin, was but nominal. The king could do nothing to save himself—the protestant power in Ireland had dilapidated in a wasting war of six long years; and all who were not engaged in the business of murder and plunder, were the helpless victims of the folly, cupidity and fanaticism of those who were. The nuncio and his party possessed the kingdom, they not only rejected the peace but made a most unwarrantable use of a treaty to attempt the seizure of the marquess himself, and were actually engaged in discussing the terms on which the kingdom was to be delivered into the hands of the pope. Connected with this consideration is a very strong argument stated by the marquess himself, in a memorial presented shortly after to the king at Hampton court; in this document of which the great length prevents us from inserting it entire, the marquess says “a third reason was, upon consideration of the interest of your majesty's crown; wherein it appeared in some clearness to us, that if the places we held for your majestie were put into the hands of the two houses of parliament, they would revert to your majestie, when either by treaty or otherwise, you would recover your rights in England; and that in all probability without expense of treasure or blood. But if they were given, or lost to the confederates, it was to us very evident, that they would never be recovered to us by treaty, your majestie's known pious resolution, and their exorbitant expectations in point of religion considered; nor by conquest, but after a long and changeable war, wherein, how far they might be assisted by any foreign prince that would believe his affairs advanced or secured, by keeping your majestie busied at home, fell likewise into consideration.” The marquess convened the protestant party and proposed to them, that he should act in conformity with the directions given by the king, in contemplation of such an occasion, “that if it were possible for the marquess to keep Dublin, and the other garrisons under the same entire obedience to his majesty, they were then in, it would be acceptable to his majesty; but if there were or should be, a necessity of giving them up to any other power, he should rather put them into the hands of the English than of the Irish.”* Such was now under the circumstances here mentioned, the decision of the marquess; it was approved by his entire party and received the full sanction of the parliament of Ireland, called together soon after. Their declaration is indeed too express and solemn to be omitted here; it is as follows:—

* Borlase. Cox.

"We the lords and commons assembled in parliament in our whole body do present ourselves before your lordship, acknowledging with great sense and feeling your lordship's singular goodness to us the protestant party, and those who have faithfully and constantly adhered unto them, who have been preserved to this day (under God) by your excellency's providence and pious care, which hath not been done without a vast expense out of your own estate, as also the hazarding of your person in great and dangerous difficulties. And when your lordship found yourself (with the strength remaining with you) to be too weak to resist an insolent, (and upon all advantages) a perfidious and bloody enemy, rather than we should perish, you have in your care transferred us to their hands, that are both able and willing to preserve us; and that, not by a bare casting us off, but complying so far with us, that you have not denied our desires of hostages, and amongst them one of your most dear sons. All which being such a free earnest of your excellency's love to our religion, nation, and both our houses, do incite us here to come unto you, with hearts filled with your love, and tongues declaring how much we are obliged unto your excellency, professing our resolutions are with all real service (to the utmost of our power) to manifest the sincerity of this our acknowledgment and affections to you, and to perpetuate to posterity the memory of your excellency's merits, and our thankfulness, we have appointed this instrument to be entered in both houses, and under the hands of both speakers to be presented to your lordship.

RI BOLTON, *Chanc.*

MAURICE EUSTACE, *Speaker."*

17^o die Martii, 1646, Intrans per
VALL SAVAGE, *Dep. Cl. Parl.*

Int. 17^o Martii, 1646, per
PHILL FORNELEY, *Cl. Dom. Com.*

The answer of the marquess to this address is remarkable for its dignified simplicity, and will be read by every unprejudiced reader as the just exposition of his sentiments.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—What you have now read and delivered hath much surprised me, and contains matter of higher obligation laid upon me by you than thus suddenly to be answered; yet I may not suffer you to depart hence without saying somewhat unto you; and first I assure you, that this acknowledgment of yours is unto me a jewel of very great value, which I shall lay up amongst my choicest treasures, it being not only a full confutation of those calumnies that have been cast upon my actions during the time that I have had the honour to serve his majesty here, but likewise an antidote against the virulency and poison of those tongues and pens, that I am well assured, will busily set on work to traduce and blast the integrity of my present proceedings for your preservation. And now, my lords and gentlemen, since this may perhaps be the last time, that I shall have the honour to speak to you from this place; and since, that next to the words of a dying man (those of one ready to banish himself from his country for the good of it) challenge credit, give me leave before God and

you, here to protest, that in all the time I have had the honour to serve the king my master, I never received any commands from him, but such as speak him a wise, pious, protestant prince; zealous of the religion he professeth, the welfare of his subjects, and industrious to promote and settle peace and tranquillity in all his kingdoms; and I shall beseech you to look no otherwise upon me, than upon a ready instrument set on to work by the king's wisdom and goodness for your preservation; wherein if I have discharged myself to his approbation and yours, it will be the greatest satisfaction and comfort, I shall take with me, wherever it shall please God to direct my steps; and now that I may dismiss you, I beseech God long, long to preserve my gracious master, and to restore peace and rest to this afflicted church and kingdom."

The inhabitants of Dublin were zealous for the conclusion of a treaty which was to place them under competent protection, and had, upon the first arrival of the commissioners in the former year, considerably embarrassed the marquess by their urgency. They were on this second treaty no less decided in the expression of their wishes. The marquess wrote therefore in the beginning of the year, (Feb. 6th, 1647,) to the parliamentary commissioners, offering to deliver up his command and garrisons to such persons as the parliament should appoint to receive them, upon the conditions which they had lately offered." The negotiation seems to have in some degree influenced the confederates at Kilkenny, who, to prevent it from being concluded, held out offers of an accommodation, but proposed terms utterly inconsistent with their ever being entertained by the marquess: they proposed a junction of force, retaining to themselves the full command of their own armies, independent of the lord-lieutenant: they insisted on full possession of the church and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the protestant quarters, together with possession of the towns and garrisons. These conditions were not however put into writing, and were rejected at once by the marquess. Soon after they made a second proposal, founded on the same basis, offering to assist the marquess against the parliament, but adding, that they should insist on the propositions lately voted in the assembly: this letter was only signed by four bishops, and four other members of the nuncio's party. The treaty with the parliament was with some delays and difficulties unnecessary to mention, carried to its conclusion.

Having discharged his duty to Ireland, by a treaty of which the principal condition was, that the protestants were to be protected in their estates and persons, as well as all recusants who had not assisted the rebels: the next consideration was the discharge of his duty to the king: with this view the marquess added some further conditions, by which he was to be empowered to take with him such leaders as should be willing to follow his fortunes, with 5000 foot and 500 horse. This was agreed to by the commissioners, and also by the lords, but afterwards rejected by a vote of the commons. On this condition the marquess had offered to relinquish £10,000 of the sum laid out by him for the garrisons, and for which he had demanded a partial reimbursement. This latter demand of the marquess has also been seized as a

matter of scandal by the party historians; and of all the base and unconscionable sacrifices of truth and common sense for the purpose of historical misrepresentation we can recollect, it is the most impudent. It was but a few weeks before the conclusion of the treaty with the parliamentary commissioners, that the marquess, who had spent every penny he could obtain in the maintenance of the garrison, was compelled to borrow so small a sum as sixty pounds to relieve the garrison at Wicklow. When he had first proposed to treat with the parliament, at the time when O'Neile and Preston had marched to Lucan on their way to Dublin, with 14,000 men, he borrowed large sums, with a promise of payment before he should quit the government: this engagement was public, the accounts were audited by Sir James Ware, they were also examined by public commissioners, who certified that the sums disbursed amounted to £13,877 13s. 4d. The same council represented to the marquess, that he was entitled to demand the much larger sums which he had previously spent on the war, together with the pay and salary due to his appointments, of which he had never received any thing; and some compensation for the large arrears of rent due on his estate, so long in the hands of the rebels. The marquess however disclaimed all merely personal considerations, and only insisted on the sums necessary for the liquidation of the public debt.

The marquess was deceived by the promises of parliament; he was compelled to leave the marchioness in Dublin, to receive and pay a sum of £3000, which was to have been paid on the spot, and for which his creditors were most clamorous. The commissioners put him off with unaccepted bills, telling him that he should not be the sufferer by their not being accepted, and asking him to trust to the faith and honour of parliament. But a considerable sum of this money was never paid. The whole treaty was marked by the hard overreaching and peremptory temper of the parliamentary party, and brought to a conclusion on the 28th September, 1647, when the marquess embarked on board of a frigate, commanded by captain Matthew Wood, and landed in Bristol a few days after.

From this he went to the king, who was then a prisoner at Hampton court, and in a strong and clear memorial stated the entire history of the previous events which had decided his own conduct: a statement yet affording the most authentic history of the facts to which it refers, and confirmed by all authoritative statements of the opposite party which were given by contemporary writers. After remaining for some months in England, the activity of the marquess in his continued efforts to repair the fallen fortunes of the king, and to reorganize his broken and scattered party, made him the subject of considerable suspicion and watchfulness to the parliament leaders. His creditors were also beginning to be more urgent, and, it was evident that this circumstance could be used by his political enemies to put him into confinement in the most ready and unquestionable way. He soon received information that a warrant had been sent out for his arrest: on receiving this intelligence he crossed the country to Hastings, and sailed for France. Having landed at Dieppe, he proceeded to Paris, and there he waited upon queen Henrietta. Among other slight

occurrences at this time, it is mentioned that when he visited the countess of Glamorgan, to whom he had formerly been a suitor before his marriage with his cousin, she resenting his supposed interference to prevent the earl of Glamorgan from being made governor of Ireland, met him with an air of offended dignity, and when, according to the fashion of the time, the marquess approached to kiss her cheek, she turned haughtily away, on which he made a respectful bow and said calmly—"really madam, this would have troubled me eighteen years ago."

The more moderate of the confederates were alarmed by the departure of the marquess from Ireland: they now for the first time began to see the tremendous oversight they had committed in their opposition to the royal party, and in their perfidious and blind hostility to his lieutenant. Among the various motives by which they had been actuated, ambition, party feeling, and religious zeal, they had omitted to perceive, that their interests were inextricably bound up in those of the king: that there was nothing between them and the irresistible power and the relentless will of the English parliament but the resistance which it had experienced or had reason to apprehend from the loyalists. These being subdued, and the parliamentary authority settled into some form of civil organization, it was to be apprehended upon no distant or difficult grounds, that a well-appointed and overpowering force would be directed to crush together the wretched hordes of marauders,—by the courtesy of history alone called armies,—which infested the country, and cowed each other. The first report of the treaty of the marquess communicated an electric sense of this to the better portion of the confederates, and many were the efforts made to detain him when it was too late. Sir R. Talbot, Beling, and Preston, endeavoured by an application through lord Digby, to prevail upon him to remain a little longer, but the time was then past. The mere report of the parliamentary troops being admitted into Dublin was enough to disperse the congregated banners of Preston and O'Neile at Lucan.

On the departure of the marquess the condition of anarchy to which the country was reduced continued to increase. The parliamentary leaders had not yet matured their plans at home, and had no leisure to turn their attention upon the affairs of Ireland: it seemed enough to occupy the government, and preserve matters from taking any turn hostile to their interests. The small means which they applied for this purpose were sufficient; without allaying the desperate confusion of the country, they infused additional division, and by various successes weakened the authority of some, and gained the alliance of others. Under these circumstances, we do not feel it necessary to go into any detail of the events which occurred in the short interval of this first absence of the marquess: the main particulars belong to other memoirs in which they have already met sufficient notice. Jones held Dublin for the parliament: his coarse and stern manners offended the citizens, who compared his reserve with the accessible and universal courtesy of the marquess, of whom it was commonly remarked, that it was more easy for the humblest citizen to reach him in his closet, than to approach Jones in the public street. O'Neile terrified all

parties in turn, and was ready to unite his arms with the highest bidder. The earl of Inchiquin, only zealous for the restoration of peace, at first adopted the obvious and probable means for this end by joining the parliamentary party; and in this, the motives by which he was actuated were identical with those of the marquess of Ormonde, who would not lower himself so far as to join the avowed enemies of the king; Preston was for peace, and considered the intervention of the marquess as the only expedient consistent with the safety of the Roman catholic nobility and gentry.

Among these parties, all moving independently of each other, and monthly changing their purposes and parties, a few more influential changes may be enumerated. Lord Inchiquin, disappointed by the slackness of the parliament in the conduct of the war, specially irritated by their breach of engagements with himself, and perhaps, (in common with many) mistaking the increasing weakness of the confederacy for the revival of the king's party, deserted them and returned to this party: while Owen O'Neile joined the parliamentary governor, and Monroe, still trying to preserve an independent posture, and leaving his intentions doubtful, was seized, and sent prisoner to London.

The desire for peace was at the same time universal to all who entertained no special expectation dependent upon the continuance of war. The confederates, with the exception of those who were immediately connected with the nuncio, were anxious to renew a treaty which all viewed as dependent upon the return of the marquess. His return was eagerly pressed by the earl of Inchiquin, who still continued to preserve his own force unbroken, and had, by the exertion of great address and courage, brought over his officers to the adoption of the same party with himself. A council, favourable to the same views, was held in Kilkenny, but menaced with a siege by O'Neile. O'Neile was compelled to retire by the combined forces of Inchiquin and Preston, of whom the first in vain tried to force him to a battle. An assembly was convened, and received with satisfaction the intelligence conveyed by Muskerry and Browne, that the marquess of Ormonde would soon follow them from France. The same assembly declared O'Neile a traitor, and renewed their appeal to Rome against the excommunication of Rinuncini.

The language of this paper strongly shows the unpopularity of the nuncio, as it declares, "the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had continually been for three years past, acting within the kingdom to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the see of Rome," &c.*

The marquess having been strongly urged by the confederate leaders, and also by the king, queen, and prince, once more to hazard himself for the only chance which then remained for the king's life and restoration; began by a vain endeavour to obtain from the French court such means as he was informed by Inchiquin would be necessary for the purpose of putting his troops in motion; but after great exertions, he could only bring together a sum equal to about £6000. He obtained

* Carte, II. pp. 43.

a power from the queen and prince to conclude a peace, and a letter from the king, declaring himself a prisoner, and desiring the marquess to disregard any public commands from himself, until he should let him know that he was free from restraint.

Before the marquess set out on a journey so fraught with troubles and dangers, he turned out of his way to Caen to visit the marchioness, who was then settled there with his children. Taking leave of these, he pursued his way to Havre, from whence he was to embark; but on the way his life was exposed to great and imminent danger. Having reached the ferry opposite Havre, he agreed for his passage with the master of a small half-decker, laden with cyder. It was dark, when with his servant he embarked, and they had made but little way when the wind became rough and adverse, and they were in consequence all night on the water. Towards morning, the captain applied to the marquess to learn the hour;—his watch was fast, or his impatience at the delay, caused him to tell the captain an hour too late: the captain thus misled, missed his reckoning, and ran upon the flats; the vessel was split, and the marquess with some difficulty escaped in the cock-boat. He was compelled to delay at Havre for a long time to await his despatches from St Germain, which put him to a ruinous expense, and this was aggravated by another incident. The prince of Orange had sent a forty-six gun vessel to convey him to Ireland, but the captain refused to take on board the cannon and other military stores which he had purchased to a large amount, so that he was under the necessity of hiring another vessel for his stores and train of attendants. When he landed in Cork he had only thirty pistoles remaining of the sum he had received in France.

The marquess landed at Cork, 29th September 1648, and on the 6th October published a declaration of which it is necessary to extract a few lines as it both attests the consistency of the marquess, and accounts for the dislike of a section of the confederacy whose hesitation to treat with the marquess has been attributed by adverse writers to reasons less creditable to this nobleman. In his declaration the marquess mentions, that “he deems it his duty to use his endeavours to recover his majesty’s rights, and observes that the protestant army in Munster, having manifested their integrity to the king’s person and rights, and disclaimed all obedience to the enemies of both, was esteemed by the king as an eminent and seasonable expression of their loyalty. In testimony of such his sentiments, his majesty had commanded him to repair to that province to discharge the duty of his place: that he had resolved publicly to evince not only his approbation of that army’s proceedings, but his own resolution in the same particulars: that he would employ his utmost endeavours for settling the protestant religion—for defending the king in his prerogative—for maintaining the privileges and freedom of parliament—and the liberty of his subjects. He declares he will, at the hazard of his life, oppose all rebels who shall refuse obedience to his majesty, on the terms he shall require it, and endeavour the suppression of the independents. That to prevent all distrust from former differences, he declares himself fully authorized to assure them that no distinction shall be made on any such account, but that all who engaged in the cause should be treated with

equal regard and favour: that the past should be forgot, and he would use his utmost diligence to provide for their subsistence, and do them all the good offices in his power, requiring no other return than their perseverance."

The events of the treaty which followed are to be briefly noticed, as though concluded by the marquess it was utterly without result. The ecclesiastical party earnestly protested against any thing being concluded before the return of their emissaries from Rome. The other party entered with zeal in the negotiation, and invited the marquess to his own castle of Kilkenny, in order that the proceedings might be conducted with less interruption. The marquess assented, and was received with every public demonstration of respect and zeal. He was however for a time called away by a mutiny in the army of the earl of Inchiquin, which was discontented by want of pay, and had besides a great leaning to the parliamentary party. The mutiny was suppressed with considerable exertion—the soldiers were appeased—some of the officers were imprisoned—others cashiered—and the rest submitted. Reports arrived that a fleet from the prince was soon to arrive with money and provisions, and the prince himself with the duke of York, immediately to follow; and the army was thus encouraged and appeased. The marquess returned and found matters still more ripe for a treaty, which the condition of the king now made an affair of desperate necessity. While the marquess was endeavouring to abate the violence of his opponents, and to bring down their extravagant demands, intelligence arrived which had the effect of a thunder-stroke upon the mind of every party in that negotiation. A copy of the remonstrance of the English army, demanding the trial of the king, was sent by the earl of Inchiquin to the marquess. At this dreadful intelligence the marquess gave up all consideration of every object beyond the meeting of that fearful emergency, (for such it then appeared) and only looked to saving the king by the union of Ireland in his favour, at any price. The treaty was therefore soon concluded to the entire satisfaction of the more moderate of the Roman catholic party, on the basis of the articles of 1646. These terms were indeed far from such as the marquess would have even listened to a few months before; but he now acted with the strong hope of producing a salutary reaction in favour of the king, and averting the ruin which seemed to menace both kingdoms. The marquess has been blamed for these concessions; but to his apprehension it was a choice of evils, and he chose the less, so far as human reason could go; for we have no right to assume them as interpositions of providence.

The execution of king Charles in the beginning of 1649, gave a shock to the marquess, which as he afterwards remarked, made all the troubles of his after life sit lighter upon him. The account was received with a general expression of sorrow and indignation. The marquess immediately ordered the proclamation of Charles II., and its reception was so generally favourable, that the nuncio, concluding that there would be a universal submission to the authority of the lord-lieutenant, was confirmed in the resolution which he had latterly formed, to leave the kingdom. He wrote his parting directions to Owen O'Neile and to such of the hierarchy of his communion as still

adhered to himself, to exert their most strenuous efforts to keep up the war. Owen was now the only person among the Irish who held out; but many circumstances had caused a falling off in his force, and the marquess employed Daniel O'Neile to treat with him. The commissioners of trust also sent their agents for the same purpose, but the terms which they offered, were such as to lead O'Neile to suspect that they underrated his value, and he resolved to let them see their error, and entered upon a treaty with the independents.

The king was at the Hague, when the account reached him of his father's death; he immediately confirmed the appointment of the marquess. The marquess was involved meanwhile, in many added perplexities. The commissioners of trust, who held *pro tempore* the power of levying assessments for the expense of the war, were more sedulous to fill their own coffers, than to execute their trusts. The marquess, pressed by a host of emergencies, could only command the ordinary revenue, which was insufficient for preparations which would be necessary for taking the field in the following spring. He wrote to the king strongly urging him to come over, as his presence would unite all parties, and supersede all authorities which at present embarrassed the course of his interests. The king had at the same time received invitations from Scotland. The Scottish commissioners proposed terms which could not be accepted, and were referred to his arrival in Ireland for an answer; the States entered warmly into the wishes of the Scots and pressed him in their favour. It was thought desirable to obstruct his journey to Ireland, and with this view it was suggested that the States would, if applied to, advance a sum of money for the purpose. Charles applied by a memorial and was thus diverted into procrastination of his journey, till the time when it might be of avail was spent in awaiting the fulfilment of a promise which, from the beginning was but a snare. At last, when reduced to the greatest embarrassment for want of the ordinary means of supporting his household, Charles left Holland and went to France.

The marquess was in the meantime left to the ruinous means to which he was ordinarily compelled to resort, for the purpose of raising and maintaining a force which at best was wholly inadequate to the demand of the time. By loans where he could borrow, and by freely involving himself in debts, which afterwards became the burden of many years, and which no private estate could wipe away, he made such preparations as he could, to lay siege to Dublin. On this undertaking the event of the struggle was now thought to depend; the loyalists in England stood in suspense, waiting for the result of an enterprise which was expected to be the signal for a fresh insurrection in England. The difficulties of the marquess were aggravated by the general scarcity; every kind of provision was exhausted, and the spring was more backward than usual. So late as May, he was only enabled to collect 2000 foot and 200 horse; these he sent with the earl of Castlehaven to take such places as O'Neile held in Leinster, which it would not be safe to leave in the occupation of an enemy in the rear of his march against Dublin. During this expedition it is stated that the soldiers were sometimes two or three days without food, and daily on the point of breaking up; this the marquess barely con-

trived to prevent by sending off small sums as fast as he could borrow them. In the meanwhile he was drawing together such troops as he could at Leighlin bridge; in the utmost uneasiness at being compelled to let pass an occasion so favourable for the execution of a decisive blow: Dublin, at that moment was itself reduced to a state of great extremity, and would have offered little effectual resistance, could he but advance before Jones should be further reinforced and the town supplied. The marquess in vain represented to prince Rupert that there was at the time "not ten days' provisions of bread in the place, so that if the harbour were but blocked up, the forces within it must fall to nothing immediately."* Jones had himself been neglected by his masters, who were yet kept in a state of internal ferment by the pressure throughout England of a strong re-action of popular feeling, and still more by the contest for pre-eminence which had arisen among themselves. The importance of Ireland however, appeared so considerable, that it could not under any circumstances be neglected; the hopes of the royal party had turned thither, and though the time had not arrived for a decisive blow, it was yet indispensable to occupy a precautionary position. So that before the marquess could sit down with any reasonable hope of success before the walls, the parliamentary commander was enabled to bid him defiance, and to look without apprehension upon his approach at the head of a scanty, discontented, and divided force; which he had by the first of June contrived to raise to 6000 foot and 2000 horse. To enable him to advance a step with these, he had to borrow £800 and to take up a supply of meal on credit; he thus advanced and took Kildare, Talbotstown and Castle Talbot, but at this latter place, he was again checked by the exhaustion of these supplies, and compelled to remain on the west of the Liffey, while Jones drew out as far as Johnstown to meet him.

Jones had been relieved with needful supplies of corn and money, and in a letter to Cromwell dated on the 6th of the same month, describes himself as successfully engaged in fomenting differences between Owen O'Neile and the marquess, and also as having opened an intercourse with Preston for the same purpose. This was it appears, facilitated by some discontent of Preston's who had about two months previous, received from the marquess a refusal to his application to be made master-general of the ordnance, on the death of Sir T. Lucas, who held the office. The marquess, who found it very difficult to satisfy the disorderly ambition of those who had joined him from the confederate party, gave this post to lord Taaffe, who had merited it by continued and efficient service.

It is mentioned rather doubtfully, but on grounds probable enough, that a conspiracy against the life of the marquess was at this time suspected. A report seems to have prevailed in England, that several ruffians were hired to assassinate him; this is mentioned directly in a letter from Sir E. Nicholas to the marquess himself. And a passage from one of the letters between Jones and a person of the name of Rochfort, who seems to have been his correspondent in the quarters of the marquess, appears to hint at something of the kind. "None,"

* Carte.

says he, "have been made privy to our proceedings but general Preston, his son colonel Warren, and a few other leading men so far embarked in the work, as a syllable hath not dropped from any of them. This I gather by Ormonde's being friendly invited hither to dinner on Thursday last, though he would not, (as we suppose by reason of the caution thence given him,) commit his person to us, without his guards of horse and foot; by which advertisement we missed of our last opportunity."

Such was the state of affairs, when about 14th June, a considerable reinforcement, with a supply of money amounting to £3000 collected by lord Taaffe, enabled the marquess to march to Dublin. The garrison in that city however had become stronger than his army, and was in excellent condition, so that he could not with prudence risk his strength in any decided operation, and was barely enabled to hold his position and watch for the turn of affairs, while through his officers he obtained possession of Drogheda, Dundalk, and other principal places. His hopes were, indeed, so far lowered, that instead of pressing for the arrival of the king as heretofore, he now advised his awaiting the event of the siege of Dublin, which (judging from the general tone of his letters,) he must have considered as nearly desperate at the time. The events of this interval we can only sum with the utmost brevity, and have already in various memoirs mentioned the principal of them. It was generally known that Cromwell was on the eve of embarking for Ireland, an event of which the marquess was far from appreciating the whole importance, as he observed in his letter to the king, that he feared his money more than his troops; little considering that in truth it was only comparatively speaking—that any force then on the field in Ireland, could be entitled to be considered as an army; and that any sum of money, in the then existing state of the country, could only enable him to bring a larger mob to the field.

After many inoperative movements, chiefly made with a view to form a blockade of the city, about the 3d of July it was deemed advisable to complete its investment. Lord Dillon of Costilogh was left with 2000 men and 500 horse on the north of the city, while the marquess crossed the Liffey and encamped at Rathmines: while this movement was in progress, a squadron arrived from England in the bay, carrying a reinforcement to the garrison of 2000 men, commanded by colonel Venables, with a large supply of money, and all necessaries. On this, the marquess with the advice of his council, came to a resolution to draw away their troops and retire to Drogheda, and the other principal places in the possession of his majesty's officers. The resolution was ill received by the officers and soldiers, and it was generally affirmed through the troops, that the taking of Dublin would be a matter of little difficulty, if they could first deprive the garrison of the small plot of meadow, which was the sole means of support for their horses; and this it was thought might be effected by seizing possession of a castle in the vicinity which could easily be fortified so as to resist any attack likely to be made upon it from the town. The marquess sent Preston, Purcel, and others of his general officers, to inspect the place, and on their report gave orders for its fortification, which was committed to major general Purcel with 1500

men. This party received orders to move at nightfall to the work, and when it became dark enough to conceal their operations, they set out on their way, but were misled by their guides, who were subsequently alleged to have betrayed them,* and did not arrive at the spot till an hour before day. The marquess sat up all night in the anticipation of some attempt from the town, and engaged himself in writing his despatches. At daybreak he mounted his horse and rode to the castle of Baggatrath, which he did not think so strong as the report of his officers led him to expect, and was surprised to find the work scarcely begun, which by his directions was to have been completed at that hour; he also perceived several strong parties of the enemy drawn out under their own works, obviously aiming at concealment. It then became a matter of consideration, whether he should discontinue the work, but he decided upon advancing to support the working parties. He gave orders for this, at the same time assuring his officers that an attack from the town might be expected, as he thought Jones would incur any risk to prevent their possession of the castle. Having given the most express directions, and told each general the precise position he was to take, the marquess having been up all the night, returned to obtain an hour's sleep before the exertions of the day. He had not slept an hour, when he was started from his sleep by the discharge of musquetry. Arming himself quickly, he galloped out in the direction of the firing; he did not go far when he met the working party, which was the right wing of his army, coming towards him in foul disorder. Jones had marched out upon them, and they were soon broken, Sir W. Vaughan to whom the marquess had given the command in the morning, (in his displeasure against Purcell†) being killed fighting at the head of his men. A considerable number of them scattered on towards their homes in the Wicklow mountains, to which Carte observes they knew the way "too well."

The centre consisted of lord Inchiquin's infantry, commanded by colonel Giffard, with whose assistance the marquess drew them up in good order: to guard their flank he posted two regiments under colonel O'Reilly and another in an adjoining field, desiring that they should not stir until his return—he had not gone far when they were attacked, O'Reilly slain and the men routed. The troops of Jones had come out in separate parties, and been led on rather by the incidents of the attack than according to any settled plan. Of these a large body of horse had got round into the rear of the marquess's centre, and were making their way through a lane by the flank of Gifford's foot, to join a strong body of infantry which was at the same time advancing in front. The marquess commanded a discharge of musquetry, which threw them into such disorder, that their disorganization would have been complete if the flanking parties had kept their ground; but the English horse rallied and joined their party in front; and at the same time, another large body both of horse and foot, which had followed the same direction, appeared on the same fields, and drew up

* The fact was afterwards confessed in 1653.—See Carte, II. p. 79, for the particulars.

† Borlase.

in the rear of Gifford's men. The Irish became so much discouraged that it was impossible to lead them to the charge, and they showed such decided signs of breaking that the marquess saw his last resource was in the conduct of the left wing; leaping a ditch, he made his way with much difficulty, and found them also wavering, and checked by a strong body of English, so that he could not move them (as he had designed) to the relief of the centre. They were in a state bordering on flight, and the marquess saw that nothing but a decided impulse forward could prevent this result; he therefore rushed in among their ranks and with most of the officers, made every possible exertion to rally their departed courage and lead them to the charge; but they were past recovery, and the urgency of the marquess only terrified them the more, so that when he, in order to give the necessary impulse, galloped forward waving his sword toward the enemy,—as if by common consent, they turned about and commenced their flight without any pursuer. The marquess turned, and galloping among the fugitives contrived to stop some hundreds, but it was like the attempt to put a dead man on his feet, they only followed the marquess till they obtained a sight of the enemy, and turned back in a tumult of terror. The marquess did not give up till after repeated efforts of the same kind and with similar success, convinced him of the mortifying truth, that his army had no substance, and that the hope of the day was gone. He then sent a dispatch to lord Dillon, on the other side of the Liffey, giving notice of the event, and ordering the forces off to the garrisons of Drogheda and Trim, against the chance of their being (as he expected) soon attacked by Jones. The marquess was struck by a musket shot, but saved from material injury by his armour. This battle presents a singular accumulation of mischances and errors, so that on a superficial view it seems difficult to conceive the presence of any presiding discretion, in the disposition or appreciation of the means of resistance or offence. The army of the marquess assailed without method or previous design, seems to have melted off like a mist before wandering bodies of soldiers, who seem themselves to have been going astray, and who cannot be strictly said to have attacked them. The whole difficulty is greatly diminished by looking at the primary fact, that the marquess had from the commencement no intention to hazard a battle, and from a consciousness of the inadequacy of his force had determined to abandon the siege. The plan which he had actually adopted, was within the reach of an easy effort, and would have given him a considerable advantage, amounting nearly to a blockade of the city. When this, for which he adopted the ordinary means, was frustrated by the treachery of the guides, (for this seems proved,) the consequences followed; and he had not the means to evade them. The discomfiture of his army, was not to be attributed to any defect of command or disposition; it was wholly panic, and the absence of any military fitness in the composition of his troops: they were a mere mob; like all mere mobs, eager to fight; and wanting the requisite discipline, still more eager to run away.

The effect of this disaster at Rathmines caused a great and universal depression. The loss of the ordnance and arms, was a fatal stroke that could not be repaired. "Men," as Carte observes, "were much

easier to be supplied, than money to pay, or means to support them. The cities refused to lend money, and the sums which had been assessed by the commissioners of trust, not having been paid, were also now withheld. Under these circumstances, it was a last resource to come to an agreement with O'Neile; this was easy: O'Neile had been not only disappointed by the parliamentary officers who employed him, but he was sensibly mortified by the contemptuous rejection of the English commons who openly censured their officers for having recourse to so unworthy an ally. Owen was at the head of the most efficient body of native soldiers in the country, and by his aid there was a hope of still retrieving the fortune of the war. The landing of Cromwell, August 16th, 1649, put an end to this hope, and quickly altered the character of the war; he brought with him 8,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and £200,000, with considerable stores of all the materials and implements of war. The report of his arrival had been rendered doubtful by long delays: the engrossing interests of that revolution, which ended in his elevation, and the unwillingness of men to serve in Ireland where they had hitherto been allowed to starve, had protracted the existence of the miserable conflict of parties which had so long wasted the country by a lingering course of faction, fanaticism, and intrigue; the civil atmosphere was now to be cleared by a thunder-storm, such as alone could drive down and dispel the unwholesome vapours, which were inconsistent with the natural course of civil existence, and, for a season, restore this country to that uninterrupted progress, in which it has never been allowed to advance by the ordinary law of national growth.

The chief events which immediately followed Cromwell's arrival, are already noticed in this volume.* We shall now therefore pursue the subject no farther than as it immediately concerns the marquess. Being written to by the king to send him an account of the state of affairs, and to give his opinion as to the prudence of his coming to Ireland; the marquess distinctly stated in his answer, the prosperous condition of the parliamentary force, and the utter prostration of the king's: but, nevertheless, advised his coming, as a last resource in a desperate case, and as a course consistent with his honour. The king had, however, in the interval between his letter to the marquess and his receiving the answer, been listening to the proposals of the Scots, and had come to a change of purpose. The marquess, deserted by every aid on which he had placed a vain reliance, having virtually no party, and only seconded by a few gallant leaders, of whom the chief were Inchiquin, Castlehaven, and Clanricarde, continued for some months longer, to strive against the irresistible current of a new and overwhelming power. He journeyed from place to place, tried to infuse courage into the panic-stricken, and constancy into the wavering; he contrived by means ruinous to himself, to raise small sums of money, which he distributed with a free hand wherever there was a garrison or a fort still willing to hold out for the king. But the struggle was vain; deserted by the fears of the many, by the treachery of a few, and denounced by the clergy of the Roman church, who saw the triumph of their cause in the downfall of the party with which they had hither-

* Life of Lord Broghill.

to contended; but above all, counteracted by the weakness of the king; the marquess began to perceive the utter hopelessness of the contest. In the treaty concluded at Breda, between Charles and the Scottish commissioners, he gave his consent to the breach of that peace which the marquess of Ormonde had with such difficulty brought about; and by this act cut the last thread of the frail tie which gave the marquess a doubtful party in the island. The king was fully conscious of the injury thus committed, and in his letter of excuse, in which he pleads the necessity of his situation to the marquess, he advises him to take care of his own person, as the last service of importance left him to fulfil; and declares, "I shall take it very unkindly, if I find you do not withdraw yourself so timeously, as to preserve your safety for better times." Thus induced, and seeing no further object in remaining, the marquess addressed himself seriously to prepare for his departure. His last effort was an address to the commissioners of trust, in which he asserts, that his majesty's late declaration against the peace, had been enforced and that he was resolved to assert its validity, provided the "bishops would revoke all their acts and declarations against his authority, and give assurances of not attempting the like for the future. 2dly. That the commissioners of trust should declare the bishops' declaration and excommunication to be an unwarrantable usurpation upon his majesty's authority, and in them a violation of the peace; and if the bishops would not give, or observe the assurances before expressed, that they should endeavour to bring the offenders to condign punishment. 3dly. That the like declaration should be made by all magistrates and officers, civil and military. 4thly. That the lord-lieutenant should reside freely in any place he should choose, within the limits not possessed by the rebels; and 5thly, should be suffered to put garrisons according to the articles of the peace, in all places as he should judge necessary for the defence of the kingdom; wishing at last that some course might be taken for his support, in some proportion answerable to his place, yet with regard to the state of the nation, he being deprived of all his own fortunes, upon which he had wholly subsisted ever since he came into the kingdom."

To the first and main proviso of this letter, the bishops replied, that the king, by his late declaration, had cast the kingdom from his protection, and thereby withdrawn his authority; and that the last resource they had left, was a return to their old oath of association: they also declared, that they would not revoke their excommunication and declaration, nor give the pledges demanded by the marquess.

The marquess then called a general assembly at Loughrea, which met on the 15th of November, 1650. To this assembly he communicated his intention to leave Ireland, and proposed for their consideration the question as to the best means for the preservation of the kingdom. This assembly was numerous, and composed of the most respectable of the nobility and gentry, who, though bereft of all their natural influence, were themselves true to the loyal cause; the same feeling was also preserved by a considerable section of the clergy, of whom the hostile class was merely a majority; and these joined the assembly in declaring against the acts of their brethren. A desire was expressed by the assembly that the marquess should formally reply to

the declarations made by the clergy; but he refused to take any further notice of "such a collection of notorious falsehoods as were contained in that declaration," which, as his historian observes, could only impose upon the ignorant populace.

During the sitting of the assembly at Loughrea, the resolution of the marquess received further strength, by a letter written from Scotland, by the king, of which we give an extract: "The hazards," says he in his letter of that date, "and dangers, besides the trouble, I hear you do expose yourself unto on all occasions, make me entreat and command you to have a care of your person, in the preservation of which, (I would have you believe) I am so much concerned, both in my interest and affection, that I would not lose you for all I can get in Ireland. If the affairs there be in such a condition, as it will be necessary for you to quit the country and retire into France, then I do very earnestly desire and entreat you to repair to my brother, the duke of York, to advise and assist him with your counsels; upon which I have such a confidence and reliance, that I have wrote, and sent instructions to him, to be advised by you upon all occasions, and I doubt not of his cheerful and ready compliance, and that you will find all good satisfaction from him."*

The bishops also sent to hasten his departure; and, through their messengers, the bishops of Dromore and Dean Kelly, desired that he should commit the royal authority in his hands to certain nominees of their own, to whom they would give their assistance, while they were resolved to resist any others. These were Sir N. Plunket, Terence MacLoghlan, Philip O'Reily, Tirlogh O'Boile, the marquess of Clanricarde, and Dermott O'Shaughnessy. In this proposal it was perfectly understood, that the nomination of the marquess of Clanricarde was merely specious, and under the assumption that he would refuse to act with the others; it was also plainly apparent that the object of the entire selection, was to obtain through the intervention of persons wholly at their disposal, the entire command of the kingdom. Thus miserably will men fight for factious motives, in the very front of approaching perdition.

The marquess of Ormonde appointed lord Clanricarde his deputy. He sailed on the 7th December, 1650, from the bay of Galway, but was still delayed by a correspondence with the assembly at Loughrea, on the appointment of lord Clanricarde. For this purpose he landed at Glaneinagh till the 11th, when he again sailed. The vessel which conveyed him was a frigate of 28 guns, sent over for him from France by the duke of York. He carried with him the earl of Inchiquin, colonel Wogan, and about forty other officers. In the Bay of Biscay they met with a privateer, which was deterred from attacking them by the martial appearance of the company. The passage was very tempestuous, and after three weeks tossing they entered the bay of Perose, in *Bas Bretagne*. Their approach excited alarm in the harbour, and they were fired at by the ships of war, but sending out their yawl, they soon made themselves known, and passed on peacefully to the land so anxiously desired. A vessel containing some of the servants of the

marquess, was lost; it also contained property belonging to the king, and it is thought that the captain, for the purpose of appropriating this, turned back to England, and was cast away near Scilly.

On the departure of the marquess, the lord Clanricarde soon found the difficulties of the trust which he had undertaken. The rapid and sanguinary progress of Cromwell had been terminated by his return to England under the pressure of interests more anxious than the reduction of Ireland, and though the worst of his campaign had been in some important respects nearly decisive, yet the work was not half effected. The winter season was unfavourable to the warfare of the age and this more especially in Ireland, where the food and climate were found to disagree with the English soldiers, so much that a single campaign frequently disabled them for service; Ireton was therefore compelled to suspend his operations, and the greater part of Connaught and Munster remained untouched; and the Irish, though in no degree formidable in the field, were still far from abandoning the hope of successful hostility. There were in fact two violent parties to be subdued—the king's party now headed by the earl of Clanricarde, and the party of the clergy, who not willing to compromise the views on which they had till then been exclusively intent, were yet at least so far convinced of the real position in which they stood, that they warmly entertained the question of a treaty with the independents. They saw, for they could not but see that the balance of chances was turned in favour of the parliament, and thought it wise to seize the occasion of a doubtful pause, to make the best terms they might with the stronger side. Ireton had the address to avail himself of their known state of feeling by sending agents to the assembly, to which he represented the desperation of their affairs and proposed a treaty. The proposal was at first rejected by the influence of Clanricarde and the feeling of his party, but revived by the influence of the clergy headed by Nicholas French the titular bishop of Ferns. But the remonstrances of Clanricarde, joined by the principal of the nobility and gentry, were too well grounded in the strong facts and admissions from which their opponents had no appeal, not to be for the time decisive; and the clerical party were in their turn compelled to give way to a boldness of declaration to which they were little accustomed, and yielded to the general sense of the assembly. Thus baffled, they still persevered in their steady and systematic resistance to the whole policy of Clanricarde, and by these methods of influence and active but private concert, they rendered his efforts powerless; more alert to embody resistance, and to effect their immediate objects by means of that pervading influence which was the result of their peculiar connexion with the people, than prudent in their calculation of final results, they still toiled for an ascendancy which was passing from their grasp, through the medium of events without the circle of their contemplation; they still hoped to restore the confederacy of 1642, and did not relinquish their favourite, if not rather exclusive aim, the complete establishment of the papal power. Under this singular infatuation, a treaty opened with the duke of Lorraine in behalf of the king, was by their endeavours perverted into a proposal of a very different character, in so much that the earl of Clanricarde was compelled formally to disavow the conduct

of his own agents. This curious episode in the history of the disjointed times under our notice, cannot be here introduced in detail as it would lead to a very considerable digression from the main subject of our memoir. The duke of Lorraine had commenced a treaty with the king for a large loan: the security was not satisfactory, but in the course of the negotiation the private interests and the ambition of the duke were strongly introduced into the transaction: he had for some time been endeavouring to obtain from the court of Rome a sentence to annul his first marriage, as he had married a second wife while the first was yet alive; the Irish agents also contrived to inflame his mind with the hope of acquiring the sovereignty of Ireland. Under these motives which are fully confirmed and explained by the language of articles proposed by himself, and to be found at length in many of our historians, the duke was easily prevailed upon to lend £5000, which was laid out in arms and ammunition, which arrived in the Bay of Galway during the meeting of the assembly and had material influence upon their determinations. The duke proposed to assume the protection of the country, on the condition of being invested with the entire authority and receiving absolute submission. To these proposals the assembly lent a willing ear. Scorning all communication with the lord-deputy, the bishops declared their consent, and pronounced the proposal of the duke to be the last resource of their nation. They were desired by the Abbè de St Katharine, the duke's envoy, to sign their consent, but they recoiled from a step so decisive; they could not at once depart so widely from established precedent, or commit themselves so far. The consent of the earl of Clanricarde, would, they were aware, be demanded by their followers, though not by themselves. But Clanricarde met these proposals with uncompromising firmness, and refused to admit the Abbè to an audience of leave. The Abbè was intimidated and offered a loan of £20,000 on the security of Limerick and Galway, and proposed to refer the question of the Protectorship to the mediation of a treaty at Brussels. On this Sir N. Plunket, and Geoffry Browne, were commissioned with lord Taaffe, and authorized to treat with the duke according to such instructions as they should receive from the queen, the duke of York, and the marquess of Ormonde. But while the lord Taaffe proceeded to Paris where the marquess of Ormonde was at the time residing, other proceedings were in their progress at Brussels. Thither the bishop of Ferns, with a company of the clergy who were of his party, and several agents from the Irish cities in their interest, had arrived, and were completely possessed of the duke's ear. By these, he was persuaded that it was in their power to put him into full possession of the kingdom of Ireland. Plunket and Browne were impressed by the strong language of the bishop, and were also persuaded that it was essentially expedient to secure the money at all risks. They were easily induced to disclaim the lord-deputy's commission and in the name of the Irish nation they signed a treaty with the duke, by which he was invested with royal authority in Ireland. A petition to the pope was at the same time, drawn up by the bishop of Ferns and

signed by Plunket; Browne refused his signature, and that of Taaffe was signed for him in his absence and without his concurrence. A formal protest from lord Clanricarde reached the duke, and terminated these disgraceful transactions.

We shall not delay to describe the concurrent course of proceedings, relative to the same affair in Ireland. The Irish clergy acted in full conformity with the undertakings of their deputation in Brussels; they convened synods and made public declarations in favour of the duke of Lorraine; they prepared a sentence of excommunication against Clanricarde and their opponents, to be produced when it should be safe, and declared the revival of the original confederacy.

Ireton in the mean time was not neglectful of his post. And the military operations already related in the lives of Coote and lord Broghill took place; the lords Castlehaven and Clanricarde, with their ill-conditioned men and inadequate means, were after much strenuous but fruitless exertion of activity, courage, and skill, compelled to see the parliamentary generals gain post after post. Ireton having obtained possession of Limerick advanced to Galway, where he died of the plague and his place was efficiently filled by Ludlow, who conducted his duty with a decision and stern severity that spread universal dismay. A general treaty of submission in the name of the whole kingdom was proposed by the assembly of Leinster. In Galway, Clanricarde was prevailed on to propose a treaty of submission to Ludlow, but the time of treaty had stolen away while they had been engaged in the infatuation of intrigue, and the proposal was met by a stern denial. The tone of authority was taken up, and the litigious and brawling synods and conventions were made to understand, that henceforth they were to regard themselves not as parties to equal negotiation, but as rebels and public disturbers placed upon their trial by the authority of the commonwealth of England. These intimations were indeed disregarded by the crowd of inflamed partisans, clerical and lay, who had been accustomed only to the effects of a war of treaties, declarations, and miserable intrigues; but Preston the governor of Galway who preserved his discretion and saw the danger in its true light, gave the not unimpressive warning of retreat by making his escape by sea, and the city was actually surrendered, while the synod were planning imaginary triumphs. In the midst of this adverse concurrence of circumstances, Clanricarde preserved his dignity and firmness; and having to the very latest moment maintained the cause of which he was the official leader, he submitted to the king's commands and treated with the parliamentary leaders.

Fleetwood was appointed to the government of Ireland; and the parliament, entering seriously on the consideration of the measures necessary for its final settlement, two acts were discussed; one for the confiscation of the estates of the rebels, another for the settlement of the claims of those to whom they were to be transferred. Some were to lose two-thirds and some the whole; among the latter was expressly named the marquess of Ormonde with lord Inchiquin, Bramhal bishop of Derry, and the earl of Rosecommon. But the train of events which at this time so long involved the British Isles in the chaos of political disorganization reached its end, and the condition of the country utterly

exhausted by ten years of uninterrupted disorder, was relieved by the ascendancy of a single command. The rule of the most atrocious despotism that ever disgraced a throne, is a slight evil compared with the tyranny of popular factions; but the government of Oliver Cromwell, was, considering all circumstances, just, beneficent and statesmanlike; in Ireland it was tempered by the disinterested wisdom of his son Henry Cromwell.

The marquess of Ormonde, having passed some months (with the interruption of one short visit to Paris,) with his family in Caen, was, summoned to Paris to give his counsel and assistance in the affairs of the duke of York, by which he was detained for a considerable time during the summer and autumn of 1652. The little money he had been enabled to apply to his own expences and those of his family was quite exhausted. He was compelled to board for a pistole per week in Paris and to appear on foot in the streets, which was not considered respectable among the Parisians. Under these depressing circumstances—in which the intrinsic elevation of few characters can shield them from the slight of the world, the respect of which follows the outward reflection of prosperity—the spirit, sense, and dignity of the marquess, together with his well attested political virtue and wisdom, attracted universal reverence and regard. A curious anecdote related by Carte, may serve to illustrate the free and spirited indifference to pecuniary considerations, which is a well marked feature of the marquess's character, and at the same time exemplify the manners of the aristocracy of that period. We shall extract Carte's narrative. "The marquess himself was left in no small distress in Paris; but treated on account of his qualities and virtues with great respect by the French nobility. One of these having invited him to pass some days at his house in St Germain en Laye, there happened on this occasion an adventure, the relation whereof may perhaps gratify the reader's curiosity. The marquess of Ormonde, in compliance with an inconvenient English custom, at his coming away, left with the maitre d' Hotel ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants. It was all the money he had, nor did he know how to get credit for more when he reached Paris. As he was upon the road ruminating on this melancholy circumstance, and contriving how to raise a small supply for present use, he was surprised at being informed by his servant, that the nobleman, at whose house he had been, was behind him, driving furiously as if desirous to overtake him. The marquess had scarcely left St Germain when the distribution of the money he had given caused a great disturbance among the servants, who, exalting their own services and attendance, complained of the maitre d' Hotel's partiality. The nobleman hearing an unusual noise in his family, and upon inquiry into the matter, finding what it was, took the ten pistoles himself, and causing horses to be put to his chariot, made all the haste that was possible after the marquess of Ormonde. The marquess upon notice of his approach, got off his horse, as the other quitted his chariot, and advanced to embrace him with great affection and respect; but was strangely surprised to find a coldness in the nobleman which forbade all embraces, till he had received satisfaction on a point which had given him great offence. He asked the marquess if

he had reason to complain of any disrespect or other defect which he had met with in the too mean, but very friendly entertainment which his house afforded; and being answered by the marquess, that his treatment had been full of civility, that he had never passed so many days more agreeably in his life, and could not but wonder why the other should suspect the contrary. The nobleman then told him, 'that the leaving ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants, was treating his house as an inn, and was the greatest affront that could be offered to a man of quality; that he paid his own servants well, and had hired them to wait on his friends as well as himself; that he considered him as a stranger that might be unacquainted with the customs of France, and err through some practice deemed less dishonourable in his own country, otherwise his resentment should have prevented any expostulation; but as the case stood, after having explained the nature of the affair, he must either redress the mistake by receiving back the ten pistoles, or give him the usual satisfaction of men of honour for an avowed affront.' The marquess," adds the historian, "acknowledged his error, took back his money, and returned to Paris with less anxiety about his subsistence. The same way of thinking still prevails, though possibly not in so great a degree, as at that time, in France; but few men of quality will suffer a servant to stay a moment in their houses who receives any thing from a stranger or a visitant. They generally treat their servants (who think themselves settled, if they get into a good family) with great affection and kindness; but will not allow them in any degree or manner to depend upon any other than themselves; so that their families, however large and numerous, are more orderly and quiet, and the gentlemen are better served than in any other nation of Europe."*

The distress to which the marquess was reduced was indeed so great that it became necessary to take some decided step, for the suitable maintenance of his marchioness and children. In this emergency one obvious resource occurred, the estates which had been possessed by the marchioness in her own right, might reasonably be claimed from the justice of Cromwell, who had always expressed a great respect for the marchioness, and was also known to favour the adherents of the royal family in Ireland. It was probably under somewhat more circumstantial views of the chances attendant upon such a step, that the marchioness went over to England to solicit for a provision out of her own estates. Her claim was respectfully entertained by Cromwell, who obtained for her an order of parliament, authorising the commissioners for Irish affairs to set apart, as a provision for the marchioness and her children, the clear yearly value of £2000 a-year out of her own inheritance, together with Dunmore house near Kilkenny for her residence.†

The marquess was in the mean time not allowed to remain without occupation; being a principal party to all the exertions made in foreign courts for the king's restoration, and the entire manager of the very troublesome, laborious and difficult negotiations attendant upon the endeavour to raise an army for the king's service, among the Irish

* Carte.

† Carte, II. p. 161.

who were engaged in foreign service; his courage, address and efficient activity in every undertaking, not only made him the principal support of the king in the midst of the various emergencies of his uncertain condition of dependence upon the shifting alliance of intriguing courts; they also subjected him to extraordinary fatigues and dangers, in his efforts to serve the royal cause and the interests of the members of the royal family, who seem to have turned to him for aid in every exigency. Among many occasions illustrative of this, Carte details at considerable length the severities which were resorted to by the queen Dowager of England and the queen Regent of France, to induce the duke of Gloucester to change his religion. The young prince had been set at liberty and permitted by Cromwell to join his family in France; he had been educated in the Protestant religion, but was not long with them when all the ordinary resources of persuasion, argument, and menace, were employed to induce him to conform to the church of Rome; the young prince showed a firmness, good sense, and amiability of temper truly admirable in one of his tender age, and the last resort of personal constraint which had no effect, was succeeded by a most cruel and unnatural expulsion from the *Louvre* where he had resided with his mother. The English residents in Paris were forbidden to entertain him; and, his mother refused to see his face again; but while these proceedings were in their course, a strong apprehension was at the same time communicated to the king, lest some still more stringent course should be resorted to, and he sent the marquess from Cologne, where he then was, to attempt his extrication from so dangerous a situation, of which the consequences, should the Dowager succeed, would be so destructive to the king's interests in England. The marquess after a laborious journey arrived in Paris, and by his presence and counsel not only confirmed the resolution of the prince, but overawed and repressed the activity of the queen's party. After being turned out of doors by his mother the prince was received by lord Hatton, with whom he continued for two months, while the marquess raised money by pawning his garter and the jewel formerly presented to him by the parliament, to enable them to travel to the king. When they reached Antwerp the marquess was seized with a severe and dangerous fever which delayed their journey, so that the spring was far advanced when they reached Cologne. On this journey the marquess had a narrow escape from being drowned in the Rhine. Having gone to bathe in this river, he put his clothes in a boat under the bank, which he committed to the charge of a servant, and swam out into the stream; when he was out the servant left his charge, and the boat was taken across the river by a stranger; the incident attracted the attention of the marquess who seeing the boat in which he had left his clothes on its way, immediately turned back and crossing the stream recovered it. Having dressed himself he got into the boat and directed his course toward the side from which he came; he did not however succeed in keeping the course he would have steered, and was not only carried a great way down the river, but at last found exceeding difficulty in regaining the bank.

The marquess on his arrival at Cologne, was sent by the king to conduct the princess royal to him, and on his return attended the royal party to Frankfort, where they went to see the great fair. He

was next sent to the duke of Neuberg to solicit his mediation with the Spanish court, for its assistance in his majesty's behalf. And shortly after the cardinal Mazarin, having written a letter to Oliver Darcy, titular bishop of Dromore misrepresenting the conduct of the marquess and others who had engaged the Irish officers and soldiers in the French service, to leave it after the French government had entered into a league with Cromwell; he was replied to by the marquess in a letter very remarkable for its dignity and justice of sentiment, as well as clearness of statement: such was its force that it was at the time taken up by the cardinal's opponents, as a means of attack upon his government.* We extract the last paragraph. "And since he hath been pleased to usurp an authority to judge and condemn me, with circumstances of calumny not usually proceeding from the minister of one prince to the servant of another, I conceive he gives me just ground to put you in mind, that by his ministration, an alliance is made between France and the murtherers of a just and lawful king; and that not only without any necessity, but upon such infamous conditions as no necessity can justify: I mean the banishing out of France dispossessed princes, the grand-children to Henry the Fourth. Add to this, that his Eminence is the instrument of such an alliance, as gives countenance and support to the usurpers of the rights of kings, and the professed persecutors of Roman catholicks, and the destroyers of your nation, and to those by whom the nobility and gentry of it are massacred at home, and led into slavery, or driven to beggary abroad."

On receiving an intimation of the king's wishes from the marquess, lord Muskerry proceeded to Paris and according to the terms of his engagement in the French service, demanded a discharge for himself and his men. The cardinal with some hesitation granted a pass for himself, but refused it for the men; Muskerry went to Flanders and was followed by his regiment to a man. They were formed into a new corps, under the command of the duke of York as colonel, and Muskerry as lieutenant-colonel.

Having passed a very distressing winter at Brussels, where he was commissioned to meet Don Juan for the king, it was suggested by this commander that there should be some competent person in England to take the conduct of the loyalists, before the king of Spain could safely venture to embark his forces in the service of Charles. The accounts from England very much exaggerated the strength and determination of this party, but the Spaniard had probably received accounts more nearly approaching the truth. The marquess without hesitation volunteered on this difficult service, "proposing to go over in disguise, and to know the utmost of what could be done, and that if things were ripe for action he might be at the head of it, and if they grew successful to such a degree as might invite the great men of the kingdom, such as the marquess of Hertford, the earl of Northumberland, or others to come in, who might scruple to be commanded by him, he would resign the command and serve under them, &c."† This

* The letter is in Carte's appendix, but too long and too little to our present purpose to extract it here.

† Carte.

devoted offer was accepted with real or seeming reluctance. To cover the design and divert inquiry the absence of the marquess was prepared for by a fictitious embassy into Germany, on which having proceeded as far as Cleves with Sir R. Beling, the marquess passed into Holland where he met Daniel O'Neile, and with him took shipping for England, where he landed in January on the Essex coast. Having proceeded as far as Chelmsford he and O'Neile parted, and he went on to London. There he found Sir W. Honeywood who conducted him to a place prepared for his concealment, and sought out for him the persons he desired to meet. The marquess began most judiciously with the inferior class of persons, from whose representations he might best infer the real state of facts. His first meeting was in an upper room at an apothecary's with about eight persons, to whom he was introduced by Honeywood as "a gentleman for whom he undertook, who was going to the king, and was the fittest person who might be found to tell his majesty how all things stood." To him, therefore, he assured them, they might fully explain their minds and state what they could do. All however refused to make communications of so dangerous a nature to one of whom they knew nothing; they declared that they would await the arrival of some person of sufficient authority from his majesty. On this the marquess disclosed himself, to their great surprise and confusion; they had in fact professed beyond their means, and were little prepared to be so taken at their words. Their statements were so incoherent, and so little grounded on any facts or probabilities of a tangible nature, as to convince the marquess that there was nothing to be expected from such vague and confused boasting. He nevertheless said every thing to encourage the good affection of these persons. He next met colonel Russel, Sir R. Willis, and other noblemen and gentlemen, at one time in Bedford gardens and again in Gray's inn. These gentlemen were more distinct and less sanguine in their statements. The marquess met several who were willing to come forward with such men as they could raise, but there was no substantial plan or preparation, nor did there appear any hope of being able to effect the sole object which could be of any real or efficient importance, which was the seizure of some seaport town of adequate strength. All was scattered and uncertain, and it was apparent, that the pervading vigilance, and activity of Cromwell was such, that the conspirators against his government, could not without much danger and difficulty even venture to communicate with each other. The marquess soon received from his friend lord Broghill, an intimation that his being in England was known to Cromwell, and was under the necessity of escaping without delay. It was afterwards discovered from the correspondence found among Cromwell's papers, that he had been betrayed by one of the gentlemen, who had been presented to him as a royalist. During this visit to England, he had been subject to extraordinary fatigue, and the anxiety of increasing alarm; he was several times under the necessity of changing his quarters, and so great was the precaution required, that he never undressed at night, but lay down in his clothes, to be ready for a sudden escape.

The sum of his observations upon the prospects of the royal family amounted to this, that the spirit of the people was favourable to a

rising in favour of the king, to a degree even beyond his expectations; but such was the vigilance and activity of Cromwell, and so completely did he hold all the civil and military powers of the kingdom, that it would be vain to hope for any organized movement, unless with the aid of strong external support. If, however, the king should obtain the promised aid from Spain, the marquess advised a descent upon Yarmouth, which might be secured without a blow, before Cromwell could have time to stir. Charles was eager to put this plan into execution, and the Spanish general, Don Juan, was liberal in promises and assurances of the requisite aid; and both the king and his friends were thus kept amused with deceitful hopes during the spring of 1658. During this time, the marquess lay concealed at Paris, in as much danger, says Carte, "of the bastille there, as he had been of the Tower in London!" He had fortunately two sisters there, the countess Clancarty and lady Hamilton, at whose lodgings he found concealments more endurable than it was always his fortune to meet. While there he received orders from Charles to come to him with such speed as his safety would admit: and as he had, nearly at the same time, received intelligence that Cromwell had sent to the cardinal Mazarin to secure him, his escape was not without both difficulty and danger: and as it was not to be doubted that he would be watched for on the road to Flanders, he had no resource but to direct his flight to Italy.

Discontented with the conduct of Spain, the king at last entertained the project of going thither himself, but was dissuaded on many strong grounds by his advisers; and the cardinal De Retz, whom he consulted through the marquess, advised that he should at least postpone his design till the campaign in which the Spanish army was then engaged should be concluded. At this time the king's finances received a seasonable reinforcement by the marriage of the earl of Ossory with Emilia, daughter of Louis of Nassau, with whom he received £10,000, of which the greater part went to the royal coffer. To effect this match, which was chiefly rendered desirable to the family by the worth and attractions of the young lady who had won the young earl's heart, the marchioness was under the necessity of settling £1200 per annum out of her small estate. During the transactions which we have been here relating, the condition of the marchioness was far from happy. Separated from her lord, she was immersed in litigation and in protracted applications and suits about the lands which were assigned for her maintenance. She was first compelled to prove her right to these lands, and the rates at which they had been let in 1640, which was the standard of value by which the portion allowed by parliament was to be ascertained. After her schedule was given in and examined by a committee, and the assignment made, the lands were found short of the value at which they had been rated. On some parts the rent was exceeded by the contributions and assessments to which they were subject, and others were subject to mortgages and other incumbrances. From these and other causes, which so affected the tenure of the lands that they could not be let to advantage, the marchioness found it necessary to make a fresh application to have a more profitable settlement of these lands. She was in this successful; but in consequence of the complication of her affairs, was

necessitated to remain alone for two years in Ireland for their arrangement; and when this was effected in 1655, she went over to England for her children. There she was further afflicted by the imprisonment of her eldest son, the earl of Ossory, of whose growing reputation Cromwell was so jealous, that after giving him leave to go abroad, he suddenly changed his mind, and ordered him to the Tower. Having sent the rest of the children to Acton, she remained in London to solicit the enlargement of the earl. She addressed her petition to Cromwell in the presence of his crowded court; the Protector "hoped that she would excuse him in that respect, and told her that he had more reason to be afraid of her than of any body." The high-spirited lady marchioness, understanding him more seriously than he intended, replied without embarrassment, "that she desired no favour, and thought it strange that she, who was never concerned in any plot, and never opened her mouth against his person or government, should be represented to him as so formidable a person." "No, madam," answered Cromwell, "that is not the case; but your worth has gained you so great an influence on all the commanders of our party, and we know so well your power over the other party, that it is in your ladyship's breast to act what you please."* Such civil evasions were all she could for a long time obtain; but the Protector's compliments were founded in truth, and so great was the ascendancy of the character of the marchioness, that he always treated her with a degree of deferential respect which he seldom showed to others, never refusing her an audience, though he did not like the object, and when she retired never failing to attend her to her coach. The earl of Ossory was at last set free upon his falling ill of an ague; but did not receive his discharge till the following spring, when the marchioness sent him to Holland to join his father.

The death of Cromwell brightened the hopes of the king and of his supporters; storms which afforded ample promise of change soon began to arise in England, and the continental powers contemplating the amendment of his fortunes, began to assume a more complacent tone, and to be more in earnest in their offers of aid to the king. These details we must here omit. The marquess was sent to Paris, where the king's affairs began to wear a favourable aspect, to further the advantages to be hoped for from the friendly professions of Turenne, and also to effect a reconciliation between the king and his mother, the queen-dowager Henrietta. So much activity was used on this occasion, that all was soon in readiness for a descent upon the English coast, when news of the unfortunate termination of Boothes' insurrection caused them to postpone their effort to another occasion, which none doubted would soon occur, as, by the death of Cromwell, England was left without an efficient government. The history of the intrigues and cabals of Wallingford house, and the deposition of Richard Cromwell, we have noticed in our memoir of lord Broghill.

Among the anxious proceedings of the royal party at this juncture, the only one we are here concerned to mention, is the conference between the marquess of Ormonde and the cardinal Mazarin. The

* Carte.

king had made a pressing application for an interview with the cardinal, who being yet apprehensive of the English parliament, declined such a meeting, under the pretence that it would prejudice his efforts for the king. It was then arranged that he should meet the marquess as if by accident, and confer with him upon the king's affairs. The cardinal, according to the concerted arrangement, rode out upon the 12th November, 1659, and was met by the marquess, who represented to him strongly the state of faction in England—the general disposition of the people in favour of the king—the actual engagements of many persons of leading interest—and all the strong probabilities of a restoration, if France would take the part which ought to be expected, on every just consideration to the claims of kindred or to the cause of all constitutional authority. But the cardinal's favourite object was the depression of the power of England, and arguments drawn from principles of equity or general expediency had no weight in his counsels. He continued firm to his policy, which may be here sufficiently comprehended from the single fact, that he offered to support Fleetwood with money and other aids, upon the condition of his perseverance in those courses which were adopted for the maintenance of the commonwealth against the efforts of the royalists.

But a re-action too broad and deep for the machinations of a worn-out faction, had been for some time making its progress in England, and at length began to flow in an authoritative channel. By the natural, though seemingly accidental concurrence of circumstances, which it belongs to the English historian to detail, a commander of just and sagacious understanding, who was capable of perceiving and entering with just discrimination into the feeling of the time, and the course which all circumstances render expedient, was placed at the head of the army, and from that moment all things paved the way for the restoration of the house of Stuart. While the king was yet in some uncertainty as to the conduct of Monk, he received an intimation that Sir G. Downing, lately arrived from England, desired a conference with some authorized person on the part of his majesty, and expressed a strong wish that the marquess of Ormonde might be the person. On this the marquess was sent to the Hague, when Downing, who was there as the British resident, met him secretly, and informed him of the real state of affairs in England.

The restoration immediately followed. The king was accompanied into England by the marquess of Ormonde in the end of May, 1660. After the public ceremonials attendant upon the king's arrival were over, he was sworn a member of the privy council, and made steward of the household: he was also appointed lieutenant of the county of Somerset, and high steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol. He was also restored to his estates, of which part had been arbitrarily seized by king James, and the remainder by the parliament—an act of justice, which can hardly be viewed as compensation for the heavy debts contracted, and the accumulated losses of ten years' deprivation: but the marquess was superior to the considerations by which ordinary minds are wholly swayed, and was content, although not relieved from embarrassments, which accompanied him through life. More worthy of commemoration was the restoration to his office

of chancellor to the university of Dublin, and the changes made with his usual decision for the purpose of redeeming that seat of learning from the effects of parliamentary interference. Henry Cromwell, whose political conduct in Ireland exhibited discretion and political tact, had acted with less than his usual justice towards the university, into which he introduced persons wholly destitute of any pretension but those of factious politics and schismatical tenets. The marquess proceeded with caution and zeal to restore that eminent seat of knowledge to its efficient functions as the moral and intellectual light of Ireland, and as one of the great leading protestant seminaries in Europe. He had Dr Seele appointed to the provostship, and most of the fellows who had been displaced for non-compliance with the parliament reinstated in their fellowships. We shall have, hereafter, to enter in detail upon this subject.

The marchioness of Ormonde came over to England to meet her lord, and the earl of Ossory also arrived from Holland with his bride; and his whole family, after so many trying years of adversity, collected to meet the marquess in London.

The marquess had soon an opportunity, of which he availed himself, to ward off a ruinous blow from many of the best old families in Ireland. Some time before the arrival of the king, the English parliament had brought in a bill of indemnity, in which a clause was introduced, that "this act should not extend to license or restore to any person or persons (other than the earl of Ormonde and the protestants of Ireland,) any estate sold or disposed of by both or either of the houses of parliament, or any convention assuming the style or name of a parliament, or any person or persons deriving authority from them," &c., &c. Lord Aungier, however, prevailed to have this clause postponed until the marquess might be consulted. The marquess strongly and effectually opposed it, and received in return the general acknowledgment of the Irish nation; for few old families had wholly escaped the effects of parliamentary usurpation.

It would prolong this memoir, which we have been vainly endeavouring to reduce within our ordinary bounds, to a length quite inconsistent with the limits assigned to this work, were we to detail the train of circumstances connected with the state of the protestant church in Ireland, when the marquess, by the free and prompt exertion of his great influence, was the instrument to save it from destruction. These facts will find an appropriate place in the next division of this period. It may now be sufficient to state briefly that the property of the church had passed into the hands of the parliamentary ministers, or into forfeiture; while, at the same time, insidious attempts were made to mislead the king into grants and alienations, by which he would be deprived of the means of restitution. An address from the primate and eight bishops was transmitted to the marquess, who exerted himself effectually to arrest the evil, and in the course of a few years placed that respectable and useful body on a secure and permanent basis.

On the 13th February, 1661, the marquess was joined in commission with the duke of Albemarle and other lords, to determine on the claims usually advanced at coronations, preparatory to the coronation of Charles, at which ceremony, having been created duke of Ormonde

on the 30th of March, he assisted, bearing king Edward's crown before the king, in his office of high steward of England.

The restitution of the duke's estates, though apparently a liberal act of royal and national consideration for his real services, was yet far below his actual claims, had he condescended to put forward any claims upon this occasion. The estates which were restored to him were of two main classes, of which the first were those lands held by his vassals on the feudal tenure of military service, and which were legally determined by their taking arms against him in the rebellion. The second consisted of those lands which were in the hands of government or of military adventurers, who on the change of affairs had no hope of retaining them, and gave them up freely and without a murmur. He was largely indebted to the crown, under very peculiar circumstances; as the debts were incurred in the service of the crown, and had devolved to it by the forfeiture of creditors, such debts were ordered to be discharged. The duke's claim is indeed so well stated in the king's letters for putting him in possession of his estates, that we think it fit to insert the preamble here:—"It having pleased Almighty God in so wonderful a manner to restore us to our dominions and government, and thereby into a power not only of protecting our good subjects, but of repairing by degrees the great damages and losses they have undergone in the late ill times by their signal fidelity and zeal for our service, which we hold ourself obliged in honour and conscience to do, as soon and by such means as we shall be able: nobody can wonder or envy that we should, as soon as is possible, enter upon the due consideration of the very faithful, constant and eminent service performed to our father of blessed memory and ourself, upon the most abstracted considerations of honour, duty, and conscience, and without the least pause or hesitation, by our right trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, James, marquis of Ormonde, lord steward of our household, who from the very beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, frankly engaged himself in the hardest and most difficult parts of our service, and laying aside all considerations or thought of his own particular fortune and convenience, as freely engaged that, as his person, in the prosecution and advancement of our interest; and when the power of our enemies grew so great that he was no longer able to contend with it, he withdrew himself from that our kingdom, and from that time attended our person in the parts beyond the sea, with the same constancy and alacrity, having been never from us, but always supporting our hopes and our spirits in our greatest distresses with his presence and counsel, and in many occasions and designs of importance, having been our sole counsellor and companion. And therefore we say all good men would wonder, if being restored to any ease in our own fortune, we should not make haste to give him ease in his, that is so engaged and broken for us, and which his continual and most necessary attendance about us must still keep him from attending himself with the care and diligence he might otherwise do; we knowing well besides the arrears due to him, during the time he commanded the army, and before he was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that from the time he was by our royal father put into the supreme command of that kingdom, and during the whole

time that he had the administration thereof, but wholly supported himself and our service upon his own fortune and inheritance, and over and above borrowed and supplied great sums of money upon the engagement or sale of his own lands, and disbursed the same upon carrying on the publick service, as well during the time of his being there under our royal father, as since under us."

In addition to the restoration of his estates, the duke obtained his ancient perquisite of the prize of wines, which his ancestors had held immemorially, until Cromwell seized upon this right, and converted it into a branch of excise.

The settlement of Ireland was soon found less practicable than had been expected. There was a confusion of parties, whose inconsistent claims were grounded, some in pledges real or implied, some on right, some on possession, some on merits, and more than all, many on their power to give trouble and create perplexity. For the satisfaction of these, so far as such a result was consistent with the nature of things, the means were absolutely wanting, and a course of intrigue and litigation, violence, and misrepresentation commenced. Ireland, in which the hatred and terror of its recent and long disorders had not subsided, was filled with the noise of complaint: the numbers who had been ejected from their possessions looked for a speedy reinstatement; those who had obtained possession by authorized means claimed to be confirmed; and those who were possessed by usurpation feared to be deprived. The king was more desirous to conciliate those who might become formidable, than to satisfy the claims either of gratitude or justice. To the confederates he was pledged by a treaty of peace, concluded in his name and by his authorized lieutenant: the protestant army had the merit of a seasonable declaration in his favour, and of being the efficient instruments of wresting Ireland from the Cromwellians, numbers too were creditors, and had advanced their money on the consideration of Irish lands: many who had rebelled at home had served him abroad: but above all, there were those who had never for a moment, through so many dreadful trials of their constancy and loyalty, lost sight of their allegiance, and whose claims were therefore the most undoubted on every consideration. To satisfy these various demands, and to extricate himself from the weariness of business and the vexatious intrusion of complaint, the king was willing to sacrifice his own lands in Ireland. By the exertions of the earl of Orrery and others, a calculation of disposable lands was presently made, and a declaration already noticed,* published by the king. It was transmitted to the lords-justices, with instructions for putting it into execution. Its effect was to produce general dissatisfaction and remonstrance: those who had least claim to consideration were those who had most reason for content, as it was rather framed for conciliation than for justice. Among those whose case included the severest hardships, was a large portion of the Roman Catholic body, which had either taken no part, or a part manifestly enforced in the rebel-

* Vol. ii. pp. 359.—We take this occasion to correct an error in the page here quoted. By some mistake not now to be accounted for, the earl of Orrery is substituted for the earl of Ossory in the above-mentioned calculation.

lion. Justice manifestly demanded a full consideration of their rights, and such accordingly was not formally denied; but practically, all distinctions in their favour were encumbered with difficulties of an obvious nature, and these difficulties were aggravated by the operation of prejudices against them, which were partly founded in realities too obvious not to have imposing effect, and partly in the interested hostility of their opponents. They complained of the rigour of conditions, which made it impossible for any accused papist to prove his innocence, and justly complained that the conduct which was now decided as proving their disloyalty had not been matter of choice: that the lords-justices had excluded them alike from the service or from the protection of the crown, and compelled them to reside in the quarters of the rebels, who possessed for a long time the most considerable parts of the country. The answers to this remonstrance would, if recited, only serve to show the lengths to which sophistry may be ventured in support of open injustice. Among other fallacies, the necessity of assuming the mere fact of residence as a sufficient test was asserted on the peculiarly self-destroying ground, that in most cases there could be no other test; a statement which seems to involve the abandonment of the charge. But we dwell on these facts here only because they illustrate the real tendency of rebellion to draw down a frightful amount of retributive consequences upon a people. The prejudice which it awakens at a distance, where its guilt and horrors alone can reach, without any extenuating facts, is a permanent evil, against which a moment's reflection will show there is no counteraction in the nature of things; for while the report of crime and disorder travels far and finds numerous records, quiet honesty and good conduct make no report and find no place in history; and in the din and rumour of national insurrections, all who are involved must be considered as parties engaged: and this moral necessity is in the present case much increased by the fact, that the agency of ecclesiastical intrigue, and of the motives of a religious party, must, in the apprehension of the spectator, have seemed to identify the creed itself with the cause, and the Roman Catholic laity with the corporate politics of their hierarchy.

The Irish parliament was convened to pass the declaration into an enactment. The constitution of this parliament was regulated by the actual possession of the lands: being mainly composed of adventurers who had by several means obtained large estates of which the titles were either wrongful, uncertain, or requiring confirmation, their first and main effort was to secure the advantage which they held; and in this they were successful, so far as their possessions can be regarded as liable to the danger they feared. They also made some strong but not equally successful efforts, to secure the interests of the protestant established church in Ireland against the other protestant denominations which were then striving to obtain the ascendancy. On the discussion of the king's declaration, it found cordial support from a body whose objects it favoured, and accordingly the commons were in its favour; but it excited the indignation of the lords, who saw that its effect must be the destruction of the most ancient and noblest families in the kingdom. They put forward many strong objections, and clearly exposed the manifold grievances and wrongs which such provi-

sions as it contained must have inflicted on unoffending thousands: and affirmed that the king had issued his declaration on misinformation. Among other objections, they examined the proceedings of the court of claims, which they found to be dilatory, inefficient, and corrupt; but above all, they exposed in strong colours the iniquities of the "*doubling ordinance*," a project set on foot by the parliament during the great rebellion, in order to levy money by a loan on Irish forfeitures. For this it had been enacted that every adventurer who should advance one-fourth more than his original adventure should have it doubled on account, and receive Irish lands according to his claim so increased. It was computed that by this unauthorized compact, the lands lost to the king would amount to 142,000 acres. A clause was introduced into the bill with the king's consent, that the adventurers should receive lands to the precise amount of the *actual payments* they had made. The bill was, after various delays, drawn up and transmitted to the lords-justices, who made several alterations of their own, and then sent it over to England to be finally examined and confirmed.

The struggle of parties was thus transferred to England; and, considering the history of previous events and the state of opinion there, the cause could hardly have been carried into a court less disposed to equity. The deeds of the previous rebellion had impressed England with horror and contempt: the Irish party was without support, and destitute of prudence, discretion, or money: their enemies had all of these. The adventurers, as the purchasers of Irish lands have been technically called, had raised a large sum by subscription among themselves for the support of their claims.

In this state of affairs the Irish party had but one resource, and that in their infatuation they cast from them. The duke of Ormonde's influence, his tried love of justice, his temper, moderation, and disinterested character, all marked him as the fit advocate of those who had strong equitable claims and no friends. His advice was offered and his aid volunteered. His opinion was strongly expressed in a letter to Sir M. Eustace, who was an earnest advocate in their behalf, and is worthy of notice here:—"We are," says he, "in the heat of our debates upon the great bill; and I fear the liberty allowed the Irish to speak for themselves, will turn to their prejudice, by the unskilful use they make of it, in justifying themselves, instructing the king and council what is good for them, and recriminating of others: whereas, a modest extenuation of their crimes, an humble submission to, and imploring his majesty's grace, and a declaration of their hearty desire to live quietly and brotherly with their fellow-subjects for the future, would better have befitted the disadvantages they were under, and have prevailed more than all their eloquence. But it is long since I have given over any hope that they would do, or be advised to do what was best for them, or be persuaded that what might properly, and for their advantage be said by others, would not only change its nature coming from them, but hinder others from making use of their arguments, lest they might be suspected of communicating counsels with them; which is a reproach I will avoid almost as much as I will the guilt of being of their party."

In opposition to the advice of the duke, the Irish agents took a lefty

and arrogant tone, and threw themselves wholly on their merits. There were among them individuals whose enmity to the duke excited them to take all those means to hurt his reputation, which are ever so easily used, and so available among the multitude. His advice was imputed to his wish to sink the real merits of their cause: his well-known zeal for the protestant religion, so broadly marked in the whole conduct of his life, gave force to the base insinuation of a motive which was only worthy of the person by whom it was suggested. Instead of gratitude, the duke met insult and calumny, which wounded his feelings, though it could not affect a character which stood high above the range of such base missiles. The consequence was, that although he frequently interposed by his vote and influence, to prevent injustice, which could be prevented in no other way, he studiously avoided taking any public part in the business of the settlement. "He adhered," says Carte, "so firmly to this resolution, that I do not find he was one of any committee to which that matter was referred by the council, until after he was made lord-lieutenant; reserving himself, however, for his particular friends, and such as having adhered to the peace, applied to him for certificates of their behaviour, and for his interposition in their behalf, which he never declined, being always ready to do them all the good offices in his power, as often as occasions offered."* The Irish party were wholly unsuccessful in their most especial efforts; and, as we have said, attributing their ill success to the private influence of the duke, they sent one of their agents to remonstrate with his grace. The gentleman who was sent on this errand, conducted himself with such insolence, that he was sent to the Tower, but released on submission.†

The difficulties which arose in the inquiries which followed, and the serious obstacles which presented themselves to any effort at a satisfactory adjustment of claims, so opposite, and attended with so many perplexing considerations, led the king to the determination of sending over a lord-lieutenant. The duke of Albemarle was reluctant to become the arbiter of so many jarring interests and conflicting parties. He expressed to the king his dislike to the post, and strongly urged that the duke of Ormonde alone was competent to the execution of the desired settlement. Unfortunately for the duke, he could not shrink from an office which had upon him all the strong claims of the most peremptory obligation; and on the 6th Nov., 1661, he was declared lord-lieutenant in the council. His own sentiments on the appointment are expressed in the following extract from one of his private letters:—"You are pleased to concern yourself so much in my fortune, as to congratulate with me the addition of honour the king thought fit to place in my family, when he made me duke. The same friendship will dispose you now to condole with me for the very uneasy service he has designed to appoint for me in Ireland, as his lieutenant. In that employment, besides many other unpleasant difficulties, there are two disadvantages proper to me; one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindness and protection than I can find myself chargeable with, and the other suspecting that

* Carte, ii. p. 236.

† Carte. Southwell.

I retain that prejudice to them which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended, undeniably, with clamour and scandal upon my most wary deportment."

The account of this appointment gave general satisfaction in Ireland, to all respectable persons who were not deeply connected with the movements of the more violent parties. All whose desires were confined to justice, or who felt confidence in the equity of their claims, were satisfied that no zeal of political feeling would interfere with the conduct of the duke of Ormonde: an advantage then not likely to be realized in any other person. Minds of an inferior stamp, would be expected to act more decidedly from party views: and persons wholly disinterested in Irish affairs were prejudiced against the Irish. In Dublin, public rejoicings followed the intelligence—the provost and fellows expressed their joy in a latin epistle; the houses of parliament and convocation did the same, by letters and addresses.

In the mean time, the discussion of the Irish settlement continued to be carried on with increasing perplexity and acrimony before the council. As it proceeded, it began soon to appear, that the first design of the king's declaration could not be carried into operation, as it was made under a false assumption, that the lands at the king's disposal would suffice for the satisfaction of all admissible claims: but it presently appeared, that the whole island would be insufficient, and it became an anxious question upon whom the loss should fall. The arguments which were advanced on either side need not be repeated here; some of them are obvious, and some but specious. But among these, one at least was unfortunate for the cause of the Irish party, who were by far the more violent in their entire conduct through this controversy; from pleas of right the parties went on to mutual accusations. The Irish advocates were thus unwittingly betrayed, not merely into offending powerful parties by whose influence the decision might readily be governed, but in fact they thus raised topics which every party in England was anxious and willing to forget, and of which the very discussion was calculated to awaken uneasy apprehensions in the king and his friends. The horrors and atrocities of the Irish rebellion were retorted with all the effect which their recent impression but too well favoured; and the various communications which had been made with the court of Rome, became also a fatal weapon. In reply to several papers presented by the Irish committee, the commissioners of the Irish parliament sent in several writings of this prejudicial nature, and containing "instructions given by the supreme council of Ireland, to the bishop of Ferns, and Sir Nicholas Plunket, their agents to the court of Rome, bearing date, Jan. 18, 1667; a draught of instructions to France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication published in Jamestown." These papers were, by order of the committee, presented to the king and council, and the king was so violently incensed at their contents, that an order was entered, that "no petition or further address be made from the Roman catholics of Ireland, as to the bill of settlement, but that the bill for the act of settlement go on to be engrossed without any further delay, according as is already concluded; that Sir N. Plunket have notice given him, that his majesty's pleasure is, that he forbear to come into his presence and

appear at court any more; and that Mr Solicitor send all the provisos allowed of by the committee to be engrossed, and that the Irish make no more addresses, and that this be signified in letters to their friends in Ireland." Thus ended the debates in behalf of the Irish; and the bill, which had by these debates been long delayed, to the great uneasiness of the parliament of Ireland, was after the settling of some further provisos finished at last, and being sent over, passed the two houses at the latter end of May.

The Irish parliament appointed Sir T. Jones, Sir Paul Davies, Sir James Ware, Sir H. Tichburne and others, to attend the lords-justices, and request of them to prepare and transmit a bill, for raising the sum of £30,000 for the Duke, on his accepting of the government, to demonstrate the sense of the kingdom, and in consideration of his "vast losses" in the service of Ireland. The duke's arrival in Ireland was deferred, on account of the approaching nuptials of the king, with the Infanta of Portugal; a match against which the duke had strongly but vainly protested. His objections, together with those of the chancellor and the earl of Southampton, were listened to by the king in Tom Chiffin's closet, of which so graphic a sketch has been drawn by the pen of Scott.* They remonstrated with him, on the score of the religion of the princess, and the king replied, there were no protestant princesses fit for him to marry: it was replied that there were princesses enough in Germany, but the king answered in his lively style, "cod's fish, they are all foggy, and he could not like any of them for a wife;" upon this, says Carte, "the duke was satisfied that he would marry none but a Roman catholic."† To this Carte adds a curious story of the accident by which the duke had first discovered the secret of the king's religion. "The king had carefully concealed that change from the duke of Ormonde, who yet discovered it by accident. The duke had some suspicions of it from the time that they removed from Cologne into Flanders; for though he never observed that zeal and concern as to divine things, which he often wished in the king, yet so much as appeared in him at any time looked that way. However, he thought it so very little that he hoped it would soon wear off upon returning to his kingdoms, and was not fully convinced of his change, till about the time the treaty of the Pyrenees was going to be opened. The duke was always a very early riser, and being then at Brussels, used to amuse himself at times that others were in bed, in walking about the town and seeing the churches. Going one morning very early by a church, where a great number of persons were at their devotions, he stepped in; and advancing near the altar, he saw the king on his knees at mass. He readily imagined his majesty would not be pleased that he should see him there, and therefore retired as cautiously as he could, went to a different part of the church, near another altar, where nobody was, kneeled down, and said his own prayers till the king was gone." At the period of this occurrence, considerable anxiety prevailed among the king's friends on the subject of his religion: some were of opinion that his open conformity to the church of Rome would have the advantageous effect

* Peveril of the Peak.

† Carte, ii. 154.

of obtaining for him the sincere assistance of the Roman catholic courts: while others, among whom was the duke, with more sagacity saw that such a step would entirely put an end to all his hopes. Some therefore urged him to declare himself, while others who would not even appear to think it possible that he had turned to the Roman church, yet endeavoured to counteract them by wiser counsel. The king was himself indifferent to all creeds, further than as they could be moulded to the shape of his inclinations, and with the ordinary mixture of ingenuity and flippancy which composes the character of the latitudinarian's intellect, had a convenient creed of his own: in a word, he amused himself by the assumption, that God must be so merciful as to forgive the most direct disobedience of the whole letter and spirit of his positive laws, and that he might therefore freely indulge the inclinations of a most abandoned and profligate nature, provided he exercised an occasional private devotion, which must of course have been a strange compound of mockeries and contradictions. The duke, who had kept the secret of his change of persuasion until after the restoration, then communicated it to the earl of Southampton, and they considered how they might best prevent any of the consequences which were to be apprehended. For this purpose they contrived to have a clause inserted in the act, that was passed for the security of the king's person and government, making it a *premunire* for any one to say the "king was a papist."

The duke was long detained from his duties in Ireland, by those of his office of lord-steward, which required that he should meet the queen on her landing at Portsmouth, and after by the arrangements and ceremonies attendant upon the royal marriage, so that the summer was far advanced when he was at liberty to depart for Ireland. The numerous company of Irish nobility and gentry which had been drawn to London in prosecution of their claims, accompanied him, and formed a train of splendour never before or since approached in the journey of a lieutenant to his government: and his reception in Dublin, no less remarkable for its magnificence than for the public enthusiasm it called forth, is called "an epitome of the restoration" by Carte.

The act of settlement now passed, and was accompanied by a long speech from the Duke, who expounded its provisions with their reason or necessity in such a manner as to place every thing in the most conciliatory aspect. His speech was printed by order of the house. The recess followed and he went to Kilkenny, where his daughter, lady Mary Butler, was married in October to lord Cavendish.

Notwithstanding the anxious precautions and explanations of the duke, the act of settlement gave very general, and in many respects justifiable discontent. Among those whose complaints were most grounded in real wrong, were the officers called the forty-nine men, who had loyally and strenuously served the king against the rebels on every side, without ever having received any pay, and whose arrears were unquestionably the prior claim on both the justice and gratitude of the king; but so numerous and so large were the grants into which he had been inadvertently led, that there were not in fact means over and above the restorations which justice demanded, and those iniquitous appropriations. Among these, the earl of Leicester

whose service had been but nominal, contrived to have £50,000 under the claim of arrears, charged upon the security of the lands for the purpose of arrears, and Sir W. Petty, obtained large grants of the same lands. So great indeed and so unquestionable was the injustice done to this meritorious and suffering class of claimants, that a bill was brought in to provide for their security.

The duke was doomed on the present, as on the former occasion, and as indeed through every stage of his life, to suffer by his own excessive disinterestedness, and by a public spirit which appears to have set aside all private considerations. Among his first acts, the most urgent and essential was the purgation of the army, from the dregs of the republican and fanatic spirit which rendered it less available for the immediate service. To effect this, money to a large amount was necessary; but from the circumstances already explained, it will be understood, that of money there was no provision and but little prospect. The duke met the emergency, as in former times, by a large disbursement from his private estate—at a time when others were endeavouring to secure whatever could be grasped by any effort. The necessity appears not indeed to have been slight for this step; for, not to speak of the rumours of meditated insurrection in Ireland, for which little spirit remained, there was a strong party in England, still hostile to the restoration, and willing, should they find means, to raise a popular insurrection. These, and not without reason, boasted of having 8000 men in the Irish army ready to join in the attempt to throw off the present royal family, and declare a commonwealth: a design favoured by the discontents which the act of uniformity caused among the puritans, whose clergy generally declared, that they would resign their benefices, sooner than conform—a declaration to which they for the most part adhered. We shall notice these particulars in a future stage.

The commissioners appointed for the execution of the settlement, having been objected to on the fair ground that they were parties concerned, another commission was appointed, of competent English lawyers and gentlemen having no interest in Ireland. Their awards were too impartial to please a large portion of the claimants, which comprised chiefly these adventurers and soldiers whose claims were either founded on usurpation, or upon their service under the commonwealth. The first cases disposed of were those of the Irish, who had been undeservedly dispossessed of their estates: on this claim the numbers who came forward and made good their claims, by proving their innocence, was great beyond the expectations or the wish of the adventurers, who became discontented and alarmed, and in consequence soon began to express their complaints, and plot resistance. Many of Cromwell's officers conspired to effect an armed rising, and appointed a committee for its direction: among the officers appointed upon this committee, one (a Mr T. Alden,) disclosed the secret through his friend colonel Vernon, and by the same channel gave intelligence from time to time of their proceedings. Among the conspirators were some officers who conceived the notion of surprising the castle; Mr Alden gave warning of their intention, but mentioned a time farther off than afterwards turned out to be the time actually fixed; as captain Hulet and lieutenant Turet, who had probably at first fixed

upon the 9th or 10th of March, according to the information, saw reasons to expedite their design. On the 5th of that month, a company was to mount guard, among whom they reckoned on fifty men, and a sergeant: they also contrived to obtain arms and powder from the store, by practising upon the simplicity or knavery of the store-keeper's boy, and made up their minds to attempt the castle on that night by the gate that opens towards Ship street. Alden learned this change of purpose on the very day; but as colonel Vernon was out of the way, he found no means to convey his intelligence to the duke of Ormonde. Fortunately, the duke had himself received notice the day before, from a person named Hopkins, whom Turet had engaged to join. Such preparations were made as could not have failed to repel the attempt, but the conspirators themselves were apprised of the discovery of their design and made no attack. Some of them fled for their lives, and others were taken; but their information was unsatisfactory, as they were not persons who had been trusted by the leading conspirators.

Among the troublesome occurrences of this period of the duke's life, not the least was caused by the exhibition of the same refractory spirit in the House of Commons. An address was presented to him, in which this branch of parliament embodied the complaints of the adventurers and Cromwellians. They complained of the liberal and strictly equitable proceedings of the commissioners, and proposed a new method of conducting the cases, which would soon have restored the griping and corrupt decisions of the parliamentary courts. In the cases which came usually before the court, the plaintiff was the person whose innocence was to be proved, and the defendant he who was actually in possession of his lands. They now proposed that the king should be a party, and no decision made before the attorney-general should have been heard against the plaintiff. To this absurd and anomalous expedient, it was in addition proposed, that the cases should be tried by juries, so described, as in effect to give the decision to the persons most interested, either by claim or party. Other regulations respecting the nature of the evidence, and others limiting the lands and the claims, were proposed, and to the whole was tacked the false proposition, that the maintenance of the Protestant religion was dependent on the adoption of such proposals. The duke saw the injustice of these arrangements and was also much vexed and disgusted by the insidiousness and fallacy of this attempt to connect the church, which it was his main policy and desire to maintain, with such flagitious demands. The duke received their address coldly, and told them it should be taken into consideration. They were dissatisfied with this reply, and caused Sir A. Mervyn's speech, in which the address had been moved, to be printed. The king caused the printer to be taken up, and expressed his disapprobation in strong terms: and the duke wrote a letter to the parliament, in which he forcibly exposed the folly and mischief of their proceedings. They had, he represented, suggested the dangerous notion, that the protestant interest was in danger, in consequence of which many respectable protestants had received an alarm highly pernicious to that interest, as it both prevented English protestants from looking for settlements in Ireland, and caused many to sell at low rates the estates they had.

He explained to them the truth so obvious, and yet seemingly so hardly received, that the country only wanted peace to ensure the growth of universal prosperity: while the rights and interests of every class must suffer by the perpetuation of disunion and discontent. The commons retracted their proceeding, declared their abhorrence of the recent plot, acknowledged the lord-lieutenant's great care and vigilance in defeating it, and pledged themselves to support him with their lives and fortunes, in the maintenance of the royal authority.

Notwithstanding the check which it thus received, the main conspiracy went on with unremitting activity. The time of insurrection was fixed for May 25th, when the castles of Dublin, Drogheda, Derry, and other places of strength, were by simultaneous movements to be seized. There were meetings and consultations in Dublin and several parts of the country, to ensure the means and regulate the proceedings: several members of parliament, lawyers and military officers, were engaged in the undertaking, among whom the most active were a presbyterian minister, named Lackie, and a person of the name of Blood, who passed frequently into Scotland, under the hope of drawing the Scotch into the rebellion. Sir A. Forbes was sent down into the north, and soon succeeded in obtaining extensive intelligence of their proceedings, which were disconcerted by the arrest of major Staples, who had charge of the execution of the plan which they had concerted for the seizure of the towns. On the arrest of Staples, the greater part of the northern conspirators fled into Scotland.

In Munster the proceedings of the conspiracy were scarcely less active. A short extract will convey in the briefest form a view of the hopes, designs, and dependency of the persons engaged in it. Carte represents one of these, colonel Jephson, as explaining to Sir Theophilus Jones, whom he was anxious to gain to the party, "that they did not want an army, for there were 15,000 Scots excommunicated by the bishops in the north, who were ready within two days, and they doubted not but their own army would join them; that they had a bank of money in Dublin, sufficient to pay off all the arrears of the army, both in Oliver's time, and since the king's return, but he could not tell from whence it came, unless from Holland; that he had seen three or four firkins of it carried into Mr Boyd's house, and he could himself command £500 out of that bank the next day; that they had a wise council of considerable persons, such as would not be readily guessed at, who managed the business, and any body who should see the scheme, which was particularly set down in writing, would be convinced of its exactness; that Mr Roberts, who was auditor under Cromwell, had been for two months casting up the arrears of the army, and had now perfected the account, so that it was known what was due to every one, and such as would join them should be paid off everywhere; that there were 1000 horse in Dublin for securing the city, and Henry Ingolsby was to appear with them as soon as the castle was taken, and a flag put up, of which they no way doubted; that they intended to offer no violence to any but such as opposed them; that the duke of Ormonde's person was to be seized, but to be civilly treated; that several other persons were to be secured, and par-

ticularly he himself was to seize the earl of Clancarty, and colonel Fitz-Patrick; that every party had their particular orders to surprise each of the guards of the city; that one MacCormack was a great person in the action, and there were six ministers that went about Dublin in perukes, but laid them by when they were at prayers, and these were to be in the streets, to see that no plunder or disorder should be committed; that they had a declaration, of which many thousand copies were printed, ready to be dispersed, declaring that their undertaking was for securing the English interest, and the three kingdoms which were going to ruin by the countenance given to popery; that all the English should enjoy such estates as they possessed on 1st May, 1659; that religion should be settled according to the solemn league and covenant." He added, "that they would overturn the three kingdoms, and that the word which was to be given on the taking of the castle was, '*For the king and English interest.*'"* Jones, without the loss of a moment, wrote down the heads of this conversation, which he disclosed next day to the duke.

The plan for the surprise of Dublin castle was one, which, without some previous warning, would most probably have succeeded. Several persons were to loiter into the castle yard, separately, as having petitions, or on some other fair pretence, while eighty foot soldiers, disguised as mechanics and trades' people, were to remain outside, dispersed in different small groups, or with the appearance of idle loiterers, so as not to attract notice, until they should receive the signal concerted: this was to be given by a baker carrying a large basket of bread, who was to stumble in the gateway: it was supposed that the guards in the gateway would immediately scramble for the bread, and thus offer a full opportunity for the disguised assailants to force their way in before the nature of their proceedings could be suspected. Within twelve hours of the time appointed for this exploit, the chief conspirators were all arrested by orders from the duke of Ormonde; and the few of less importance who escaped, were actively searched for. Among these latter, the most remarkable was Blood, the most daring, unscrupulous, and active of all the conspirators; this desperado found shelter for a time in Antrim, and afterwards among the mountains of Ulster, where he pretended to be a priest. From thence he reached the county of Wicklow, where he lurked for a while, and under various names and disguises, travelled through the kingdom, endeavouring to reunite and revive the conspiracy. He expressed himself strongly on the advantage they would gain if the duke of Ormonde should be slain, asserting that his death would be of more importance than the possession of the castle of Dublin; and the impression soon became very much diffused that he would himself be very likely to assassinate the duke.†

The duke was very anxious to treat his prisoners with lenity, and a few who frankly acknowledged their guilt, he pardoned: but a notion had circulated, that conspiring to levy war was not treason, unless pursued into overt acts of rebellion; and it was felt to be essential to

* Carte, II. 267.

† Carte.

the peace of the kingdom, that this dangerous delusion should be removed by some examples. Bills were found against five of the prisoners, who were tried and found guilty, upon the evidence of several, most of whom had been engaged in the same conspiracy. These persons were executed.

The people of Ireland were in every quarter deeply anxious for quiet, there existed among them not the slightest tendency to disaffected feeling: and there was moreover a sincere and universal sense of affection and respect for the duke of Ormonde diffused among every class, with the slight yet dangerous exception of the remains of the republican party. This, most unhappily indeed, still composed the chief material of the army in both countries. The duke was anxious to adopt the only direct remedy, which was the purgation of the army; but money was wanting, and he was thus involved in great embarrassments. He made a progress into Ulster, by his presence to awe the disaffected, revive loyal feelings, and give confidence to the apprehensions of the peaceable; and felt himself also under the necessity of employing agents to watch the proceedings of those parties who were suspected of any dangerous design.

Among the embarrassments to which the duke was at this period subject, not the least perplexing or eventually pernicious to his personal interest, arose from the enmities excited by his straight and unswerving integrity in the employment of his patronage. The courtiers of Charles, who grasped at every office of emolument or trust, resented the refusals of the duke to mix himself in their low intrigues for preferment, and his disposal of the commands under his own appointment, to individuals whose claims were those only of fair and meritorious service. Among the enemies which he thus made for himself, the most conspicuous for talent, station, and court favour, was Sir H. Bennet, who had first to no purpose endeavoured to draw the duke into a cabal to make him secretary of state. While he was digesting his discontent at the duke's neutrality in this affair, the death of lord Falkland left a troop of horse at the disposal of the duke, and it was applied for by Bennet, for his brother, who had never been in Ireland. The king expressed great anxiety that the duke should take the opportunity thus afforded of conciliating Bennet: but the duke gave the troop to lord Callan, whose claim was that of long and active service. He had already refused it to his own son, the lord John Butler, and wrote to his friend, Daniel O'Neile, at the English court, a letter on the subject, in which among other thing he says—"I think I told him (I am sure I might have done it truly) that many who had been deservedly officers of the field amongst the horse, and some colonels, were, with great industry and earnestness, desiring to be lieutenants of horse, and that he who was lieutenant of that (Sir T. Armstrong's) troop, had long, faithfully, and stoutly, served as major of horse. Figure to yourself how he and the rest would take it, to have a man never heard of, and who never was more than a captain of foot, made captain of horse over their heads; and then consider, if my part be not hard, that must lose a friendship, because I will not countenance so disobliging a pretension; and all the while, what is my con-

cernment or advantage, but the discharge of my duty? If Mr Secretary's brother were near upon a level with other pretenders, and I should not supply what were wanting in consideration of him, he had reason to reproach me with want of friendship; but sure it will be hard to live well with him, if the frankness of my proceeding with him shall be esteemed injurious, to be remembered upon all occasions, and retributed by crossing my desires, when they aim at just things, and such as tend to the king's service."

The countess of Castlemaine—whose unworthy interest with the libertine king, gave her a power which fortunately she had not understanding to exert as perniciously as she might—contrived to obtain a letter for passing to herself a grant of the Phoenix Park and Lodge. The duke refused to pass the warrant, and stopped the grant. By a strong remonstrance he changed the king's purpose, and persuaded him to enlarge the park by a purchase of 450 acres, and assign the house for the accommodation of the lords-lieutenant of Ireland. When the duke next visited England, the lady who was thus disappointed, assailed him at court with torrents of the most pestiferous abuse, and concluded by expressing her hope to see him hanged: the duke listened to her invective without showing any appearance of concern, and in reply to the concluding compliment, told her, that he "did not feel the same wish to put an end to her days, and only wished he might live to see her an old woman."

Another remarkable instance in which the duke drew upon himself a heavy discharge of court enmity, was the case of the marquess of Antrim; but the particulars would demand far more space than we can here afford. This marquess was making suit at court for the restoration of his large estates which were forfeited in the recent rebellion, and in the hands of adventurers. The queen mother was his zealous friend, and determined to support his suit. The interest of the duke was looked for, or at least the weight of his sanction was thought a necessary corroboration of such a claim. The duke was reluctant to oppose the queen, or to take upon himself the invidious office of pressing the unworthiness of the marquess; yet it was still more repugnant to his sense of honour, to be brought into a court intrigue for the perversion of justice, and he represented that their object could be easily effected without his mediation, which he could not offer without compromising his regard for truth. He was charged by the marquess' friends with enmity, and by his own enemies it was imputed to him, that he was privately using his influence in favour of the marquess, though he publicly affected to oppose him. The duke defended himself from both of these charges; an extract from his letter to a friend, expressing his own sentiment, is the most we can here afford to add upon the subject:—"I am still really persuaded of my lord St Alban's friendship to me, and that belief receives no abatement by his endeavours for the saving of my lord Antrim's estate. For it were as unreasonable to expect a friend should think always as I do, as that he should have the same voice, or coloured beard. I confess I cannot find any obligation, that was upon the late king, or that is upon this, to do extraordinary things for my lord of Antrim; and I am sure there neither were nor

are any upon me, but the queen mother's commands, and my lord St Alban's interposition, upon both which I set the value I ought. In this particular, and in that of the bill,* people take me to be more concerned than I am. They know me not, and traduce me that say I interiorly wish his restitution; and that though publickly I oppose it, yet privately I assist him. On the other side they as much mistake me, that believe I affect his ruin, and an enmity with him. The first were unchristian, and the other a very pitiable ambition. I have been civil, as I ought to be, to his lady, when she made applications to me; and this must be taken for helping her lord. In my dispatches I have freely spoken truth concerning him and his business; and that is taken for hatred of him; but neither truly. My lord chancellor Bacon says in one of his essays, that there are men will set their houses on fire to roast their eggs. They are dangerous cattle, if they can disguise themselves under plausible pretences. I have done all I conceive belongs to me to do in the business of my lord Antrim. I cannot unsay what I have said in it till I am convinced of error: but if I be asked no more questions about him, I can and will hold my peace."

The act of settlement was unattended by the expected result, and only gave rise to endless clamour and litigation. An explanation bill was ordered to be prepared, and was rejected by the king, who referred the subject to the consideration of the lord-lieutenant and his council, to whom he gave orders to frame a new bill, so as to give the utmost attainable satisfaction to all who had any reasonable claim. The duke proceeded with his characteristic impartiality and caution, excluding the expectations of those who might not unreasonably have looked upon him as the head of their party, and only contemplating the claims of justice limited by the consideration of what was practicable and expedient for the general welfare of the country. It was endeavoured to secure the "forty-nine" officers—to lower the claims of adventurers—and to increase the fund for the redress of those whom the late court of claims had left unprovided for. A new bill on these principles was framed and transmitted; the several parties interested once more sent their advocates to London; and the presence of the duke being considered necessary, he committed the government to lord Ossory and also went over.

On his arrival, an order of council was made, that he should call to his aid such of the Irish privy council as were in London, with the commissioners for claims, &c., and with them carefully review the deliberations which had been entered into on Irish affairs, and advise what corrections or additions should appear expedient and just. This council met in August, and so considerable was the mass of papers, and representations, and petitions, of parties concerned, which they had to investigate, that their task was not ended till 26th May following. The several parties concerned made their proposals, in which, while all seem to have taken for a basis, the same general view of their respective rights, each still proposed such an adjustment as best appeared to favour their separate demands: the main proposers were the Roman catholics, the soldiers and adventurers; and in looking closely into the

* The bill of explanation then transmitted into England.

detailed statement of their proposals, we are not prepared to assert that there was not on every side manifested as much fairness and regard to the fair claims of the others, as can be expected in every case of human opposition.* The contention was decided by the offer of the Roman catholics, who proposed that if the soldiers and adventurers would consent to part with one-third of the lands respectively enjoyed by them, on the claim of adventures and service on May 7, 1659, they were ready to agree to their general proposal. The proposal was accepted by all parties, and on the 18th May, 1665, in conformity with this general consent, it was ordered, "that the adventurers and soldiers should have two-thirds of the lands whereof they stood possessed, on May 7, 1659; that the Connaught purchasers should have two-thirds of what was in their possession, in September, 1663; that what any person wanted of his two-thirds should be supplied, and whatever he had more should be taken from him; and the adventurers and soldiers should make their election where the overplus should be retrenched, and the forty nine men should be entirely established in their present possessions."† On these resolutions the act was drawn up. The last step was the addition of a list of twenty nominees, whom the king was by name to restore to their estates. For this the lord-lieutenant presented several lists of persons held worthy of the king's favour by the earl of Clancarty, earl of Athenry, &c., &c. The king referred these back to the lord-lieutenant to select twenty such names as might seem to him most fit for that preference—an invidious and disagreeable task to be performed against the following day. The duke made out his list, and though none of the names were objected against, there was much complaint among the numerous persons who thought it a hardship to be omitted. Among these, Sir Patrick Barnewall alone had some reason for complaint, his claim having been such, that his name was only left out, on the assurance that he would otherwise be restored. He was undoubtedly "an innocent," but the court of claims had first postponed the hearing of his case, and then by the explanatory act, all claims were taken away from those whom that court had not declared innocent: thus, by a concurrence of errors, a grievous injustice was committed. He now applied to the duke, who made so strong a representation to the king that he received a considerable pension for life.

But the greatest sufferer by these arrangements was the duke himself, on whom the main weight of perplexity of Irish affairs always rested. With all his great ability as a statesman, he was utterly devoid of a prudent concern for his own affairs, and showed an improvidence in the care of his estate, and a readiness to abandon his own rights quite unparalleled in modern history. To supply the great deficiency of lands and the delay of ascertaining the extent of forfeiture, which perplexed the settlement, the duke consented to abandon large tracts of his property. The proposal was made that he should accept £5000 a-year in lieu of the whole of the forfeited parts of his estate: this offer was strongly objected to by Mr Walsh, his agent, on the ground that the lands were worth five times the sum: but the duke was reluctant to allow any delay of the settlement resulting from any demur

* See Carte, II. 303.

† Carte.

on his part, and consented. This was not all,—for besides making this extraordinary sacrifice, a sum of £50,000, amounting not quite to double the annual rental of the property thus resigned, was secured to the duke, who allotted it for the payment of debts, chiefly incurred for the interests of the kingdom. Of these, the more considerable part of the securities, which had by forfeiture fallen to the crown, had been restored to the duke in reward of his services—with a stretch of generosity far beyond the ordinary conduct of the noblest men, the duke immediately wrote to Mr Walsh to pay off the whole. Such is but a cursory sketch of the history of these great and singular acts of disinterestedness, which seem to have made so little just impression upon the heated factions and unprincipled court-parties of his time. The neglect is indeed but seeming; for in the midst of all the injustice and rancour of those to whom the duke refused to be subservient, or the discontent of those whom it was impossible to content, the respect for his disinterestedness and integrity was universal. Nothing indeed more remarkably attests the truth of this than the style of censure adopted by those historians (for the most part recent,) whose political opinions incapacitate them from comprehending his real motives of actions. A tone of disparaging and captious insinuation wholly unsupported by even an attempt at direct statement, meets the careless reader and appeals to his prejudices, or conveys those of the writer, in some indirect form of language, hinting wrong motives for right acts, or a construction of intentions diametrically at variance with every plain indication both of conduct and profession; so that all the censures implied are uniformly in opposition to all the writer's facts. Such indeed is the proud test which history affords of the merits of this great statesman and still greater man: praise may be partial, but when the utmost reach of hostility can only extract material for a little timid inconsistency of language out of the history of a nobleman who stemmed the torrent of every faction, and attracted all the hostility of the rebels, the fanatics, and the unprincipled intriguers on every side; it surely speaks more for the duke than the language of panegyric can say.

The bill of explanation was next to be carried through the Irish parliament, a proceeding in which much difficulty was to be expected from the high and exclusive temper of that body, mainly composed of the adventurers, and generally of those parties which were in possession of titles to property which was liable to be rendered questionable by the bill. The duke left London, to prepare for this important affair: he was compelled to remain for some time in Bristol, to compose the disorders which had risen to a dangerous height in that city; and having succeeded in restoring quiet to the citizens, he passed over from Milford Haven, and landed at Duncannon fort, from which he proceeded to Kilkenny. The parliament was judiciously prorogued until the 26th October, to leave time for bringing round the more interested of the members, of whom the greater part were to lose a third of their claims: on the more moderate and public spirited of these the duke might hope to prevail, and lord Orrery was popular among the more violent, with whom he engaged to use his influence.

In the mean time the duke made his entry into Dublin, in a state of magnificence far surpassing any thing known in that city before,

or long after, till the visit of George the Fourth. All that the taste and wealth of the age could devise of magnificent and gorgeous was lavished to swell the solemnity of the scene, and do honour to one who had deserved so much, and from whom so much was yet looked for. Sir Daniel Bellingham, the first lord mayor of Dublin,* exerted himself to give effect and direction to the zeal of every class. The particulars may interest many readers, we therefore add them here in the words of Carte: "When his Grace was advanced within six miles of the place, he was met by a gallant train of young gentlemen, well mounted, and alike richly attired; their habits of a kind of ash-colour, trimmed with scarlet and silver, all in white scarfs, and commanded by one Mr Corker, a deserving gentleman, employed in his majesty's revenue, with other officers to complete the troop, which marched in excellent order to the bounds of the city liberty, where they left his Grace to be received by the sheriffs of the city who were attended by the corporations in their stations; after the sheriffs had entertained his Grace with a short speech, the citizens marched next; and after the maiden troop, next to that his Grace's gentlemen; and then his kettle drums and trumpets; after them the sheriffs of the city, bare-headed, then the sergeants-at-arms and their pursuivants; and in the next place followed his Grace, accompanied by the nobility and privy councillors of the kingdom; after them the lifeguard of horse. Within St James's gate his Grace was entertained by the lord mayor, aldermen, and principal members of the city on the right hand, and on the left stood six gladiators, stript, and drawn; next them his Grace's guard of battle-axes; before them his Majesty's company of the royal regiment; the rest of the companies making a guard to the castle. The king's company marched next; after the citizens; then the battle-axes; and thus through a wonderful throng of people, till they came to the conduit in the corn market, whence wine ran in abundance. At the new hall was erected a scaffold, on which were placed half-a-dozen anticks; by the tollsel was erected another scaffold, whereupon was represented Ceres under a Canopy, attended by four virgins. At the end of Castle street a third scaffold was erected, on which stood Vulcan by his anvil, with four Cyclops asleep by it. And the last scaffold was raised at the entrance into the castle gate, whereupon stood Bacchus, with four or five good fellows. In fine, the whole ceremony was performed, both upon the point of order and affection, to his Grace's exceeding satisfaction, who was at last welcomed in the castle with great and small shot; and so soon as the streets could be cleared of coaches, (which was a good while first, for they were very many,) the streets and the air were filled with fire-works, which were very well managed to complete the entertainment."

It will not be necessary to go at length into the means which were taken by the duke to carry the bill, against which there was entertained in parliament so much personal reluctance. To impress them with feelings of a more favourable kind, he first employed them for sixteen days in a most apprehensive investigation on the recent insurrection, in which several of their members had been implicated, and many could

* Carte, II. 313.

not avoid feeling the danger of being involved. The effect was salutary, and they soon began to manifest a tone of mind more submissive and favourable to that sacrifice of personal interests which the peace of the kingdom demanded. And thus by considerable address, and the seasonable interposition of topics, adapted to work on their fears, the bill was passed with little demur, and received the royal assent on December 23, 1665. Five commissioners were appointed to carry it into operation, with a constant appeal to the duke in cases of difficulty. The discharge of this important duty continued for many years to load him with embarrassments and vexations: and the more so as it was his continual duty to interfere for the purpose of preventing the alienation of the lands allotted for the purposes of the act, to influential parties who obtained private grants from the crown. Such grants he steadily set aside, and thus created for himself innumerable private enemies, dangerous from their influence and want of principle.

In 1663, the country gentlemen of England had been distressed by a general fall in the price of cattle, and a consequent difficulty in obtaining their rents. This they attributed to the importation of Irish and Scotch cattle and sheep, which on inquiry was found to be very considerable: the average importation from Ireland alone having been for many years sixty-one thousand head of black cattle. The House of Commons had in consequence ordered a bill to prohibit this importation. This bill passed quickly through the Commons. The measure had been carried with an anxious eagerness through the Commons, and with a view to evade opposition, had in fact been smuggled through as a clause in an "*act for the encouragement of trade*;" so that the duke of Ormonde only received an intimation upon the subject while it was passing through the upper house, and sent over the earl of Anglesey to protest against it in his name, and that of the Irish council. The act passed, and the destructive consequences were soon felt in Ireland. The council of trade, formed by the duke in Ireland, met to remonstrate upon this grievance: it was composed of numerous gentlemen of fortune, and of the principal merchants; from this body a strong remonstrance was transmitted to England. They represented the disastrous consequences of such a prohibition to Irish property, of which it so entirely destroyed the value, that all the farmers would be under the necessity of throwing up their leases. They pointed out the destructive effects which must also be sustained by his majesty's customs, so that the expense of the Irish army and civil list would be necessarily either wanting, to the total ruin of the kingdom, or to be defrayed by large remittances from England. They also shewed the injury which would be inflicted upon London, by a law which would withdraw the whole Irish trade from that city; as the entire stock of wines, clothes, and mostly all manufactured goods, for the use of the Irish nobility and gentry, were purchased there on a half-yearly credit, maintained by the returns of the Irish produce sold in England. They showed the suffering and inconvenience likely to ensue among the trading towns in England, by the rise of the prices of beef and mutton, and the consequent rise of wages. And further pointed out the serious injury to be sustained by the shipping interests on the

western coast, chiefly maintained by the cattle and coal trade between the two countries. Their remonstrance was transmitted by the earl of Ossory and the Irish council, to the duke of Ormonde then in England on the business of the settlement. The duke enforced their arguments with others derived from a more enlarged view of the political state of Europe at the time. Having strongly dwelt upon the unseasonableness of such an act, at a moment when Ireland had recently emerged from ten years of destructive civil war which had almost annihilated all her vital powers, he showed that by some law, or by the operation of some circumstance, every other resource was either cut off or reduced to little more than nominal: with Holland there was war; with France war was impending; the *act for the encouragement of trade*, shut them out from America; an English monopoly from the Canary Islands. He also repeated with strong additional weight, the forcible and home argument of the great loss which the revenue must sustain. He showed that the English fattening lands, which were mostly stocked from Ireland, must thus become a monopoly to the breeders of cattle. He exposed the arguments on the opposite side, and asserted that the consequences of which they complained were not attributable to the importation of Irish cattle; he observed the manifest absurdity of attributing the loss of £200,000, said to be sustained by English landlords to the importation of cattle to the amount of £140,000 from Ireland. He said that the recent revival of Lent in England must have diminished the consumption; the drought of the last summers must have hurt the farmers, the drain of emigration, the ravage of the plague, the stoppage of trade by the war with Holland. To all these reasons he added, that no such complaints had been heard of till recently, though the Irish cattle trade had been of old standing and had been much more considerable before the civil wars. Finally he brought forward many reasons to show that the injury thus done to Ireland must be eventually hurtful to England.

The king was convinced by these arguments, with many others which we have not noticed here: but he was himself dependent upon his commons, and had not the virtue or the firmness to oppose their narrow and selfish policy. The bill met with considerable opposition in the lords, where views of general policy were better understood, and considerations of national justice had more weight. There the earl of Castlehaven made a vigorous stand, and represented the great benefit which the commerce of Ireland had received under the sagacious and energetic care of the duke of Ormonde, "greater (he justly observed,) than it had experienced even from the earl of Strafford." His exposition converted many; but nothing better than delay was obtained. For the following three years the act continued to be the subject of the most violent party opposition and court manœuvre, and after being strenuously combated by the duke and his friends at every stage, and on every discussion, and feebly discountenanced by the king, it was at last when the house of lords showed the strongest inclination to throw it out, carried through by the influence of the court and the interest of the duke of York. The effects were such as had been predicted by the duke of Ormonde and the friends of Ireland, but eventu-

ally turned out to the advantage of Ireland by turning the wealth and industry of the country into other channels, as we shall have to show further on.

During these proceedings, many troubles had occurred in Ireland, to engage the anxious attention of the duke. A party of forty plunderers, under the leaders Costello and Nangle, gave much trouble during the summer of 1666, but were in the end routed, and Nangle killed; after which Costello fled into Connaught, where, at the head of half-a-dozen desperadoes, he committed frightful havoc and plunder among the farm-houses and villages. At last lord Dillon, on whose estate he had committed the greatest depredations, sent out some armed parties of his own tenantry. Costello attacked one of these in the night, which he thought to surprise: he was however shot dead, and the whole of his gang cut to pieces. Thus ended an affair which but a few years before would have been a wide wasting insurrection. It clearly indicates the sense of the people, at this time pretty well experienced as to the real fruits of civil war.

Far more serious was a mutiny among the troops, of whom a large part were ill-disposed to the government, and all discontented at the irregularity of their pay, and the insufficiency of their maintenance. The duke received intelligence of a conspiracy, headed by colonel Phaire, captain Walcot, and other officers, to raise a general insurrection; and having sent full information to lord Orrery, who commanded in Munster, lord Orrery soon found means to seize a person from whom he learned that the conspiracy extended to England and Scotland, and that it was planned "to rise at once in all the three kingdoms; to set up the long parliament, of which above forty members were engaged; that measures had been taken to gather together the disbanded soldiers of the old army, and Ludlow was to be general-in-chief; that they were to be assisted with forces, arms, and money, by the Dutch; and were to rise all in one night, and spare none that would not join in the design—which was to pull down the king with the house of lords, and instead of the bishops to set up a sober and painful ministry; that collections had been made of money to work upon the necessities of the soldiery, and they had already bought several men in different garrisons, and that particularly they had given large sums to soldiers (some of which he named,) that were upon the guard in the castles of Dublin and Limerick, for the seizing of those places, whenever they were ready to declare. which would be in a few weeks; that each officer engaged in the design had his particular province assigned him, and answered for a particular number of men, which he was to bring into the field."

The earl of Orrery, with the promptness which was natural to his active and energetic character, took the most effectual means to suppress so dangerous a spirit within his own jurisdiction. He communicated with all the officers, and established a strict system of vigilant observation over the actions and conversation of the soldiers. He proposed also to empower the officers to arrest all suspicious persons, and to seize their arms and horses; but to this the duke objected. "I confess," he writes to lord Orrery, "I am not willing to trust inferior officers, civil or military, with judging who are danger-

ous persons, and fit to be secured, and their horses taken from them; a thing seldom performed without a mixture of private ends, either of revenge or avarice; and I know not what could more induce or extenuate the crime of rebellion than the taking up of persons or their goods upon alarms or general suggestions.”*

The duke was fully aware at that moment that the mutinous spirit which had thus showed itself in the south, and still more the indications of a similar temper in the north, were but the premonitory signs of a more dangerous and general disorder. There was fermenting in Scotland an insurrectionary temper which had its branches in England and Ireland; and the duke considered these outbreaks among the northern garrisons the more to be dreaded on account of their vicinity to the Scottish coast. A mutiny in Carrickfergus, in April, was easily appeased without the necessity of any severe or coercive remedy; and the garrison, encouraged by the dangerous lenity which had been shown, again broke out more fiercely in May, when they seized upon the town and castle of Carrickfergus. The earl of Donegal endeavoured to treat with them, but they rejected his offers, the mildness of which only served to encourage their insubordination. The duke, on receiving intelligence of the circumstances, sent orders to the earl to make no further offers, as it was become essential to the peace of the kingdom that the mutineers should be made examples of to the disaffected throughout the army. He immediately sent off his son, the earl of Arran, with four companies of his guards, the only troops on whom he felt any reliance; and not content with this, he soon after set off himself for the north.

The earl of Arran had encountered rough weather, which drove him within a league of the Mull of Galloway; but the storm abating, he was enabled to get into the bay of Carrickfergus on the 27th, and at noon landed his men without opposition. He was joined by the earl of Donegal, and by the mayor who had made his escape. From the mayor he received the assurance that the townsmen were on the watch to favour him, and if he could beat the mutineers from the walls, a party would seize upon a gate and secure his admission. The mutineers formed their own plan, which was to plunder the town and shut themselves in the castle: to secure time for this they sent to demand time till four o'clock, to consider what they should propose. Lord Arran was however apprized of their design and demanded immediate entrance, and on being refused, he ordered a smart fire upon the walls. The garrison, seeing that no time was to be lost, instantly commenced their retreat into the castle, leaving what they considered a sufficient party to defend the walls. The earl of Arran soon forced his way, with the loss of two men slain at his side, while the leader of the mutineers, one Dillon, was slain in the pursuit as they fled towards the castle. There were 120 men in the castle, strongly fortified, and having provisions for a month: but wholly without officers. They became terrified at the regular preparations for an assault, and quickly offered to treat, but lord Arran sent them word that he could not offer them any terms, and they presently submitted at discretion.

Nine of them, who had taken a leading part, were condemned to death, and the remainder sent to Dublin, from whence they were transported to the colonies. The duke broke the four companies in which the mutiny had arisen, and left two companies of his guards at Carrickfergus.

These disturbances, with the alarm of a French invasion, were in one respect useful, as they had the salutary effect of drawing £15,000 from the treasury, which enabled the duke to appease the violent and not unreasonable discontent of the army. He had long conceived a plan for the organization of a militia for the defence of the provinces. With this view he made a progress into the south, to fortify the coast against the menaced invasion. It had been reported that 20,000 men had assembled at Brest, under the duke of Beaufort, in readiness to embark for Ireland, and already many of their ships had been seen off Bantry Bay, Crookhaven, and other near roads. The duke was received by the nobility and gentry on the borders of their several counties on his way. He had already sent round his orders, and transmitted a supply of arms and accoutrements, and now reviewed the corps which were assembled for his orders, to the amount of two thousand foot and three thousand horse.

The duke's efforts for the benefit of Ireland were much impeded by the entire disregard which prevailed upon the subject in the English council and parliament; while the influence of the duke, which had in some measure tended to counteract this neglect was fast diminishing under the zealous animosity of the powerful faction of his enemy, Buckingham, seconded by all the most leading and influential persons of that intriguing and profligate court, the seat of all dishonour and corruption. There the duke was feared by the king and detested by the base and underplotting courtiers who surrounded him; and among their favourite aims, the principal was an unremitting cabal against one who could not be other than an enemy to all their wishes. No occasion was lost to thwart his measures, to defeat his proposals, to calumniate his conduct, and misrepresent his character: all this the king, whose defect was not that of just observation, saw; but he was too indolent and remiss, and too much alive to the influence of his worthless creatures, to resist being carried away by the falsehood and baseness which was the atmosphere in which he breathed; and the further he departed from the paths of discretion and prudence, the more he became impatient of the awe which the duke's character impressed, and anxious to throw it off. Such was the undercurrent which was steadily resisting and preventing the policy of the duke's administration in Ireland. The progress of the national prosperity, which must necessarily be dependent upon the growth of its resources, was arrested in its infancy, and just at the trying moment, when the country had emerged from the very jaws of ruin, by a most unprincipled and ignorant measure. The stagnation of trade was general; the blow received by the landed interest was but the propagation of the same stroke; and the duke, making efforts the most strenuous ever made by an Irish lord-lieutenant, and sacrifices far beyond any recorded in British history, was doomed to struggle vainly against the profligate indifference and corruption of the court, the ignorance of the English commons, the disaffection of the

army, and entire want of the necessary resources for the execution of the necessary duties of a governor.

Some great and permanent results could not fail to follow from the combination of so much wisdom and determination. Through good and ill report, through obstacles and hostility, the duke held on his steady and courageous course. He awakened a spirit of commercial concert and intelligence which was the nucleus of industry and future progress: he organized a better system of national defence: the spirit of the people was quieted and conciliated without the sacrifice of any principle. It was next the duke's great ambition to remedy the commercial injury which he had failed to prevent, by finding new channels for the industry and fertility of the country. Having received a memorial from Sir Peter Pett, on the manufacture of cloth, the duke resolved to give all the encouragement in his power to the proposal for the introduction of such a manufacture as might not only employ the industry of Ireland, but also under favourable circumstances, be the means of opening an advantageous foreign trade. He immediately set up an extensive manufactory of cloth in Clonmel, giving the undertakers long leases, in which he reserved "only an acknowledgment instead of rent," and employed captain Grant to engage five hundred Walloon protestant families about Canterbury to remove into Ireland, where he settled them to advantage.

Still more early and more successful were the duke's efforts for the re-establishment of the linen manufacture, first set on foot by lord Strafford, but totally arrested by the rebellion. On his first coming over, the duke sent competent persons into the Low Countries to make inquiries, and to ascertain all the best methods, as well as the laws and regulations, by which this trade was governed and promoted. He procured five hundred manufacturers from Brabant; and considerable numbers more from other places on the continent, known for their success in the linen trade. He built houses for numbers of these in Chapel Izod, where cordage, sail-cloth, and excellent linen began to be produced in abundance: at the head of this establishment he placed colonel Richard Lawrence, who also set up an extensive woollen manufacture. The duke planted another colony of manufacturers in his town of Carrick-on-Suir; and thus by great exertion and expenditure, was permanently established the greatest benefit Ireland ever received from the hand of any individual.

The heavy blow which had been inflicted upon Ireland by the prohibition act, produced its effect to the full extent that was anticipated by the duke. To relieve in some measure the great depression which it occasioned, there was little in his power—that little he performed. He purchased provisions for the government stores to the largest extent that was possible, and, in doing so, endeavoured to relieve the largest amount of distress. He also applied to the king to enlarge the commercial liberties of the Irish, by a free allowance to trade with such foreign ports as were not specially interdicted, such as the foreign plantations, appropriated by certain charters, or such as the East India, Turkey, and Canary companies. The Scotch having followed the example of England in prohibiting the importation of Irish produce, the Irish council was allowed to prohibit all importation of every article

of trade from Scotland, from which a large amount of goods had been annually imported to the great detriment of Irish manufacture. Even in the conduct of this transaction, a most miserable and paltry attempt was made by the duke of Buckingham's faction, to lay a snare for the duke of Ormonde, against whom they were at the time endeavouring to hatch an impeachment. They proposed to the king, that no special allowance for the exportation of Irish wool should be inserted in the king's proclamation, but that "it would be best to let wools go out by licence, which his Grace would resolve of;"* by which, if the duke should inadvertently be led to give such unauthorized licence, he would become subject to be impeached upon a penal statute. The duke wrote to the earl of Anglesey, noticing the impossibility of his acting upon the mere understanding of the council, which not being matter of record, would easily be forgotten and present no justification for him. Against such a mode of effecting the pretended intentions of the council he remonstrated however in vain: no further notice was taken of the matter.

The duke of Buckingham was at the head of the duke of Ormonde's enemies at court. The cause of his enmity was the firm refusal of Ormonde to be concerned in the promotion of his plans, which were neither wise nor honourable. This refusal was the more resented, as the earl of Arran was married to the niece and heir-at-law to the duke of Buckingham, who had also made a will in her favour, which he cancelled upon being disobliged by the duke of Ormonde.

The increased profligacy of the English court at this time began to have its full effect in removing all sane council from the king, who fell entirely under the corrupt influence of advisers, who carried every point by the favour of his mistresses. The earl of Clarendon was the first victim of an infamous conspiracy, and having been impeached upon accusations so false that they were even without any specious foundation in fact, he was insidiously persuaded by the king† to leave the country, by which the malignity or the craft of his enemies, who merely desired to get him out of the way, was served. Clarendon was the fast friend of the duke of Ormonde, with whom he had no reserve, and his departure was therefore inauspicious for the duke's continuance in favour. "He seems," observes Carte, "to have fallen into the very mistake (which he remarks in the character of archbishop Laud,) of imagining that a man's own integrity will support him." A common error, itself the result of integrity which finds it difficult to conceive the length to which baseness can be carried. The earl of Clarendon was also the victim of the secret intrigues of Buckingham: there was an attempt made to conciliate the duke of Ormonde's assent to the sacrifice,‡ and the king wrote him a letter, in which he told him, "This is an arrangement too big for a letter; so that I will add but this word to assure you, that your former friendship to the chancellor shall not do you any prejudice with me, and, that I have not in the least degree diminished that value and kindness I ever had for you, which I thought fit to say to you upon this occasion, because it is very possible malicious people may suggest the contrary to you."

* Carte.

† Burnet.

‡ See a letter from lord Arlington to the duke, Carte, II. 352.

The earl of Clarendon retired into France, and an attempt to carry the proceedings to an attainder, was defeated by the firmness of the House of Lords, always more slow to be warped to the purposes of either court-intrigue or popular faction, than the lower house, of which the mixed and uncertain composition has always rendered it the field of all the veering winds of influence from every quarter.

The same party which thus succeeded in removing the restraint of the earl of Clarendon's presence from the abandoned and profligate court of England, was as sedulously bent on getting the duke of Ormonde out of the way. Only anxious to watch over the sickly infancy of Irish prosperity, the duke took the utmost care to give no offence to any party of English politicians. But the duke of Buckingham was bent on the acquisition of the Lieutenancy of Ireland, and the place of steward of the household: and about the middle of October, in the same year, (1672) they contrived to draw up articles of impeachment against the duke of Ormonde, of which Sir Heneage Finch obtained a copy and sent it to him. The duke, however, had not only been upright, but being of an observing, cautious, and sagacious temper, and fully aware of the character and designs of Buckingham, he had ever preserved a guarded conduct, and, as in the instance already seen, kept himself within the letter of authority. Of the twelve articles which composed the impeachment there were but two open even to any specious doubt against him: of these, one was the trial by martial law, of the soldiers who mutinied at Carrickfergus; the other related to the quartering of soldiers in Dublin contrary to the statute 18 Henry VI. These charges are evidently too futile to be here entered upon, so as to explain their absurdity. The statute was manifestly misinterpreted, and the practice of quartering troops in Dublin followed by every lord-lieutenant that had ever been there, without the least comment. As to the other articles, they manifested such utter ignorance, that the duke remarked, "that they were either put together by some friend of his, or by a very ignorant enemy:" as expressed in the articles, they were all entirely unfounded; and most of them, had they been true, were yet no offences; while others were impossible to have been committed. An attempt was at the same time made to support this attack by another, consisting of two petitions, both of which were thrown out by the House of Commons, notwithstanding the efforts of the duke of Buckingham and his party.

The mischief produced by these proceedings in Ireland was very considerable; a general sense was excited, that tortuous claimants might find strong support against the duke. The members of his government also, were so scared, that they hung back in the discharge of their duties, and shrunk from the responsibility attendant upon every exercise of the powers committed to them. The duke, with all his caution, shrunk from no legal exertion of his power, and was left to act alone, under circumstances of trying emergency. Among other things we find him at this time writing to lord Arlington:—"I have so much reason to fear this may be the aim of some, that for all I am threatened to be accused of treason, on account of giving warrants for the quartering of soldiers; yet I am so hopeful that I shall incur no such danger, and so apprehensive that, if the army should be much discour-

aged or lessened, treason and rebellion would soon show themselves, that I continue to give the usual warrants, and to compel obedience to be given to them; and so I shall do, if his majesty vouchsafe to give it his approbation!"

Irritated by defeat, and urged by the ambitious cupidity of the duke of Buckingham, the enemies of the duke of Ormonde were incessant in their attacks upon him, and it soon became evident to all intelligent observers, that the restless animosity, and the great court-influence of that party, which appeared determined on his fall, could not fail to injure him at last. The weakness and uncertainty of the king, who had no affections but for those who were subservient to his humours or inclinations, left no hope from his firmness or justice; and the duke of Ormonde, received repeated letters from his friends in England, advising him to come over himself; among these, one warning alone had in some degree the effect of exciting a sense of danger. The earl of Anglesey, who was menaced with similar accusations, received an intimation that he should not be molested if he would lend his aid in the fabrication of an impeachment of the duke of Ormonde: the earl refused and laid the entire correspondence before the duke. Still more serious was a similar communication from lord Orrery. We shall enter more into the detail of this, both because it actually determined the movements of the duke, and because it is our opinion that lord Orrery was unjustly accused to the duke; though it is, at the same time, quite apparent that the conduct of lord Orrery was not at the same time such as to render the suspicion unfounded: and we have also little doubt in the belief that he was afterwards drawn into the intrigue of the duke's enemies.

The earl of Orrery having written to desire that the duke would give him a cypher, upon receiving this, wrote a letter to the duke, dated Nov. 13, 1667, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from his excellency, communicating the articles of impeachment, and mentioning that he had been already aware of them, and adding, "and possibly that it was not without my service that you had them;" and making several comments, with which we shall not trouble the reader's attention. On November the 19th, the following letter in cypher came from the earl of Orrery to the duke:—

To the Duke of Ormonde.

" November 19th, 1667.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Earl of Orrery

" A letter this day from a good hand tells 379,

that a ^c 31 ^h 12 ^a 29 ^r 21 ^g 11 ^e 57 against ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378 is in the hands of
^{Duke of Bucks} 118 and ^{Lord Ashley} 112; that one ^L 15 ⁱ 13 ^t 23 ^t 47 ^l 9 ^e 63 ^t 71 ^o 80 ⁿ 41
^a 5 ^{cc} 7 ^u 24 ^s 22 ^e 9 ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378 in 170; and that the ^{adventurers} 86 90 are to
 give the rise for it.

^{Duke of Ormonde} " 378 will do well to be watchful over the earl of ^{M e a t h e} 16 33 29 23 12 9.

Earl of Orrery

" A friend this post writ to 379, that he saw the petition of the

adventurers 86 to the ^{parliament} 406, that the acts of 17 and 18 of the last king ^{parliament} 406; might be made good; that they have a great many friends in 406; so that it is believed, most which has been done, will be undone, and what the consequences thereof will be, God only knows.

"A good hand tells me they will *push* hard at ^{Lord Arlington} 111; and some warm whispers there are of a ^{letter} 325 which ^{Lord Arlington} 111 ^{s e n t} 25 21 13 23 in June, to ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378, of a strange nature, with which it is thought much ado will be made; and the ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378 ^{his oath} will be upon 733 846 about it, and ^{Sir G. Lane} 318, of which my friend says I should shortly hear more."

In the meantime the duke was strongly and repeatedly urged to go over to England. The earl of Orrery had also applied for a licence to leave his government, which he received. After which, the two following letters were written:—

To the Duke of Ormonde.

"Charleville, March 16, 1667.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"I have even now by the post received the honour of your grace's letter of the 10th instant, from Thurles. I confess I was somewhat surprised when I read it; for your grace was pleased to say, by your collections from some late passages in affairs, and from the deportment of some who are understood to be my friends, and of others whom your grace is sure are my relations, some suspicions might be raised in a mind more liable to that passion than yours is, to the weakening your confidence in my profession to you.

"To which I humbly answer, that if any, who are understood to be my friends, or who certainly are my relations, have misdeported themselves towards your grace, the least favour I could have expected was, either that I might have been acquainted with the names of the persons, or with their faults, that thereby I might have been capacitated to have made them sensible of, and sorry for them; or else that the miscarriages of others, neither whose persons or offences are told me, might not prejudice me in your grace's good opinion; for I never did undertake to your grace, that all who call themselves my friends, or who really are my relations, should act in all things towards your grace, no, not so much as towards myself, as I heartily wish they would do. And since I can neither command their doings or their inclinations, it would not be consonant to your grace's usual justice and goodness, to let one who is your servant, suffer for the faults of those whom you judge are not your servants, and over whom I have no authority. I should not have thought my lord Clarendon over-just, if he should have contracted a jealousy at your grace, because my lord Arlington, who is your friend and ally, appeared against him. But this I profess to your grace, that if any who says he is my friend, or who is a relation of mine, has done, or shall do, any thing which is offensive to your

grace, and that I am acquainted with it, I will resent it at such a rate, as shall evidence to him, that whoever offends you does injure me.

“And now, my lord, I must beg your pardon, if I should think that it is not consonant to those assurances you have been pleased to give me of your favour; and of never entertaining any thing to my prejudice, till first you had told me of it, and heard what I could say on it, to have made some collections from some late passages in affairs, (which had you been inclined to suspicion, might have raised in you,) that I was not so much your servant, as really I am, and yet never have told them to me till now, and now only in such general terms, as serves only to let me know, I am obliged to your kindness, and not to my own innocency, if you do not misdoubt me. You are pleased to let me see your collections would have wounded me, but you are not pleased to allow me the means to cure myself, which my integrity would have done, had I particularly known those passages, which your grace only mentions in general. And although it is a happiness I much desire, to be so rooted in your grace’s esteem, as to need only your esteem to maintain me in it; yet I confess, my lord, where I seem (at least) to be suspected, I would owe my vindication to your justice as much as to your favour. For since the insignificance of my condition is such, that I cannot by my services merit your esteem, I am covetous to evidence, that by no ill actions of mine I would forfeit it. I do therefore most humbly and earnestly beg of your grace, that I may minutely know those passages, through which, by your collections, I might be prejudiced in your opinion, that I may derive from my innocency, as much as from your grace’s favour, and unaptness to entertain suspicions, my vindication. If I did not think myself guiltless, I would not thus humbly implore of your grace to descend to particulars. And if you think I am not, forgive me, I beseech you, if I say you are somewhat obliged not to deny it; since it is at my own request, that you make me appear such to myself.

“I was in hope, since I had for above one year avoided intermeddling with any affairs but those of this province, that I had thereby put myself into no incapacity of being misunderstood by any considerable person, especially that I was below being suspected by your grace. But alas! I find, that to be held guiltless, a man must not only be innocent but fortunate too. The first depending on myself, it is my own fault if I do not attain to it; but the last depending wholly upon others, I can only say it is my trouble, but not my fault, that I must miss of it.

“Give me leave, I beseech your grace, further to say that I have of late showed myself a true servant to you; and with this satisfaction (perhaps it may be thought vanity,) that none knows it, but those who I am sure will not tell you of it, for their own sakes. For I do not consider professions of friendship, as too many in this age do; I look upon them as the most binding temporal ties amongst men, and at such a rate I endeavour to keep them; and so I shall do those I have made to your grace, whatever misrepresentations may have been made of me. For whatever confidence your grace is pleased to have of me in the close of your letter, yet till that part of it, methinks the whole complexion of it is such, as I cannot but with real grief acknowledge,

I doubt your grace has received some impressions to my prejudice: and therefore I do not only humbly hope, but also beg that you will afford me a rise to clear myself, by telling me particularly what you take amiss at my hands; and then I shall not doubt but your grace will again believe me.

“May it please your Grace,

“Your Grace’s unalterable servant.

“ORRERY.”

“If it be not too great a confidence, I would humbly beg that my lady duchess might see, whether in this letter I have begged any thing unfit for your grace to grant; for I am above expression, ambitious to continue right in her good opinion.”

To the Duke of Ormonde.

“Charleville, March 16, 1667.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

“Above six hours after the post was gone from hence to Dublin, I received, by my lord Kingston’s favour, the honour of your grace’s letter of the 12th instant, for which, and for the leave, which your grace is pleased to give me to go for London, with the great care you have condescended to take for my patent of licence; and for a warrant for one of his majesty’s ships to transport me, I pay your grace my most humble acknowledgments.

“But, my lord, how can I go for England, or indeed stay here, with any satisfaction, while the impressions of your grace’s letter to me of the 10th instant, from Thurles, are remaining in me? For they are such as I can scarce mind any thing, till I have vindicated myself from those suspicions; and therefore I have suspended my journey, till I have received the honour of your grace’s answer to my letter of the 13th instant. If the humble desires I have made to you in it be granted, (as I more than hope they will be, because they are just,) your grace will soon prove me faulty, or I shall soon prove I am not. If the first, I shall even in my own opinion judge myself unfit to serve this kingdom and your grace; if the last, then I shall be cheerfully ready to serve both, when I am instructed by your grace how to do it.

“There is no great doubt, but that a person of your eminency will have enemies, since one of so low a quality as I, am not, as I feel, without them; and whatever your grace’s may design against you, mine will not fail to represent them to you, as things which I promote, or at least am concurring in; and therefore I am the more confirmed not to stir, till I have fully cleared myself, because, while I am under your grace’s doubts, all misrepresentations of me may, with less difficulty, be received. And if while I lived a country life, and at a great distance even from the scenes of business, those who are not my friends, have had so much power by their suggestions, as to incline your grace to think it fit to write to me your letter of the 10th instant, what will they not be able to do when I am at London, if any who are not your grace’s servants should attempt to prejudice you, as some, I find by your grace’s letter, have already endeavoured to do?

“Possibly your grace may consider these as but speculations, and nice

ones too: but I, who am seriously concerned in what I write, and perfectly desirous, not only to keep myself innocent, but also to be esteemed so, and to avoid even the umbrages of suspicion, have judged the putting a stop to my journey, and what I have now written to be absolutely necessary. For I am the uneasiest person living to myself, while I am under the least jealousy of one, whom I truly love and honour, especially when I see I am in his suspicion: and yet the particulars on which his suspicion is grounded are not told me, nay when some of them cannot, by the strictest rules of justice, be equitably interpreted to my disadvantage.

"I know not whether those principles I act by in friendship, be different from those of other men, but I never choose to make a man my friend, whom I can suspect, or never suspect him, till I tell him expressly every one of all the particulars on which my suspicion is built, that I may soon convince him of his fault or see my own.

"I most humbly beg your grace's pardon for the freedom of this letter, since it proceeds from the duty and respect I have for your grace; and for the cause's sake be pleased to excuse the effect.

"I look upon a trust as the greatest obligation to be trusty; and if I doubt my friend before proof, I should conclude I had wronged him.

"In the last place, I beseech your grace seriously to consider, whether I can have any inducement (as some of my enemies I doubt would persuade you I have,) to lay designs against you. Can they be such fools as to fancy I would attempt to get your grace out of the government, or to get into it myself. I solemnly protest, in the presence of God, that if I could have the government of this kingdom, and that I had abilities of mind and strength of body to support it, and that there were no debts due to the civil and military lists, and a constant revenue to maintain both, yet I would refuse to undertake it; for I have seen enough of this world, to make me find a country life is the best life in it. But since the infirmity of the gout, the weakness of my parts, and the misery this unhappy kingdom seems to be plunged into, do require exceedingly greater abilities to preserve it, than ever I can so much as hope to attain unto, as I would not be so treacherous to the king, my master, to my country, and to my friends and posterity, as to seek for that authority, which must ever in my own judgment, (and I protest to God I do not dissemble,) be very prejudicial, if not ruinous, to them all.

"This much as to what concerns my own self. Now, as to what concerns my endeavours of getting any other into the government. I would fain know whom they can believe, or so much as say, I would do that for, if I had the power to do it; (for I swear I know it not myself,) yet sure he must be a man that has laid greater obligations on me than your grace had, (and such a one I vow I know not,) for whom I would lose you to oblige him. If neither of these can rationally be believed, as I hope (after what I have vowed,) they will not be; then it is less rational to fancy that I would be plotting against your grace, and yet resolve to live under your government. I should be as much a fool as a knave to do it; and such as truly know me, will not easily believe, that ingratitude is a vice I am practically addicted to.

I know not that I have ever revenged myself on my enemy, when I had the power; and therefore I am not very likely to attempt against my benefactor when I have not the power.

“Neither is there any thing in your grace’s interest and mine, which is opposite; you are a devoted servant to his majesty, and may I perish and mine, when I am not the like. You and your posterity are to suffer or flourish, as this kingdom does decay or thrive; the like I may say of me and mine. You are in the employment fittest for you; and I in the highest employment that ever I will aspire to. To which I cannot but add, that I did never yet my own self beg any thing for my friends, or for myself that your grace did deny me; which is more than I can promise to myself from whomsoever shall succeed you. In God’s name, what can be then in it, to enable my ill-willers to bring me under that unhappiness I fear I am in? I do therefore, with all the earnestness and humility in the world, beseech your grace, either to free me now and for ever from it, on terms which may let you find I did not deserve it; or get me what satisfaction your grace shall think fit for my place of president of Munster, and I will go spend the rest of my time in my own house in England, and never see this enchanted kingdom more. I shall taste a thousand times more delight in that retirement, than in this employment, while I am under such misdoubts. Your grace knows, that as nothing but friendship can acquire friendship, so nothing but trust, and a full clearing of distrust, is an essential part of it. Let me therefore be but believed an honest man, till I am proved to be otherwise, and then I dare confidently conclude I shall be still esteemed, as I really am,

“May it please your Grace,

“Your Grace’s own unalterable servant,

“ORRERY.”

A subsequent letter contains the following passage: “Whatever invitations I have had to appear against your grace, they were made to a particular friend of mine, who is of the parliament of England, who enjoined me secrecy in what he wrote or sent me, and only obliged himself to acquaint me with the persons which should accuse your grace, and with the matters of their accusation, in case I would join in both, which my resolutely refusing to do ended that negotiation; and the part I acted in it, is so far from being a generosity, (though your grace’s civility is pleased to call it so,) as it was but a bare duty both to your employment and to your person, besides what I do particularly owe to your grace on many accounts, so that though I had the private contentment of being above such a temptation, yet I wanted the means to tell your grace who were your enemies, or with what arms they intended to assault you; which (as the state of things stood,) I could not learn, unless I became your enemy, or were false to my promise, both of which I equally abhorred to be. This being on my word and credit the truth, I humbly hope your grace will believe that I stand innocent as to what your grace’s last letter has mentioned; and therefore I presume to think that your grace (in your turn,) will be pleased to let me clearly know, what in your letter of the 10th instant, you did obscurely (as to me) intimate in it, for I shall be at no rest, till I am clear in

your grace's belief, (after due proof,) as I am in my intentions, nay, I may say, as I am in my actions."

There are other letters equally strong, and the duke was quite satisfied, though there occurred many circumstances to awaken a doubt of the fairness of the earl's intentions: nor was it the least confirmatory circumstance, that the same suspicion was very general, of which the following anonymous letter may serve as an example:—"It is a good while, now, since first my lord-lieutenant hath been misrepresented here; and if reports were trusted to make good as well as draw up censures, besides the unactive humour and temper many charge against him, I am informed there are those yet behind the curtain who only wait an opportunity to join hands with the earl of Meath, to promote and strengthen a higher charge. Orrery is this night expected in town, and to lodge at my lord Conway's; and as great a master of good aspect that way, (it is my own observation indeed, but no groundless one,) as Anglesey would seem to be, it will not be long (if they can but divine or promise the least success to their prosecution,) before his grace find that gentleman discover himself another Mountmorris. We live amidst great frauds, because with persons who seem most what other than they are. I fear me I dare not promise for the secretary, what perhaps he would fain make my lord duke believe him to be, his friend. Be the inducement what it will, it is observable, a man doth ever his own business best, who trusts it not to another's management: and since his grace hath been struck at in the dark hitherto, all that have a love and service to his great integrity and merit, hold it safest, as more honourable, he should baffle their malice the same way he doth all other his great actings, even to the eyes of the world. I would not be thought now so vain, as to imagine I looked beyond what his grace doth; but with all submission I crave leave to offer, what my great duty, and as great zeal prompted me to, and that is to presume he hath more and greater enemies than he thinks he hath. The comprehensive bill hath made almost a great uproar among us; and the honest old gentry of England are so much the church's sons still, that hitherto, notwithstanding all the vigorous and powerful thereof, they have been able to suppress it: but the debate is to be resumed again next Wednesday; and then having got new strength, the secretaries expect no less than undoubted conquest; and amongst the aids promised them, I have it from good authority, that a great minister here hath undertaken his grace shall be for the toleration, and use his interest to effect it; which God forbid, that he, who never yet had blot on his scutcheon, upon any account, either in church or state, should ever have his name sullied, to be upon record among the schismatics, as an enemy to his mother, the church. But better things are believed of his grace, by all who have an honour for him; and when he comes over, no doubt this kingdom will find it."

Indorsed.—"Letter to the Duchess of Ormonde, from an unknown person, left with the porter of my lodgings, at Whitehall: received April, 21, 1668."

The protestations of the earl of Orrery do not permit us consistently, with the view we have taken of his character, to infer that he was at the time of these letters directly engaged in the conspiracy against the duke, of which there is no doubt. It is nevertheless difficult wholly to reject suspicions warranted by so many circumstances: the earl of Orrery was engaged in the strictest ties of political interest and personal friendship with the very persons from whom all danger was to be apprehended. We think it also essential to a just conclusion, to take into account the shrewd and calculating disposition of this nobleman: nor can we omit the consideration, that they who were the enemies of the duke of Ormonde were his friends, and were not unlikely either to rely on his aid, or to throw proportional inducements in his way. The duke indeed, was completely satisfied by the letters above cited, but he must have been aware of the natural effects which circumstances would not fail to produce on the earl of Orrery, and which we believe to have been the actual result—that after a struggle between his regard for the duke, and other considerations affecting his own interest, he acceded to the wishes of those who wished for his aid. He had early applied to the duke for licence to go to England, but as appears from his letters, deferred proceeding for several months: we consider the delay to have originated in the vacillation arising from the conflict of opposite purposes. But when finally he prepared to depart, it became plain enough which way the scale was inclining; and the duke of Ormonde, long urged to appear in his own behalf, at last thought it high time to confront the base but powerful faction who were actively banded for his ruin. On the 24th April he left Dublin and arrived next day at Holyhead, having committed the government to lord Ossory.

His reception in London was impressive and magnificent: numbers of the nobility and gentry went out to meet him in their coaches, and he entered the city with a large procession of rank and respectability, which would have been still more considerable but that the houses of parliament were sitting at the time, and engaged in a debate of great warmth and interest. This circumstance, though quite unsought on the duke's part, wounded the king's pride and mortified Buckingham, who nevertheless visited him immediately, and protested that he was quite unconcerned in any design to injure him. By the king he was also received with the wonted kindness, or rather respect, for the king stood in awe of the duke, who was far too dignified and frank for his regard.

The charges against the duke did not, however, long suffer him to be in doubt about the intentions of his enemies. The arrival of lord Orrery was the signal of attack. The earl of Orrery was the fast friend of the leading members of the cabal against the duke, and in addition to the remarks already made it is also with truth observed, that he had himself a strong interest in some of the most important decisions to which these charges might lead. The duke had advised the reduction of the Irish establishment, or the increase of the means for their support. Lord Orrery's interest lay in the full maintenance of the military establishment; he at once, on arriving in London, asserted that the revenue was sufficient, but that it had been misapplied. The accounts were examined, and the facts did not bear

out this assertion: the payments were found to have been for the most part essential, and fully amounting to the receipts, but two sums had been ordered by the duke, and of these one was to the earls of Anglesey and Orrery, and the other to a Mr Fitz-Gerald, but neither had been paid: the duke was on this score free from imputation. Much of the waste had however arisen from a source independent of every Irish authority, the king's own warrants, by which large sums had occasionally been disbursed in the Irish treasury. The earl of Anglesey, who was treasurer of the navy, and was involved in this charge, was found quite free from blame.

The reduction of the Munster army was in consequence decided on, and it was also considered advisable to call an Irish parliament, much to the annoyance of the earl of Orrery, as his own enemies in Ireland had been maturing charges against him as president of Munster, on an impeachment in the Irish parliament. The conspiracy against the duke and the earl of Anglesey ended in the establishment of these facts: that the revenue had not been adequately collected, and that there was a considerable arrear. It was ascertained that the expenses of the establishment had always exceeded the revenue; but that the excess had been diminishing annually during the duke's administration.*

The charges against the duke were altogether relinquished as wholly groundless; but the eagerness of his enemies was unsatisfied, and he was still pursued with the same relentless animosity. The system of operations was necessarily changed. Failing to find a weak point for an assault upon his reputation, his virtues were turned against him: it was quickly seen by the keen eye of court malignity, that the friendship of Charles was an unwilling tribute to one whom he feared; for with the profligate respect is fear or dislike. It was therefore now resolved to render him unpopular with the king, and also to practise upon the pride of the duke himself.

The duke's own friends had advised him to resign a station which was the mark of envy and treachery. But this was a step to which there lay some very strong objections: there was in reality not a single person competent to fill his place, who could be trusted with the interests of Ireland; and the duke having given up 400,000 acres of property for the sum of £50,000, which was allotted for the payment of his creditors, was also aware that he would lose the money if he should leave the country.

During the following nine months the duke was kept in a state of suspense as to the intentions of the king. From the perusal of a considerable mass of letters and other documents, we are enabled to infer with considerable certainty the real course of proceeding which was adopted by his enemies, and sanctioned by the king with some reluctance, and not without a sense of shame: profligate and unprincipled, he was not without sagacity and good taste, and understood but too well the baseness and insignificance of those who were necessary to his vices. Failing miserably in their efforts to cast disgrace upon the duke, whose character rose *undique tutus* from their shallow and pre-

* Carte, II. 371.

cipitate accusations, the next effort was to proceed by court intrigue, to bring round the indolent and complying humour of the king, and in the mean time to cast an impenetrable obscurity around their real designs. For this purpose the duke was courted and imposed upon by professions and pretexts: the king assured him that he should not be removed from the government, and his enemies appeared to have relented in their purposes. The duke was too sagacious to be wholly deceived, but too honourable to comprehend the whole extent of their hypocrisy: he could not help perceiving that he was sedulously excluded from all councils upon Irish affairs, while he was carefully consulted upon every other topic. From this, and from the oft-repeated advice of pretending friends, he was soon led to suspect that the object of the court party was to "unfasten" him first from his position, and then to remove him wholly. We shall here offer a selection of extracts from his confidential correspondence with his son:—

August 4th, 1668.—“I have expostulated with my lord of Orrery the unfriendliness and disrespect of his making propositions, so much relating to my employment, and contrary to his promise, without acquainting me with them. What his answers to so unavoidable a charge you may guess; but they were such as I was content to receive for that time.” * * * * *

“It is evident my lord of Orrery would avert the disbanding of any part of the army, and at least delay the calling of an Irish parliament which engages him in undertakings very hard to be made good. Time will show the issue of all.” August 15th, 1668.

“All that can be said of the publick is that discontent and despondence was never more high or universal, nor ever any court fallen to so much contempt, or governed with so little care to redeem itself. All that can be said in favour of the times and government is, that (for ought I can find,) justice betwixt man and man, and that upon offenders, is well distributed in the courts of judicature; but certainly the favours, recompenses and employments, are not so. * *

“As to my private, it is certain, the insinuations of my enemies (who will be found to be the king's in the end,) had prevailed with his majesty to believe that I had not served him with that care and thrift which the state of his affairs required. And, I am not free from doubt, but that those suggestions may have drawn some engagement from him, not to admit of my return into Ireland, with which he now finds himself embarrassed, especially they failing to make good what they undertook to discover, of my mismanagement. Whether my interest and innocence will prevail, or their malice and artifice, is the question.” September, 1668.

“On Thursday last, by former appointment, Mr Treasurer and I dined at my lord Arlington's; the design being that we three might freely talk upon the subject of the alteration of the government of Ireland. The endeavour on their part was to persuade me to think it reasonable and without prejudice to me, that (retaining the name and appointments of lieutenant,) I should name fit persons to govern in my absence, and by applying themselves to me upon all occasions. I answered (with all submission to the king's will) that to make any change in the government till I had been once more on the place, would be understood to

proceed from the king's dissatisfaction with my service, and would inevitably bring ruin and disgrace upon me, and be matter of triumph to my enemies and dejection to my friends. Yet if I could be convinced how it would advantage his majesty to have me removed, I would, as I have always done, prefer his service and prosperity to any interest of my own. But (I said,) that without entering into panegyriks of myself, I knew nothing fit for the king to do in Ireland, which I was not as well able to do as any he could employ.

"Many other things interposed in our discourse, whereof at length the result was, that my lord Arlington said he was verily persuaded I might have the matter ordered as I would myself. When we were ready to break up that conversation, I told his lordship, 'I had long and patiently observed myself excluded from all conversations relating to Ireland; that it was not in my nature to thrust myself upon business, especially such as seemed industriously kept from me; but that on the other side, I would not willingly be thought empty of thoughts fit for his majesty's knowledge and consideration, and doggedly sit silent out of discontent.' His advice to me was, to speak freely of the affairs of Ireland with the king, and my lord keeper. Last of all, I desired him to let me know what was misliked in my conduct, which might do me prejudice with the king. He answered, that all he could observe was, that it was held a negligence in me to suffer my lord Anglesey to pervert so much of the public money as he had done; that it was evident the revenue exceeded the establishment, and yet the army was vastly in arrear. I answered that this was what I foresaw would reflect upon me in the execution of that commission, which I was told should not in the least touch me. However, it was hard to impute my lord of Anglesey's faults (if any he had committed,) to me, especially since his majesty knew that I had by express warrant commanded him to prefer the establishment to all other payments." November 21st, 1668.

"My last was of the 13th instant. That very evening I had notice the king intended the next day, at a committee of foreign affairs, to declare his resolution to change the governor of Ireland: which accordingly he did, and my lord Privy Seal to succeed. His majesty declared without any stop or hesitation (which sometimes happens in his discourse,) 'how well he was satisfied with my thirty years service to his father and himself; that the change he now made was not out of distrust or displeasure, as should appear by admitting me into the most secret and important parts of his affairs; and that nobody should have an higher or nearer place in his esteem or confidence.'" February 16th, 1668

The king's respect for the duke of Ormonde amounts to something very like fear, he was "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike," and after his mind was fully made up to dismiss him from his office, he waited many days and made many abortive efforts to put his plan into execution. He sent lord Arlington to him for his commission, but the duke told this lord that he had received his commission from the king's own hand, and would return it to no other. He then went to deliver it to the king who denied the message. Two days after, the duke received another visit from lord Arlington, who delivered the

same message, and received the same answer. Again he waited upon the king, who again disclaimed his message. In the next meeting of the privy council, however, he declared the dismissal of the duke, and the appointment of lord Roberts in his room. On receiving an account of this, the duke once more went to expostulate with the king, and to his surprise the king denied the entire proceeding: he then however sent a gentleman, who was a connexion of the duke's, to explain, that he had actually made the change, but denied it because he saw the duke was heated and might say something not respectful. He assured the duke that he would still "be kind to him, and continue him lord steward," and pleaded the necessity of his affairs.*

What confidence the duke of Ormonde may have felt in any assurance of the king's, we cannot say; but he shortly after received a mark of honour and respect above the power of the lying and time-serving monarch who then disgraced the throne of England to confer.

The duchess of Ormonde had repaired to Ireland to reduce the establishment which the duke had found necessary as lord-lieutenant: on her return, he went to meet her, and having stopped at Oxford, he was entertained by the university, and complimented with the degree of doctor of civil law; and the chancellorship being vacant by the resignation of the earl of Clarendon, the choice of the university fell on the duke. The university was guided in this election by the advice of Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom this high dignity had in the first instance been offered: it was declined by the archbishop on the score of his age and great infirmities, but he assured the university that he could think of no one so fit for the office as the duke of Ormonde. We give a portion of the primate's letter: "A person whom I cannot mention, but with all characters of honour; who, besides the eminency of his birth and dignities, hath made himself more illustrious by his virtue and merits, by that constant integrity he hath in all fortunes borne to the king and church; and (which concerns them more particularly) by his love of letters and learned men. His quality will dignify their choice, his affection for them will improve his care over them, and his interest will be able at their need to support them." The duke was inaugurated with great solemnity in London, on the 26th of August, by the vice-chancellor, assisted by the bishops of Winchester, Oxford, and Rochester, with a numerous attendance of doctors of all the faculties, and members of the university, who walked in procession to Worcester house, where they were joined by the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury. Here they took their places in solemn order in a large room, and the cause of the convocation having been declared, the duke of Ormonde came from a side-room, attended by the earls of Bedford, Ailesbury, Dunfermline and Carlingford, and having taken his place, was addressed in a set speech by the vice-chancellor. The duke then had delivered to him the seals of the office, the book of statutes, and the keys; and next took the oaths required on the occasion, after which the members of the university took the oaths of duty to the chancellor, and lastly, the duke made a speech, in which he thanked the university, assured the convocation of his determination to maintain their rights, preserve their

* Burnet.

statutes, encourage learning, and give his protection on all occasions to that learned body in general, and to every deserving member of it in particular.* This election does equal honour to the university and to the duke. No public body has uniformly stood so high as the university of Oxford, for the high and disinterested ground it has ever taken on every question in which principle has been concerned; and while this character is honourably exemplified in the act by which it honoured and exalted a nobleman, who was at that moment an object of rancorous persecution to the most powerful faction in the kingdom, armed with the influence of the court: it nobly attests the true character which the duke's whole life and actions maintained among the wise and good men of his age.

The duke, whose honours were for the most part hardly earned, was of a disposition to be peculiarly affected by such a mark of respect. It was his temper to sacrifice his ease and interest to the good of the kingdom; and it was to posterity that he looked for his renown. A conversation which he had about this time with a friend, may be quoted as the faithful expression of his sentiments, in connexion with a fact very remarkable through his entire history:—"He had been a little before (as he was taking a walk early in the morning with Sir Robert Southwell, in the Pall-mall,) discoursing of the vicissitudes of fortune, how it had still befallen him to be employed in times of the greatest difficulty, and when affairs were in the worst situation; how his employments had been thrown upon him without any desire or application of his own; how, when he thought his actions were most justifiable, they commonly found the hardest interpretation, and concluded at last, 'well, (said he) nothing of this shall break my heart; for however it may fare with me in the court, I am resolved to lie well in the chronicle.'" Such indeed is the sense of all the truly illustrious, the "last infirmity of noble minds," and never more truly exemplified than in this great man, to whom history, but partially true, has not wholly done justice yet. For so trying and complicated was the maze of faction with which he had to contend, and unhappily so permanent have been the animosities and prejudices, of which he was, during his life, a central mark; that all the basest calumnies, and most contemptible misconstructions of party-spirit, are still suffered to have a place in every history which aims to please a large class of the public; so that the numerous libels which were the foam and venom of the vile faction by which he was baited at this period of his life, has found but too many echoes from writers, whose injustice is the disinterested result of their prejudices, which have prevented them from deliberate and impartial inquiry. At the time of which we write, the enemies of the duke finding themselves wholly unable to establish any case to his discredit, endeavoured to avenge their failure by the most scandalous publications, full of those vague charges, that go so far with the multitude, which is ever strongly impressed by violent language and easily imposed upon by any sort of specious mis-statement. But of the numerous libels at this time published to injure the duke, it may be said that they contain in themselves the antidote for all their venom: the principles adopted by these writers, and the persons whom they put forward as deserving

of public confidence, sufficiently neutralize their accusations, or convert them into honourable testimonies of worth. Of the greater part of these the duke of Buckingham was the instigator, and of many there is stronger reason to suspect him the author. He was irritated to find the acts which had occasioned the ruin of Clarendon, insufficient to put the duke of Ormonde as wholly aside as he thought necessary for his purposes. It was a serious mortification after all his undermining, to find that there was still a presiding spirit superior to fear, and at enmity with falsehood, to discountenance his intrigues and repress his craft in council. He was therefore unremitting in raising up enemies and complaints against the duke. In these he was mostly defeated, by the extravagance or the notorious untruth of the statements; in others he gave considerable trouble and vexation. Among these latter, the most remarkable was a complaint brought forward by the earl of Meath, who charged the duke with having quartered soldiers on his tenants, in the liberties of Dublin, which he asserted to be treason; and made several allegations of oppression and injury, sustained from the duke's officers and men. He refused, however, to substantiate his charges by any proof: on inquiry it appeared that the soldiers had fully paid for every thing they had received: that the army had always been quartered in Dublin, under every government; and that the duke had not brought but found them there. These accusations being thus found insufficient, lord Meath, who was evidently instrumental to the duke of Buckingham, was sent back to Ireland to look for further proofs, and additional matter of accusation. In the end, however, he found himself compelled to apologize to the council for the insufficiency of his case: which he would not even venture to bring forward, until the duke of Ormonde himself, indignant at the propagation of groundless reports, and considering the fullest investigation as the best security for his reputation, had lord Meath summoned, and a day fixed for hearing him, and investigating the case. Lord Meath would most willingly have come forward with a strong statement, but he shrunk from the investigation.

An attack of a more artful and invidious kind was made in a pamphlet containing certain queries upon the subject of the grants of land and money which had been made to the duke. And it is not easy to conceive a more detestable tissue of injustice, sophistry, and misrepresentation. Through the entire there is an obvious appeal to the ignorance of the English public on the facts; by a daring and broad mis-statement of every one of them, which could not for a moment pass in Ireland or bear any species of investigation. The actual claims of the duke are overlooked, his legal rights passed by, the greatness of his losses unnoticed, and the abortiveness of the grants themselves dishonestly sunk: the *suppressio veri* was never more thoroughly exemplified. But these accusations were only for the ear of the multitude, they were designed to create a prejudice in the House of Commons, which it was easier to corrupt, to alarm, or to exasperate, than to convince by fact or reason. We cannot, without a far greater sacrifice of space than is consistent with the plan of these lives, enter at length into the considerable mass of accòmpts and statements which would be essential to a just view of this question. Some facts we have already

mentioned; we can only sum them here very generally and briefly. One large grant, consisted merely of a confirmation of the duke's legal claims to estates which had been granted by his family, on conditions according to which they had actually reverted to the donor. The most elementary principles of the laws of property, the basis of all law, must be set aside before this can be spoken of as a grant. Yet this right, amounting to 400,000 acres, the duke resigned to facilitate the settlement, in consideration of a sum not amounting to a tenth of the value, and this was itself apportioned for the payment of creditors whose claims should have been met by the government. This small sum was never paid to the duke. A grant of £30,000 from the Irish parliament is among the imaginary gains of the duke; and doubtless it is an honourable testimony of public approbation: but if the Irish parliament really imagined that it was any thing more, they committed an oversight of considerable magnitude, as their grant was coupled with conditions which turned it into a grant to the duke's tenants, and not to himself. The whole of the remaining grants fell far short of his great losses, and were not in any case more than partially paid. We may conclude on this by extracting the statement of Carte, where the whole can be seen at a glance.

The Duke of Ormonde, creditor.

To loss of nine years income of his estate in Ireland, from October, 1641, to December, 1650,			
£20,000 a-year,	£180,000	0	0
To spoil, and waste of timber, buildings, &c., on it,	50,000	0	0
To debts contracted by the service of the crown during the troubles,	130,000	0	0
To seven years rents of his estate, from 1653, to 1660, recoverable from the adventurers and soldiers that possessed it,	140,000	0	0
To the value of estates forfeited to him by breach of conditions, the remainders whereof were vested in him, but given up by the act of explanation,	319,061	5	0
	<hr/>		
	£869,061	5	0
To arrears of pay as lord-lieutenant, commissioned officer, &c.,	62,736	9	8
To ditto, for fourteen months, from July, 1647, to September, 1648, at the rate of the allowance of £7893 a-year to the earl of Leicester, during his absence from Ireland,	9,208	10	0
To ditto, for nine years and four months, from December, 1660, to June, 1669,	73,668	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total of losses and credits,	£1,014,674	4	8
	<hr/>		

The Duke of Ormonde, debtor.

By receipts on the £30,000 act in Ireland,	£26,440	0	0
By ditto, on the grant of £71,916,	63,129	10	8
By ditto, on the £50,000, granted by the explanation act,	25,196	1	11
By savings on the grant of forfeited mortgages and incumbrances,	5,655	12	10
By rents received from the lands given up by the explanatory act,	5,626	2	6
By houses, &c., on Kilkenny, Clonmel, &c., valued by commissioners at £840 12s. a-year, at ten years purchase,	8,406	0	0
By lands allotted on account of his arrears, set at first for £1194, but afterwards improved and set in 1681 at £1594 a-year, but being subject to a quit-rent of £449 a year, their improved yearly value is but £1165 at ten years purchase,	11,650	0	0
Total of profit,	£146,083	7	11
Total losses and dues to the duke of Ormonde,	£1,014,674	4	8
Deduct as by particular of profits,	146,083	7	11
So that the duke's losses by the troubles and settlement of Ireland, exceeded his profits	£868,590	16	9

This statement has the best authority, as it has been drawn not from any loose verbal account, or any individual representation prepared to meet objections, but from the careful comparison of several accòmpts and vouchers belonging to the actual agency of the duke's affairs, and selected from the mass of his private papers, drawn up by his agents.* They leave no doubt upon the one fact, that the whole result of all the main transactions of his public life was loss to the enormous amount of the above sum—nearly a million. The truth indeed is otherwise so apparent, that it is not easy to understand the insinuations of a certain class of historians, but by allowing largely for the fact that narrow and illiberal minds are incapable of comprehending any motives that are not low and sordid. We do not, for our own part, insist upon a perfect freedom from motives of a personal and interested nature, either for the duke of Ormonde, or any other man, as shall appear in the estimate which we shall presently have to offer of the great man who has occupied so large a portion of our notice.

The virtues which rendered the duke of Ormonde's character proof against a virulence of factious and personal animosity, armed with a degree of influence and authority under which any other person of his generation must have sunk a victim, was itself the main cause of all that enmity, and contributed to its increase during the six years which he spent in England. In this interval, the real dignity of his character was placed in a more conspicuous light than often happens in the history of eminent men. The circle in which he daily moved was

* Carte, II. p. 408.

singularly distinguished by talent and profligacy, and combined all the lofty and brilliant pretensions which, so combined, can make vice imposing and cast virtue into the shade: every aim, act, and thought, was a mockery of all grace and goodness, and the whole scene, with all its actors and actresses, was a vanity-fair of intrigue, corruption, infidelity, and indecency. Amidst this trying scene, the duke of Ormonde may be said to have "stood alone:" hated by the insolent courtier; feared by the corrupt and small-minded, but not malignant, monarch, who in the midst of his folly, weakness, and vice, had enough of natural good sense and tact to see and feel the real greatness of a servant of whom he was not worthy: an object of the most inveterate dislike to the miscreant combination of useless talents and efficient vices which ruled the ascendant at court; and of aversion and detestation to the abandoned women, whose favour was there the only road to a perverted respect and favour: the duke held his position unwarped from his high course and unabashed by the meretricious insolence of the court: neither assuming on one side the haughtiness of principle, nor on the other, condescending to countenance what he did not approve, or conciliate those whom he despised; but calmly and steadily watching for the occasion to do good, or neutralize evil. He was indeed disliked at court chiefly because he refused to countenance those degraded women, who humbled themselves that they might be exalted, in a sense widely differing from the divine precept; and the king, who was ruled entirely by these, and by persons who stooped to court their good offices, was compelled to preserve a demeanour of the utmost reserve to him, scarcely looking at him, and only addressing him when he could not avoid it. Nevertheless, he seldom failed to appear at court and take his place at the council, where he always gave his opinion frankly, and without either reserve or deference to any. Such was the general posture which he held in this interval: one far more trying to him than the embarrassments and emergencies of his official life. The remarks of his biographer on this period of his history should not be omitted:—"His grace remained for several years after in court, under great eclipse and mortifications; but, having a peculiar talent of bearing misfortunes with an invincible patience, the bystanders thought this to be the most glorious part of his life; and this was the very expression of his grace archbishop Sheldon to me on this occasion. However, in this state, he spared not to be chiefly instrumental to get the Irish innocents discharged from their quit-rents, and to free them also from satisfying the demands about the lapse-money,* &c., and to contribute in every thing to do them justice, notwithstanding their animosities against him."†

The disfavour of the court did not protect the duke from the animosity of those who lived in the sunshine of its favour; even in disgrace his greatness could not be forgiven by those to whom to be virtuous alone was a full ground for the bitterest enmity; even in adversity and neglect, he was pursued with the animosity of defeated competition; his very existence seemed to cast a shadow on their baseness; and as he could not be disgraced by calumny or impeached

* Lapse-money was a sum of money deposited, which, if the purchase of lands was not completed by a certain time, was to be forfeited by the act of settlement.

† Southwell.

by real chicaneries, nothing remained but assassination. We may here instance the attempt to assassinate him by Blood, who, there is little doubt, was in the pay of Buckingham, although something may be allowed for private enmity. Enmity alone, when the cause is considered, would not have been sufficient to induce an attempt of such singular desperation: the prosecution of Blood, as an active ring-leader of insurrection by the lord-lieutenant, was so merely official, that it was in a great measure divested of all personal character.

The duke had attended the prince of Orange to an entertainment made for him by the city of London, and was on his return home. The hour was late, and the night dark; he had reached St James' street, at the end of which he then resided in Clarendon house; his six footmen, who ordinarily walked on the street on each side of his coach, had loitered, and there was nobody near but the coachman, when suddenly as the coach entered the Hay Market, (then a road,) it was surrounded by five horsemen: they dragged the duke from the carriage, and mounted him on a horse behind the rider, who was a large and strong man. The coachman drove as fast as he could to Clarendon house, which was fortunately at hand, and there gave an alarm to the porter, and to a Mr James Clarke, who was waiting in the court; these immediately gave chase, and ordered the other servants to follow as fast as they could. In the mean time the mysterious horsemen pursued their way: they could have killed the duke with ease, and made their escape in the darkness of the night, but the inveterate temper of Blood, or of his employer, was unsatisfied with such a simple execution of their intent. It was perhaps thought that assassination would lose its atrocity by using the implements of public justice; whatever was the feeling, Blood determined to hang the duke at Tyburn. This resolution saved the duke; preserving his usual composure, he calculated that he should be pursued, and judged that the principal chance in his favour would be secured by delay. Blood rode on for the purpose of preparing the gallows. The duke availed himself of the circumstance, and by struggling violently with the miscreant who rode before him, he prevented him from going faster than a walk: they had got as far as Knightsbridge, when the duke, suddenly placing his foot under the man's, and clasping him firmly, threw himself off; and both coming to the ground, a struggle commenced in the mud, in which the duke, though at the time of this incident, in his sixty-third year, resisted all the efforts of his antagonist until lord Berkeley's porter came out from Berkeley house, before which the struggle had taken place: the duke's own servants now also came up. On their appearance, the fellow disengaged himself, and got on horseback; but before he made his retreat he fired a case of pistols at the duke. It was however too dark for an aim, and he was in too great a hurry to escape, as numbers of people had by this time taken the alarm, and a crowd was rushing together from every quarter. The duke was quite exhausted by the long struggle, and much wounded, bruised and shaken by the heavy fall, and it was found necessary to carry him home, where he was for some days confined to his bed.

The perpetrator of this daring outrage was not discovered for some

time, until an attempt to steal the crown and regalia from the Tower, led to his seizure. The king, who seems to have had some weakness in favour of dissolute characters, was curious to see Blood, and to examine him himself, and the adroit ruffian had the tact to catch the character of his royal examiner at a glance. He won his favour by the assumption of the most cool audacity, acknowledged every fact, and gave such reasons as best suited the purpose and the temper of the king. Among other things, he was asked why he attempted the duke of Ormonde's life? he answered that the duke had caused his estate to be taken away, and that he and many others had bound themselves to be revenged. He now told the king that he had been engaged with others to assassinate himself, by shooting him "with a carabine from out of the reeds by the Thames' side, above Battersea, where he often went to swim: that the cause of his resolution was his majesty's severity over the consciences of the godly [he must have had strange ideas of godliness] in suppressing the freedom of their religious assemblies; but when he had taken his stand in the reeds for that purpose, his heart misgave him out of an awe of his majesty, and he not only relented himself, but diverted his companions from their design." He then told the king, "that he had laid himself sufficiently open to the law, and he might reasonably expect to feel the utmost of its rigour, for which he was prepared, and had no concern on his own account. But it would not prove a matter of such indifference to his majesty; for there were hundreds of his friends yet undiscovered, who were all bound to each other by the indispensable oaths of conspirators, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity upon those who should bring them to justice, which would expose the king and all his ministers to daily fears and apprehensions of a massacre. But on the other side, if his majesty would spare the lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many, who (as they had been seen to attempt daring mischiefs) would be as bold and enterprising (if received to pardon and favour) in performing eminent services to the crown."

The effect of this bravado upon the king might well have been calculated upon: Blood was pardoned. The dastardly spirit from which this mockery of mercy proceeded, was broadly distinguished from heroic magnanimity and royal clemency, by the derogatory and disgraceful addition of a pension and of royal favour. Decorum required that the duke's consent should be obtained, and Blood was desired to write to him: lord Arlington went from the king to inform his grace that it was his majesty's desire that he should pardon Blood: the duke answered, "that if the king could forgive him the stealing of his crown, he might easily forgive him the attempt on his life,* and since it was his majesty's pleasure, that was a reason sufficient for him, his lordship might spare the rest."† Blood was not only pardoned, but had an estate of £500 a-year settled on him in Ireland, and was admitted to that inner circle of court favour, to which indeed it is to be admitted, he was no inappropriate accession. To these remarks we may here add those with which Carte concludes his account of the transaction:—"No man more assiduous than he, in both the secretaries offices.

* Carte.

† Ibid.

If any one had a business at court that stuck, he made his application to Blood, as the most industrious and successful solicitor, and many gentlemen courted his acquaintance, as the Indians pray to the devil that he may not hurt them. He was perpetually in the royal apartments, and affected particularly to be in some room where the duke of Ormonde was, to the indignation of all others, though neglected and overlooked by his grace. All the world stood amazed at this mercy, countenance, and favour, shown to so atrocious a malefactor, the reason and meaning of which they could not see nor comprehend. The general opinion was, that Blood was put upon this assassination by the duke of Buckingham and the duchess of Cleveland, who both hated the duke of Ormonde mortally, and were powerful advocates to solicit and obtain his pardon. The reason assigned by the criminal for his attempt upon the duke was considered as a mere excuse, for his grace had done nothing particularly against him, more than against others concerned with him in the same conspiracy, and put into the same proclamation. If Blood's estate at Sarney was forfeited for his treason, and upon his attainder granted by his majesty to Toby Barnes; or if his accomplices were executed after a full conviction, all this was done in the full course of government, and must have been done by any other lord-lieutenant, as well as the duke of Ormonde. Blood knew very well his own guilt, and had no reason to resent any thing in this proceeding of his grace; nor do acts merely ministerial use to produce in any, such resentments as cannot be satisfied without the assassination of a minister, who, in the discharge of his duty and the trust reposed in him by his prince, could not have spared his own father in the same case.* Carte adds several arguments to prove that there was no person so likely to be the instigator of this attempt as the duke of Buckingham. Among these, one of great weight is derived from the fact, that the designs of this splendid villain were materially interfered with by the mere presence of the duke of Ormonde. There was some discouragement in the very existence of an enemy whose character was hedged round by the respect of all the wise and good: the intrinsic value of whose opinions on every concern of importance gave him a degree of weight even in the council; and who, considering the unsettled and dangerous condition of Ireland, was still likely to be entrusted again with power, and to obtain without an effort, the restoration of those honours, appointments, and influence, which his unprincipled and in every way unworthy rival was working through a hundred dirty channels to secure for himself and his accomplices.

We must, for the present, pass by the history of Irish affairs: they are indeed of little historical interest, and may be more fully brought together in some one of the following memoirs, as belonging to the train of events and circumstances which preceded and accompanied the revolution of 1688. During this period of his life—one of court disfavour, but of honour in the better judgment of Europe—the duke of Ormonde was engaged in the council upon the consideration of all matters relative to English or foreign affairs, but entirely excluded

* Vol. II.

from the committee on the affairs of Ireland. It is true that he was appealed to by that class of the Roman catholics, who had refused to accede to the communications of their brethren with the Roman court, and who had joined in the remonstrance: there was at this time a secret court-party in favour of the views of that court, and the ultrapapists were not only favoured, but their enmity against their more moderate and loyal brethren, seconded by acts of persecution which we shall not now detail. They applied to the duke, who wrote in their favour to the lord-lieutenant, but to no other purpose but that of drawing upon himself the mortification of a slight. We here add a part of one of the duke's letters on this subject, as it sufficiently explains the whole, and places his conduct in its proper light:—"And now, my lord, that you may not judge me to be impertinent in my interposition in the matter, and in your government, give me leave to tell you, why I take myself to lie under more than the ordinary obligation of a counsellor to mind his majesty of the remonstrators, and to endeavour to free them from the slavery and ruin prepared for them for that reason, however other pretences are taken up. Some of those very remonstrators, and other of their principles are and were those who opposed the rebellious violence of the nuncio and his party, when the king's authority then in my hands was invaded, and at length expelled that kingdom, for which they suffered great vexation in foreign parts, when the fear of the usurpers had driven them out of their own country. These are the men, who, on the king's return, in their remonstrance disowned the doctrine, upon which those proceedings of the nuncio were founded; and these are the men very particularly recommended by the king to my care and encouragement, during all the time of my government. And now, I leave it to your lordship to judge, whether in duty to the king, with safety to my reputation, or in honesty to them, I can receive so many complaints of oppression from them as I do, and not endeavour that at least they may quietly enjoy their share of that indulgence which his majesty vouchsafes to others of their profession, free from those disturbances which are given them upon that account by those who abetted the contrary proceedings. I have drawn this to a greater length than is necessary, being directed to one so reasonable as your excellency, but it is my desire to acquit myself from the imputation of so mean a thing as seems to be laid to my charge, and to show that in this matter I have done nothing but what may consist with my being as I am,—My lord, &c.,

"ORMONDE."*

In 1673, the lady Thurles, mother to the duke, died at the advanced age of eighty-six. He had for some time meditated a visit to Ireland, and his determination was probably hastened by this event. He was perhaps also wearied with the long continuance of galling humiliations which he was compelled to sustain in his attendance at court, and under which any one but himself must long before have given way. By this time, at which we are arrived, these annoyances had greatly increased: so great was become the ascendance of the rout of knaves

and prostitutes, which made up the Comus court of Charles, that the duke, without any distinct quarrel with the king, was universally understood to be out of favour. No one in habitual attendance, or in any way dependent on the smiles of courtiers and their patronesses, dared speak to the lord steward, whom it was, says Southwell,* "a melancholy sight" to see walking alone along the galleries with his white rod of office. The king, who really esteemed the duke, was not exempt from this degrading influence, and was under the awkward necessity of maintaining an air of neglect towards one whom he could not help feeling to be greater than himself. The duke maintained his wonted high and grave composure in the midst of all this tinselled insignificance and varnished display of pride and scorn, and the monarch sometimes felt his own littleness and stood abashed. One day when the duke was engaged in conversation with a company of foreign noblemen who attended the court, this effect became so apparent, that the duke of Buckingham galled by the superiority of one who repaid his hate with scornful indifference, could not help stepping up to the king, and whispering in his ear, "I wish your majesty would resolve me one question, whether it be the duke of Ormonde that is out of favour with your majesty, or your majesty that is out of favour with the duke of Ormonde? for of the two, you really look the most out of countenance." In fact, the king not only avoided speaking to the duke, but constantly endeavoured to avoid his eye, "by industrious looking another way,"† though occasionally in moments of embarrassment, he would take him aside to ask his advice. One of these occasions is related by Carte, when having given the seals to Shaftesbury, he took the duke aside into the recess of a window and asked him if he did right: the duke replied, "your majesty has no doubt acted very prudently in so doing, if you knew how to get them from him again."

But to return to our narrative, the duke now came to the resolution to return to Ireland and look after his own affairs. He left Clarendon house in the beginning of June, with the duchess and family, and proceeded to Bath, of which the waters had been advised for his gout. After remaining there for a fortnight, he sailed for Waterford, and arrived there after a fair passage of twenty hours, on the 27th June, 1674. From thence he went to Kilkenny, and soon after to Dublin, in order to pay due respect to the earl of Essex, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. But this lord, infected with the general disease of court antipathy, and offended by the popular reception of the duke by the city of Dublin, received him with a coldness which was not only felt by the duke, but noticed with general indignation. In Dublin, and still more in the county of Kilkenny, the demonstrations of public respect and affection were so remarkable as to give a full and not very gratifying refutation to the notion which had been long and industriously circulated, that he was disliked in Ireland. In Kilkenny he amused his leisure with the usual recreations of country life, having like every active-spirited person inured to rural life, a strong taste for hunting and hawking.

It was during this period of the duke's life that his eminent son, the

* Life of Ormonde.

† Carte.

earl of Ossory, the heir of his worth and talent, though unhappily not of his honours, was rising into illustrious eminence, by his distinguished services in the navy, when he rose to the rank of admiral. We shall notice the main incidents of his life in a separate memoir. But we must here take the occasion to present the reader with a new and most interesting aspect of the duke's character, which may perhaps have hitherto been looked for as an essential feature; for never in a christian country, and in the record of christian ages, has there been a character like the duke's without piety. When we look to his moderation in success, his calmness in the most trying difficulties, and his noble resignation under the combined visitations of wounding slander, the ingratitude of the court, and the embarrassment of his private affairs; when we contemplate his constant and strenuous maintenance of the protestant church, and the devotion he showed to the maintenance of those principles which he regarded as sacred, with the perfect disinterestedness shown by his ready and frequent abandonment of all those advantages which are mostly the entire aims of public men; we are compelled to look for the profound and elevated principle of a combination of wisdom and goodness, so far beyond the standard of worldly worth and wisdom, in some grace above their range. On this subject we are enabled not only to offer the valuable testimony of his old and faithful friend, Sir R. Southwell, but the still more direct proof of his own devotional compositions, which indicate a high and pure as well as fervent and zealous devotion, breathing the language of every christian grace:—"I continued," writes Southwell, "for this month with his grace, and lay so near him, as often in the night to hear him at his devotions. He had composed some excellent prayers on several occasions, which have since appeared among his papers. He would often discourse to me of the emptiness of all worldly things—of honours, riches, favour, and even of family and posterity itself." Of the prayers mentioned in this extract, we here insert that which was the fruit of the duke's affliction on the death of his illustrious son.

His prayer and humiliation on the death of his son, the earl of Ossory.

"O God, by whom and in whom we live, move, and have our being. I own and adore thy justice, and magnify thy mercy and goodness, in that thou hast taken from me, and to thyself, my dear and beloved son. My sins have called for this correction, and thou didst hold thy hand till thy patience was justly wearied by my continual and unrepented transgressions; thou gavest thy blessed Son for my redemption; and that such redemption offered on the cross for me, might not be fruitless, thou hast sent this affliction to call me to repentance, and to make me inwardly consider and behold that Saviour whom my accursed sins have nailed to the cross and pierced to the heart.

"From my childhood to my declined age thou hast made use of all thy wondrous and manifold methods of drawing me a sinner to amendment and obedience; but alas! how hitherto have they been in vain? Thou madest me prosperous and unsuccessful, poor and rich; thou broughtest me into dangers, and gavest me deliverance—leddest me into exile, and broughtest me home with honour; and yet none of thy dispensations have had natural or reasonable effect upon me: they have

been resisted and overcome by an obdurate sensuality. So that, if in thy infinite mercy thou wilt yet make any further experiment upon me, and not leave me to myself, the most heavy of all judgments, what can I expect, but that afflictions should be accumulated till my gray hairs be brought with sorrow to the grave! This, O Lord, is my portion, and it is justly due to me: I lay my mouth in the dust, and humbly submit to it; yet, gracious God, give me leave with comfort to remember that thy mercy is infinite, and over all thy works. In that mercy, and merits of my Redeemer, Jesus Christ, look upon me; turn thy face to me, and thy wrath from me. Let this sore affliction melt or break my heart; let it melt it into godly sorrow, or let the hardness of it be even yet broken by heavier calamities: however, at last return, O Lord, and heal me, and leave a blessing behind thee: the blessing of a true repentance, and a constant amendment; the blessing of fervent devotion, of universal obedience to thy holy laws, and of unshaken perseverance in the ways of thee my God.

* “This I beg in the name, and for the sake of the all-sufficient sacrifice and merits of my blessed Redeemer, in the words he hath left us to pray.”

During his stay in Ireland, it also happened that his third son, lord John, was married to the lady Ann Chichester, heiress to the earl of Donegal. He was created earl of Gowran; but died in the following year, owing to disease contracted by the excesses of his youth. While he was in his last illness, the duke wrote him a letter, which the bishop of Worcester described to Carte, as one of the finest specimens of moral and christian remonstrance he had ever seen. He had, however, unfortunately lost the copy of it, which he had been enabled to obtain. In relation to the dissolute habits of the same young lord, a *mot* of the duke is preserved. A friend of the duke's family had built a chapel, and had solicited among his acquaintances for contributions of an ornamental nature, to set off the interior. When Mr Cottington visited the duke, he told him of his son's munificent gift of the ten commandments, for the altar-piece. The duke observed, in reply, “he can readily part with things that he does not care to keep himself.”

The duke's retirement was at last to receive a temporary interruption; and whether reluctantly or not, he was doomed to be once more involved in the turmoil of affairs. The situation of the king was becoming involved in perplexity. He was by nature, and by the principles he held, unfit for the time: his religious persuasion placed him in a false position. Secretly pledged to one line of action, and to the support of one interest, he was loudly called on by the voice of Europe, and by the expectation of England, to pursue an opposite course and take a different part. He was, rather by the revolutions of European politics than by his own power, called on to act as the arbiter of the Continent; and his people expected that he should support the protestant interest. The heart of England was with the Prince of Orange, who was universally regarded as the champion of protestantism throughout Europe; while, on the other hand, Charles and his brother, the duke of York, were by every tie bound to the king of France. The king was slowly and reluctantly compelled to give way to his parliament, which he endeavoured to cajole; and some disgraceful and unconstitutional pro-

ceedings took place, during which, a breach took place between him and his minion, Buckingham, who was beginning to wax too licentious in his insolence, and too extravagant and dangerous in his freakish politics, to be easily endured by one who knew his baseness, and had only countenanced him for his companionable vices. In the midst of the perplexities of this busy period, the affairs of Ireland became troublesome, and the king felt himself compelled to have recourse to the duke of Ormonde.

The Norwich frigate was ordered to Waterford for the duke, and he, though beginning to feel the necessity of quiet to his bodily health, could not refuse to obey. It was indeed, he felt, a critical moment for the protestant interests, and his presence was wanting. At first, indeed, on his arrival in London, he was disappointed to find that the king, whose temper was the weathercock which waved with every breath of persuasion, had in that short interval fallen into a relapse of his usual feebleness: he seemed to have been sent for to be treated with neglect. He was thinking of a return to Ireland, when he was again sent for, and his advice asked on the affairs of Ireland. The principal subject to be discussed was a question on the farming of the revenue: there were two undertakers, Mr George Pitt and viscount Ranelagh; Ranelagh had been under great obligations to the duke of Ormonde, but coming over from Ireland, he joined the cabal against him. He made such representations to the king, that he obtained a contract for the management of the Irish revenue, in consequence of which great discontents were soon excited in Ireland. The people and the king soon found reason to complain; and it was thought that lord Ranelagh alone was not a loser by the contract. When the duke's advice was asked, he exposed in detail the sufferings of the Irish people, and the frauds of the undertakers. Ranelagh, irritated by such an exposure, and fearing for his suit, made a long speech at the board; in the course of which he observed, that in the course of ten years before his undertaking, the revenue had been very much mismanaged: this he repeated so often, and coupled it with so many insinuations, that the duke insisted upon his being compelled to explain himself. For this purpose he was ordered to attend at a board held for the purpose. The king was himself present, when the following conversation took place. After the lord-keeper informed lord Ranelagh that he was summoned to explain certain expressions which seemed to involve reflections upon the conduct of the duke of Ormonde: lord Ranelagh answered:—"My purpose was not to reflect on my lord of Ormonde, or any body else; but to give his majesty a state of his affairs, as they stood before my undertaking.

"Duke of Ormonde.—But your lordship was pleased to name often the word mismanagement; and if that related to the time that I governed, it must reflect upon me, and I am willing to give your lordship all manner of provocation, to speak plain in that particular.

"Lord Ranelagh.—I named nobody, but the things themselves will lead to the persons. I am content what I said be referred to a committee for examination. For if I said your majesty's affairs were mismanaged, it was true, and it plainly so appeared to your majesty, by

what I said; and I say so again, that the management was as bad as possibly could be.

"Duke of Ormonde.—Sir, I am of opinion with that noble lord, that the things themselves will find out the persons; and I also join issue with him in the expedient of a committee, and pray your majesty, that matters be transacted in writing, that what is alleged on either side may be more liable to this examination. For, I think long accounts use not to be stated by an oration; and that in such a discourse when well studied and long thought on, there may as well be conveyed in it a libel as a vindication.

"Lord Ranelagh.—My lord, I think short speeches may contain as much libel in them as long ones.

"Duke of Ormonde.—But, Sir, I desire to hear it laid to my charge, that I mismanaged your affairs. That is the thing still insinuated, though not said; and therefore I must challenge the proof of that mismanagement, or charge the informer with untruth.

"Lord Ranelagh.—Sir, I thought this had not been a place for such expressions; and I shall here find myself at some disadvantage.

"The king.—No, no,—untruth—that—

"Duke of Ormonde.—Sir, I said untruth; and there is no man whatever, who exceeds me not in quality, to whom I will not say the same, till his proofs do show the contrary. My lord was pleased to say, he named no man; but by experience of his lordship's dealings towards me, I have sufficient motives to keep me from imagining he meant any one else: and yet I presume to think, that for the time of my management there, I can show your majesty as fair accounts as any man whatsoever. And pray, my lord, since you will not name the persons, what are the things you call this mismanagement?

"Lord Ranelagh.—Sir, I call that mismanagement, when your majesty's revenue, that is intended for the public, and to the payment of your majesty's establishment civil and military, shall be diverted by private warrants, contrary to instructions, and your army thereby be left so shamefully in arrear.

"Duke of Ormonde.—Sir, if my lord can name any one private warrant issued to my proper advantage, or by my own authority, let him name it.

"Lord Ranelagh.—No, my lord, I cannot say that such warrants were to your own advantage; but I say that the private interest in such things was preferred to the public.

"Duke of Ormonde.—Why then, my lord, since you will not name one of that kind, I will; and that was a warrant to pay your lordship £1000, which was, I am sure, not to my account, but to your own. However, you brought a warrant from his majesty, who did command it, and I gave obedience.

"Lord Ranelagh.—I confess I had £1000, but it was in part of a greater debt due to my father, and all that I had for fifteen years' service.

"Duke of Ormonde.—Sir, I am well content that all these matters be referred to the examination of a committee, and I pray you give your commands to the lord Ranelagh, to put all in writing.

"*Lord Ranelagh.*—I am ready to do so whenever your majesty commands."

His lordship being withdrawn, the lord-keeper said, surely to give obedience to your majesty's commands is no mismanagement, nor ought to be reputed as such. Whereupon it was ordered that lord Ranelagh should give in a state of the fact, and the particulars of the mismanagement for the ten years before his undertaking.

Lord Ranelagh continued to spin out the time in various delays, for several months, but was at length compelled on an application from the duke to bring forth his statement. It was replied to by the duke, in a paper of considerable length, and remarkable clearness and ability.* On a full investigation of both statements before the council, the king declared the duke's statement to be perfectly satisfactory. On this head, it only remains to be added, that on the subsequent examination of lord Ranelagh's own accounts, they were not found so clear from fault, as the result was a decree against him for £76,000, and he was only enabled to escape the consequences by obtaining the king's pardon.

The discussion was in the highest degree serviceable to Ireland, as it placed before the king and council a most plain and perspicuous view of Irish affairs, and enabled them to perceive the selfish intrigues of which that kingdom had been the principal victim, with the comparative merits and demerits of the parties by whom they had been carried on; and lastly, the conspicuous integrity and wisdom of the entire conduct of the duke of Ormonde. This result was soon apparent: in the month of April, 1677, the king who, for a year had avoided speaking to the duke, sent a message that he would come and sup with him. He came accordingly: the entertainment was costly, and the conversation was gay, unrestrained and cordial; but all passed without the slightest allusion to political affairs, until the king was departing, when he signified to the duke his design to employ him again in Ireland, for the government of which he publicly declared him to be the fittest person. Of this indeed every one was fully sensible, insomuch that nothing but the baneful influence of court intrigues and interests had prevented the fact from being sooner recognised. But a court intrigue was now in effect the means of removing the obstruction which had so long withheld the king from doing justice. The duke of York, who hated the duke of Ormonde for his protestant zeal, was now alarmed by an endeavour to obtain the government of Ireland for the duke of Monmouth, whose intrigues to be declared heir to the throne of England might in the event become formidable. To avert this consequence, all other sacrifices of prejudice were slight, and none but a person of the first talent and integrity, whose appointment would satisfy the nation and arrest the expectation of the bastard prince, could be relied upon. Under this sense the duke of York not only withdrew his opposition, but it is thought lent himself warmly to the appointment of one whose character he respected, and in whose stanch and untainted honesty and firmness he had the fullest confidence.

The duke of Ormonde set out for Ireland in the beginning of August. On his way he stopped at Oxford, and was splendidly received and

* This will be found in Carte, II. 454.

entertained by the university, as its chancellor.* He had deferred his arrival until after commencements; as it was feared that he might be pressed to give degrees to many persons of rank in his train, whose pretensions were not acceptable to the university. Though the usual time was past, and the ceremonial of commencements over, many were urgent in soliciting for the honour of a degree; but the duke only created twenty doctors, one of whom was his son, the earl of Arran, and the viscounts Galmoy and Longford, Robert Fitz-Gerald a son of the earl of Kildare, and some other gentlemen of high rank, all being of his own immediate retinue.

The earl of Essex had received permission to consult his own choice, as to the manner of resigning the government; and his conduct was complimentary to his successor. He would in any other case have delivered the regalia to the lords-justices; but as he wrote in his letter of April 28th—"since his majesty hath been pleased to pitch upon a person who had so much experience in all the affairs of this kingdom, and so eminent for his loyalty, this made him stay till his grace should arrive, that he might himself put the sword into his hand:" he not only remained for the duke's arrival, but himself ordered the ceremonies with which he was to be received.

The duke had upon former occasions suffered so much vexation on account of the frauds which had been committed by those who had been entrusted with the revenue departments, that he now made it his special care to endeavour to detect and control all malversations of this description. For this purpose the king's instructions were so framed as to bring all orders concerning grants, money, the releasing or abating of agents on crown debts, under the control of English officers, after being submitted to the investigation of the lord-lieutenant. So that he was no longer liable to be made answerable for mismanagement, neglect or fraud, which he had no power to control. Other arrangements of the like effectual nature, were made to guard against the alienation of any part of the revenue, until the civil and military establishments should first be fully provided for. And by these, and a variety of wise provisions and precautions suggested or adopted by the duke, the army was brought into condition, and the whole establishment rendered efficient and economical.

During the three years which it required to effect these great and beneficial changes, the duke managed to effect many public improvements: he laid the foundation of the military hospital near Kilmalsham, and built Charlesfort to secure the harbour of Kinsale. Every fort in the kingdom was in ruin, and the expenses necessary to put the country into a state of defence, were found, on accurate inspection, to be so far beyond any means at his command, that he considered it advisable to call a parliament. Many evils were to be remedied, and many abuses in the settlements of property to be corrected, to quiet the apprehensions of the public, and repress the progress of an oppressive and exasperating chicanery on the pretence of commissions of inquiry; and the king assented to the duke's wish; but the explosion of that vile conspiracy, known by the name of the popish plot, broke out, and for a time put a stop to every other proceeding.

* Carte, II. 46.

The difficulties into which the duke was thus thrown, were not inconsiderable. The impression produced by the belief of this imposture in Ireland was likely to affect two opposite parties: there were those who would be but too ready to enter with alacrity into any disaffected action; and there were those who would give way to suspicion and terror, and exert the utmost of their influence to carry precaution to the extreme of unjust severity. Against both the duke had to guard: he took effectual means of prevention and restraint, without resorting to any harshness; and by his mild, though firm precautions, completely kept off the dangerous infection of that spurious conspiracy—the most strange compound of insane credulity and infamous perjury that stains the records of history.

In the course of these proceedings, which demand no tedious detail, the duke did not altogether escape from the usual efforts of his enemies to calumniate him, and of violent political parties to influence his conduct, according to their views. He held his course, unmoved by any petty influences or considerations, carrying progressively into effect such measures as tended to strengthen the security and the commercial interests of the country. He held an even balance without giving licence to the Romish persuasion, or lessening the security of the church of England: and so far was this spirit of moderation carried in opposition to the clamour of missionaries of every persuasion, that he was alternately accused on the opposite allegations of being a protestant, or a popish governor; as best suited the design of the opposing party: as he has himself remarked in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell:—“It hath been my fortune, upon several occasions, to be taken by the papists to be their greatest enemy, when it was thought that character would have done me the greatest hurt: and sometimes to be their greatest friend, when that would hurt me:” further on in the same letter, he writes in reference to the rumours of conspiracy against his life, by which it was constantly endeavoured to influence him; “it seems now to be the papists’ turn to endeavour to despatch me; the other non-conformists have had theirs, and may have again, when they shall be inspired from the same place, for different reasons, to attempt the same thing. I know the danger I am and may be in, is a perquisite belonging to the place I am in; and so much envied for being in; but I will not be frightened into a resignation, and will be found alive or dead in it, till the same hand that placed me shall remove me. I know well that I am born with some disadvantages, in relation to the present conjuncture, besides my natural weakness and infirmities; and such as I can no more free myself from, than I can from them. My father lived and died a papist; and only I, by God’s merciful providence, was educated in the true protestant religion, from which I never swerved towards either extreme, not when it was most dangerous to profess it, and most advantageous to quit it. I reflect not upon any who have held another course, but will charitably hope, that though their changes happened to be always on the prosperous side, yet they were made by the force of present conviction. My brothers and sisters, though they were not very many, were very fruitful, and very obstinate (they will call it constant) in their way; their fruitfulness hath spread into a large alliance, and their ob-

stinacy hath made it altogether popish. It would be no small comfort to me, if it had pleased God, it had been otherwise, that I might have enlarged my industry to do them good, and serve them, more effectually to them, and more safely to myself. But as it is, I am taught by nature, and also by instruction, that difference in opinion concerning matters of religion, dissolves not the obligations of nature; and in conformity to this principle, I own not only that I have done, but that I will do my relations of that or any other persuasion all the good I can. But I profess at the same time, that if I find any of them who are nearest to me acting or conspiring rebellion, or plotting against the government and the religion established amongst us, I will endeavour to bring them to punishment sooner than the remotest stranger to my blood. I know professions of this kind are easily made, and therefore sometimes little credited; but I claim some belief from my known practice, having been so unfortunate as to have had my kinsmen in rebellion; and so fortunate as to see some of them when I commanded in chief. Those that remain have, I hope, changed their principles, as to rebellion; if they have not, I am sure they shall not find I have changed mine."

At this period lord Shaftesbury, who was among the most violent and dangerous enemies of the duke of Ormonde, suddenly changed his party, and with them, in some measure, his grounds of hostility. For a time he was engaged in the interests of the court, and exerted his whole talent and zeal for the establishment of arbitrary power, and the unconstitutional extension of the prerogative. While thus engaged, it was his aim, as it had been that of the most licentious and unsteady, but not more unprincipled Buckingham, to unseat the duke of Ormonde, from the mere desire to obtain the lieutenancy of Ireland and his place in the court: and being himself without any religion, he made it his business to represent the duke as the enemy of toleration, and as the persecutor of the Romish church. But the king having made concessions to the Commons, which impressed him with a conviction that the line of policy he had pursued must not only fail, but eventually lead to consequences dangerous to those by whom it had been promoted and pursued, Shaftesbury at once changed sides, and with a versatility at which no one was surprised, for his character was thoroughly known, adopted the opinions and embraced the courses to which he had been most diametrically opposed: he gave most unconcernedly the lie to his whole life, in such a manner as would stamp his memory with disgrace, were it not in some measure rescued by the lax morality among the statesmen of every age. By the change he was transferred into better company, and engaged in a course more honourable and beneficial in its ends, though his motives continued as base, and the means he pursued neither more honest nor more wise. He remained as much the enemy of the duke of Ormonde as before: and as he had from the court side, endeavoured to stigmatize him as the enemy of the papists, from that of the country party he accused him of being their friend. By his violence, his daring courses, and unscrupulous assertions, he gained upon the fiery zeal and the party prejudice of the people and the house, and gained an ascendant which made him dangerous to his personal opponents, and formidable to the court. Considering the duke of Ormonde

as a main obstacle to the great design of promoting an insurrection in Ireland, he strained every nerve not only to raise a strong party against him, but to collect sufficient complaints to form articles of impeachment. He made a speech in the lords' house, in which he cast out several insinuations to the effect that the duke of Ormonde was in favour of the papists, than which no charge could at the moment be more injurious. He was replied to by lord Ossory, in a speech which attracted great celebrity, and was compelled to retract his base and unwarranted calumnies.

The duke, on learning of these movements among his enemies, pressed strongly for leave to return to England. "I am now," he writes to the secretary, "come to an age so fit for retirement, that I would be content to purchase it at any rate but that of dishonour or prejudice to my fortune and family." But the king was about to dissolve the parliament, and saw no reason why the duke should leave Ireland at a moment so critical. The earl of Arlington having mentioned to him the report that the duke was to be removed, he told him, "it was a damned lie, and that he was satisfied while he was there, that the kingdom was safe." He added that "the new ministry were for jostling out his old faithful servants, and that while the duke of Ormonde lived, he should never be put out of that government."

The object of Shaftesbury and his portion, with regard to Ireland, was mainly to contrive an insurrection; and for this purpose they set on foot every spring of action they could grasp. They were unprincipled men, who had mainly their own private interests at heart; but it would be unfair to confound a small cabal of political adventurers with the large and respectable body by whom they were supported; like the leaders of every party in every age, whose views are their own, but their strength is the public feeling, which they are compelled to serve and not unwilling to betray, if treachery will serve their ends better than good faith. Justice is due to the party, however we may estimate the partisan. The duke of York's religion at the time was the subject of great anxiety to the English public. Nor was it less the subject of apprehension to all those who were attached to the royal family. Should the duke succeed to the throne, the worst consequences were generally apprehended to the church and protestant interests of the kingdom: with more justice it was to be apprehended, that disaffection and revolutionary action would be likely to set in, to an extent dangerous to the throne. The duke alone, infatuated, rash, bigoted, and without judgment, unconscious of the real dangers by which he was surrounded, only thought to avail himself of a favourable juncture to increase the power of the crown, and to prepare the way for the greater changes of which he contemplated the execution. This feeble and narrow-minded prince did not despair of effecting a revolution in favour of his own church; and, availing him of the increasing indolence of the king, whose chief concern was the lethargic luxury of the sensual stye, to which he had converted the British court, he became alert and busy in the management of public affairs. The consequence was a strong underworking of a most dangerous reaction, to the increase and diffusion of which even those recent plots and exposures which appeared to give an advantage to the court party in reality contributed. Though

the suspicion of popish plots had been made ridiculous, and persecution hateful, and though a surface feeling of loyalty had been excited, yet the real feelings of the British public had been measured and weighed; the public attention had been excited by questions dangerous in principle and tendency; and it was made apparent to the clear-eyed and sagacious whose position enabled them to see what was working up in the councils of every party, that there must shortly be a trial of strength unfavourable to the court, perhaps fatal to the crown, still more probably to the reigning prince. Of this party, the unprincipled Shaftesbury was now the ostensible leader. However respectable was the party to which he owed his strength, the means which he adopted were worthy of himself: to produce confusion in Ireland, all the most flagitious expedients, suborned informations, pretended plots and insidious suggestions were resorted to for the purpose of compelling the duke of Ormonde to quit his impartial and all-protecting and governing policy, and to adopt that same fatal train of oppressive measures, by which Parsons and his colleagues brought on the worst consequences of the great rebellion in Ireland. And when these efforts failed to hurry the duke of Ormonde a step out of the line of moderation, humanity, and justice, in which he governed both parties without deferring to the fears or prejudices of either; a new course was adopted, and a successive train of manœuvres was put in practice, for the twofold purpose of carrying the plans of the faction which now headed the country party into effect without the duke of Ormonde's consent; and eventually forcing him to resign. With this view they proposed to remodel the privy council in Ireland, so as thus to secure such nominations as should effectually place the administration of that country in their own hands. This the king refused to permit. They then procured evidences of a plot, which went no farther than the oppression of some individuals, and shall be noticed hereafter, so far as its importance merits.

The death of the gallant earl of Ossory taking place during these annoyances, was a deep affliction, as well as a heavy prejudice to the duke. His spirit and eloquence had much contributed to repress the personal direction of their hostilities, and his death now gave an impulse to their virulence. In about three weeks after, they began to make interest for his removal, and held a consultation upon the fittest person to succeed him: there was a warm contention between the lords Essex and Halifax, which divided the party, which, however, at last agreed in favour of Essex. But this cabal had no immediate result: the king was for the moment determined to support the duke against a faction which he considered hostile to the throne. Their premature violence soon involved themselves in danger, and gave a triumph to the court. The earl of Shaftesbury began to boast openly of his expectations of a triumph over the court, and made use of unguarded expressions against the duke of York, of whom, among other things, he said "he would make him as great a vagabond on the earth as Cain." The king's party meanwhile were not wanting to themselves in a contest of deception and fraud: there was no resource too unworthy for their honour, or too base for their dignity. As Shaftesbury had fabricated a popish conspiracy, so the wisdom of the royal councils brought forth a protestant plot. It is not indeed easy to imagine a more unsafe

experiment, at a moment when protestant England was labouring from shore to shore with silent and suppressed indignation and apprehension. But it served an immediate end: Shaftesbury was accused and sent to the Tower, and his papers seized. A strong contest of subornation prepared the way for his trial; but, notwithstanding the efforts of the court, and the rashness of his language and conduct, nothing could be proved against him on sufficient evidence: there was an unsigned paper containing a plan for the government of the kingdom, by which the king was to become entirely governed by the councils of Lord Shaftesbury, but it was not sufficiently authenticated to satisfy a jury which was selected by the sheriffs, who were in favour of the accused. He was tried upon suborned information, and acquitted by a packed jury, yet the publication of the trial impressed the public mind with a strong sense of his guilt, and of the reality of the conspiracy, and contributed very much to the triumph of the king's party.

In the mean time, the ferment which had been raised by the machinations of Shaftesbury's faction in Ireland subsided, as their influence declined: and the duke was desired to come over to England for a short time. He appointed lord Arran his deputy, and left Dublin about the middle of April, 1682. He was received in London with enthusiasm, being met by so many persons of distinction, that "no spectator could have imagined that the king and court were absent: he was attended in this entry by twenty-seven coaches with six horses, and three hundred gentlemen on horseback, with five of the king's trumpets, &c."*

In November the same year, the duke was advanced to the rank of duke in the English peerage,† by king Charles, on the express ground of having preserved tranquillity in Ireland, during the ferment caused by the popish plot. On this occasion, a question arose, whether the duke could retain the title of Ormonde, which he was reluctant to give up, there being in England no territory bearing that name. It was, however, decided by Sir William Dugdale, that as titles were no longer territorial, a peer might be designated as he pleased.

The marriage of his grandson, the young earl of Ossory, took place at this time. Several matches had been proposed, and were on different grounds rejected by the duke. But the duke of York proposed a match for the young earl with Miss Hyde, daughter of the earl of Rochester, to which all parties gave a ready assent, and the young couple were married.

The principal reason for sending for the duke is so interwoven with a multiplicity of small details of the perplexed manœuvres of party which have exclusive reference to English history, that we cannot here enter upon them in such a manner as would be satisfactory to the reader, who, if curious, will find a great deal of minute detail in Burnet and other contemporary writers. The violence of the party-contest had overblown, and the court was allowed to pursue its intrigues in comparative quiet; but within its bosom there were too many anxious oppositions of feeling and interest for quiet. The king's ministers kept him on the stretch by their contentions; and it was perhaps felt that the anxious and dangerous question about the succession, though it might be suppressed, was yet too deeply bound up with seri-

* Carte, II. 519.

† Note in Southwell's Life of Ormonde.

ous and awakening emergencies and difficulties, to be set at rest for more than a short interval. The very triumphs which had been attained, were such as to ascertain the true state of national feeling in every part of the kingdom, to all who considered the probabilities in the case of the king's death. The king's entire want of principle would, during his life, prevent the collision that was to be sooner or later expected. Free from obstinacy, as he was devoid of all fixed principle, he could, when perils appeared to menace his conduct, unblushingly retrace his steps: content if in the strife he could secure the means to pursue his pleasures and satisfy the rapacity of his mistresses. The duke was ascertained to be a tyrant, devoid of all the restraints of equity or humanity, resolute in his opinions, and, as his conduct in Scotland had shown, fully capable of adopting the utmost stretches of despotism, to maintain their authority. With these elements of disorder, fermenting in its recesses, the court was agitated with internal apprehensions and divisions, the result of which was that while all breathed the sentiments of devotion to the king, and of subjection to the more decided will of the duke, there was a strong sense of insecurity felt by both: and their whole conduct exhibits the fact that, with the exception of the small and not very efficient party who were known to participate in their secret designs, there was no one upon whom they could implicitly rely. Under such doubtful circumstances, a nobleman whom all honest men had ever respected, and who was known alike for his integrity and loyalty, was naturally looked to as one who might be a trust-worthy sentinel in an hour of concealed danger: and the duke of Ormonde, avoided and shrunk from in the time of strength and safety, was now as ever, sought when the ground was uncertain and unsafe. The circumstances are such as, from their nature, cannot have found their way into the historic page; but we should infer, from the king's naturally shrewd and sagacious character, with his growing love of security and ease, taken with the excessively violent demonstrations shown by the duke, to secure his own succession at this time that the king did not feel himself either as safe or as free as he would have desired. It is as apparent that the duke must have felt that there was great danger of his being set aside by a slight turn of that secret contest of intrigue, which is known to have been carried on. While the king would, under such feelings, rely on the old and tried good faith of Ormonde to himself, the duke would with equal confidence look to him as one who could not be warped into disloyalty.

We are more particularly desirous to impress these suggestions, because a modern historian of such respectability as Leland, appears to consider his conduct at this time as less creditable to Ormonde. We are far from considering it as matter for eulogy, but we see in it nothing to detract from his reputation. One of the errors of that period of our history—an error never dissipated till the revolution, was that of considering loyalty as a paramount duty, as sacred as a knight's honour or a lady's chastity. The duke had been not only trained in this principle, and maintained it at the expense of fortune and the risk of life, but he had been most particularly exercised in it in times of great trial, in the adversity of a prince for whom he had made every sacrifice. There were, it is true, before him, and even then, those who

acted according to a juster principle; but of these the former really acted from factious motives: and as to the latter, they belonged to a later generation; their knowledge was a fruit of experience. The duke was an aged man, and acted upon the principles of his life: he did not anticipate any disastrous consequences to the church, but he saw the danger which menaced the succession, and, as on former occasions, he thought it right first to secure the interests of the crown. He knew well the real strength of protestantism in England, and had no fear for it. He only saw the approach of a dangerous revolution and could not conjecture those fortunate results which are now the cant of school-boy declamations. To this must be added, that Leland, whose usual candour does not fail him even when he is unjust, acquits the duke of Ormonde of all participation or privity in the real and final designs of the king and duke of York: and of this the proof is indeed full and conclusive. Under such circumstances, though now in the last stage of his declining years, he exerted his mind and body to support, and at the same time moderate the councils of Charles, and guided him through more perplexity and difficulty than can be fully known, unless from the fact that the king kept him in close attendance, and would move in nothing without his counsel. The discovery of a plot to assassinate the king on his way from Newmarket to London, led to measures of great but necessary harshness: in these the duke had no part, but they add to the unpopularity of this period and reign, and seem to cast a reflection on all its actors; but, however profligate the court, and however unprincipled and dangerous to civil liberty were its designs, conspirators and assassins merit the penalty of the law. The discovery of the Ryehouse plot completed the triumph of the court: but the struggle of private intrigues did not cease until the king's death, which there is abundant reason to believe was the eventual result of their intrigues.

In February, 1683, during his residence in England, the duke had a violent and dangerous attack of fever, which his physicians pronounced to be dangerous, but from which he recovered; he was consequently in a weak condition for a long time. He was beginning to enjoy his usual vigour and spirits, when he received the disagreeable intelligence that the castle of Dublin had taken fire, and that some of his family had been in danger. The fire was considered to have proceeded from a beam which passed beneath one of the fire-places; this having taken fire, communicated it to the entire building. The accident is still one of frequent occurrence in old houses, and it is probable that the fire was slowly collecting force for several days under the floor during the gradual ignition of the beam. The danger was increased by the vicinity of a powder magazine; and as the means of suppressing conflagration were then far more ineffectual than now, the consternation was very great. The earl of Arran was the first who discovered this accident, and it is attributed to his great exertion, presence of mind, and skill, that it was overcome. The principal means to which he had recourse seem to have been by gunpowder, with which he arrested the communication of the flames, by blowing up the walls wherever they were advancing. The duke's loss was very great; but the circumstance led to the re-edification of the castle on a more commodious plan.

It was now, at the end of two years of continued absence, considered

necessary for the duke to return to his government. Useful as his counsels had been to the king, there was a limit to their utility; zealous as he was to guard the prerogative, and still to resist all plans likely to endanger the succession, there was a further aim in all the proceedings of the duke of York, which made it impossible to repose a whole confidence in the duke of Ormonde. As the intrigues concerning the succession became more deep, it became evident to the heir apparent that he might be compelled to have recourse to steps which would be rendered difficult, by the presence of one so firm and sagacious as the duke of Ormonde. And as it was the design of the infatuated prince to pursue that very course of measures which eventually led to his deposition, he was, to the utmost extent which the discretion of the king and the wisdom of Ormonde would countenance, already endeavouring to pave the way for his objects. As he advanced, or considered it expedient to advance, to farther lengths, it became absolutely essential to get rid of the duke of Ormonde. The king's affairs therefore being in a prosperous state, and the duke's requiring his absence rather than his presence, the duke of Ormonde was sent back to Ireland. It was on this occasion that he composed the following prayer after his arrival:—

August 31st, 1684.

“O thou who art a most righteous judge—who neither despisest the meanest for their poverty nor acceptest the most powerful for their power—make me always to remember and seriously to consider, that as all those outward privileges I enjoy among men are by thee bestowed upon me out of thy goodness, so none of them can exempt me from thy justice, but that I shall one day be brought to answer for all I have done in the flesh, and in particular for the use or misuse I have made of those peculiar advantages whereby it hath pleased thee to distinguish me from others; more especially in the neglect of those means and opportunities thou hast put into my hands, either to perform my duty to thee my God, or else my king, my country, my family, my relations, and neighbours; or even to the whole people who have been committed to my care and subjected to my authority. O let the remembrance and continual thought of this and of thy favours now at length awaken me, to a cheerful and careful employing of all I have received from thee to those ends for which they were given by thee. Lord grant that the experience, and that measure of knowledge thou hast endowed me with, may have such an efficacy on my practice that they may help to advance salvation, and aggravate sins or guilt to my condemnation. I confess, O Lord, I have often been more elevated, and taken more pride in the splendour of the station thou hast placed me in, than in considering that it came from thy bounty and providence. I have often been less careful than I ought to discharge the trust committed to me with that diligence and circumspection and conscientiousness which the weight and importance of such a trust required. Nay, on the contrary, I have been vain, slothful, and careless; vain of my slender performances, slothful in not employing my talent to discover and execute justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, to the maintenance of virtue and religion, and to the relieving and delivering the poor, the innocent, and the oppressed. Nay, so

careless have I been of my own carriage and conduct, that by my ill example, and in compliance with a corrupt and intemperate life, I have drawn others into vanity, sinfulness, and guilt. Lord, of thy infinite mercy pardon these provoking sins of mine; and pardon the sins of those I have been the means of drawing into sin by my example, or for want of that advice, admonishment, or caution which it was in my power, as it was in my duty, to have administered. And, Lord, out of the same infinite mercy grant that for the time to come I may in some measure redeem the errors and failings of my past life, and of all these crying sins; and this not only by a hearty and prevailing repentance and a careful circumspection over all my ways and actions hereafter, but by a diligent attendance on thy service, and by a vigilant administration of the power and trust which is committed unto me. 'Tis hereby alone that I shall be enabled to render a good account of my stewardship and become capable of thy mercy, through the merits and mediation of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ."

Among the questions connected with this period of his history, the principal was relative to the calling a parliament in Ireland. Several reasons rendered this an expedient step, but it was opposed in council by the duke of York, on very insufficient objections, but really on the ground that two several bills had been transmitted against the Roman catholics. Those bills were however unjust and inexpedient, and framed during the ferment of the popish plot, by the parliamentary faction for the purpose of exasperating the Irish. The pretence was the popish plot, and the purpose to turn the popish lords out of the Irish parliament, and to inflict death upon a certain class of their clergy.

The year 1684 was rendered melancholy to the duke by the death of the duchess, with whom he had lived in the greatest affection for the period of fifty-four years. She had for some time been in a declining condition, and her death had been expected on the previous autumn. On that occasion she went to Bath on the pretext of taking the waters, but really to save the duke from the aggravated shock which she thought her death would communicate if it were to occur in his presence. She however recovered then, to the general surprise, but was again taken ill, and died in July, 1684, in the sixty-ninth year of her age. As the short memoir with which Carte alone accompanies his mention of her death is, for many reasons, interesting, we shall here extract some passages for the reader. "The duchess of Ormonde was a tall, straight, well made woman, finely formed, but not a beauty. She was a person of very good sense, great goodness, and of a noble undaunted spirit, fit to struggle with the difficulties of the world, and perfectly qualified to pass through the great vicissitudes of fortune which attended her in the course of her life. She had an excellent capacity, which made her mistress of everything to which she applied her mind; and her judgment of the affairs of the world, and of the nature and consequences of things, was admirable. She understood all sorts of business, in which it came in her way to be concerned, perfectly well, and wrote upon them with clearness of expression and strength of comprehension. Not a superfluous or improper word appearing in her longest letters, closely written, and filling a whole sheet of paper. The earl of Holland, whose ward she was, had taken very

little care of her education, and had not so much as made her be taught to write, but she learned it of herself, by copying after print ; for which reason she never joined her letters together.

The duchess was highly in the favour and esteem of queen Catherine, who, in the year 1682, made her a very extraordinary present of a collar, made up of her own and the king's pictures, and, in the middle between them, three large and fine diamonds, valued at £2500. The pictures were the same that had been sent and exchanged mutually by their majesties before their marriage. The duke, after his grandson's marriage with the lady Mary Somerset, made a present of this collar to that lady, who kept it till her husband's estate was seized after the revolution, at the time of king James's being in Ireland, when she consented to sell it for their subsistence. The duchess of Ormonde was the first person that, upon the duke of York's marriage with the daughter of the earl of Clarendon being declared, waited upon the duchess, and kneeling down, kissed her hand. But she was very stiff with regard to the king's mistresses; and would never wait on the duchess of Cleveland, who in return never forgave that slight. She observed the same conduct towards the duchess of Portsmouth, though this lady always showed and expressed the greatest regard for her, as well as to the duke of Ormonde, and came frequently to visit her grace. She was still more strict on this point with regard to her grand-daughters, whom she seemed to instruct, not so much as to admit of visits from ladies of such a character. Thus, one day in 1682, when she was in a house that the duke had taken near the court, which was then at Windsor, the duchess of Portsmouth sent word she would come and dine with her. This notice was no sooner received than her grace of Ormonde sent away her grand-daughters, the lady Anne Stanhope, afterwards countess of Strathmore, the lady Emilia Butler, and her sister, to London for that day, to be out of the way, so that there was nobody at table but the two duchesses and the present bishop of Worcester, who was then domestic chaplain to the duke of Ormonde. Such was the decorum of conduct observed in those days, when there was licentiousness enough at court, by ladies of merit who valued their character and best understood their own dignity, as well as what was due in good manners to others. It is the duty of everybody to discountenance habitual and presumptuous vice; a duty which none but those who secretly approve it, or are mean enough, for sordid and unworthy ends, to court the subject of it when clothed with power, find any reluctance to discharge. There is certainly a measure of civility to be paid to everybody, without regard to their moral conduct; but friendship, acquaintance, intercourse, and respect, are only due to virtue; and, in ordinary cases, are seldom given but to persons that are liked.

If the Duchess of Ormonde had any fault, it was the height of her spirit, which put her upon doing everything in a noble and magnificent manner, without any regard to the expense. When the king sent the duke word, as has been formerly mentioned, that he would come to sup with him, she resolved to provide a fine entertainment. She consulted about it with Mr. James Clarke, a person of good sense, very careful, and of great goodness and probity, who, as steward, had

the ordering of everything within the house, and was a generous man in his nature—loved to do things handsomely, and understood it well, but was still for taking care of the main chance. He thought several things might be spared which her grace proposed; but she insisting on her own purpose, told him, “she had a very good opinion of him, and thought he understood every thing within his own sphere, but, says she, you must have the same opinion of me, and allow me likewise to understand what is fittest for me in my own sphere.” That supper cost £2000, an expense she did not value on this, and was apt to run into on other occasions where it seemed proper to show magnificence. The duke knowing her inclination, never interfered in such cases, though he felt the inconvenience thereof, and his debts were thereby much increased. When she set about building Dunmore, intending to make it her residence in case she should survive the duke, for she said Kilkenny castle ought always to belong to the head of the family, she laid out vast sums of money in that building. Cary Dillon, walking with his grace and others on the leads of that castle, from whence there is a fine view of the country about, and particularly of the house and park of Dunmore, made a pun upon that place, saying to the duke of Ormonde, “Your grace has done much here, pointing to Kilkenny, but yonder you have *Done more*.” “Alas, Cary!” replied the duke, “it is incredible what that has cost; but my wife has done so much to that house, that she has almost undone me.”

The affliction of this loss determined the duke’s resolution to retire from public life. “It was in August after,” writes Southwell, “that I met his grace at Aylesbury on his way for Ireland, where, deploring the loss of his excellent consort and long companion, he said, that business which was otherwise grown irksome to him, was now his best remedy for the whole day; but at night when he was left alone to think of his loss, the time was very grievous unto him.” Under the impression of the desolate feeling here described to his friend, the duke formed the intention to give one year to active business before his retirement from public life. His determinations of retirement were, however, anticipated by the projects of the court. The duke of York began to see that, in the struggle for the ascendancy of his religion, he would find it necessary to commence with Ireland, where his church was unquestionably strong, and where an aspect of right would be imparted to changes which he was bent on carrying independent of such a consideration. Such was the actual ground of his recall; but the supposed prettexts were then, perhaps, various: his enemies began to plot against him from the very moment of his departure; and the duke himself, we think, not being fully aware of the secret machinery that was at work, attributed this change to the machinations of Talbot and others. A scheme was formed by which, under the pretence of a commission of grace, a narrow inspection of titles was intended to be instituted, with a view to deprive protestants of their possessions. To such a measure the firm opposition of the duke of Ormonde would be necessarily anticipated. The duke of York had also represented to the king the expediency of altering the constitution of the Irish army; he advised him

to get rid of the party of factious and fanatical republicans, which then constituted its strength, under the general name of protestants, and to replace them by the Roman catholics, who, notwithstanding all they had suffered, were still devoted to his family. These particulars do not require explanation; the removal of the Duke of Ormonde was an obvious preliminary to such measures, and he received an intimation of this by a letter from the king, written in a kind and courteous tone, with many assurances of respect and friendship, which had all the sincerity of which the writer was capable.

The king did not long survive this event. The suspicions of his having been poisoned were very strong, and certainly appear not unwarranted by a few details as mentioned by Burnet.*

The Duke of Ormonde's last act in Ireland was the proclamation of King James, by whom the order for his recall was instantly renewed, with circumstances of slight, which seemed to have been the result of the new king's first impulses, eager as he was to remove all opponents from the way of his designs. He was afterwards as respectful to the duke as might have been expected from a prince of his character and policy. On the occasion of the return we find some interesting recollections in the narrative of his friend:—"I went," writes Southwell, "to meet his grace at Northampton, and found him a little perplexed; he had left the earl of Ossory sick of the small-pox at the earl of Derby's at Knowsley, the young lord having taken ill at sea. Now also came news to him of the death of two of the earl of Arran's children. He met also in a newspaper on the road the first tidings that his regiment of horse was given away; and other points there were of no great satisfaction to him. However, when the next day I entertained him for some hours on the subject of the lady Mary Somerset, his grace fell into a new air of contentment. He was met on the road by more coaches from London than I had seen before; and at coming to his house in St James's square, the people in a mighty throng received him with acclamations. This was the last of March, 1685."†

It was at this time the duke's intention to pass the few remaining years of his life in retired study, and in preparation for that call which he knew could not, at his age and with his infirmities, be long deferred. In addition to the death of the duchess, and that of his son, the noble and high spirited Ossory, he had, in the beginning of 1686, to lament the death of his second son, the earl of Arran, a brave soldier, and highly distinguished in several military and naval services, but excessively addicted to dissipation.

In February the duke retired to Combury, a seat in Oxfordshire, lent to him by the earl of Clarendon, who was then in Ireland. In August, the same year, he attended the king on a progress, but found his strength unequal to the travelling, and quitting the royal party, made his way to London. In December, he joined with Dr Burnet and others in making a stand against one of the first attempts of king James, to exercise a power of dispensing with the laws which required the oaths of supremacy and allegiance on the admission of pensioners

* History of his own Time, I. 337. † Southwell's Life of Ormonde.

to the Charterhouse. The occasion is not, in itself, of any historical importance. The act excited the king's indignation; and this was farther increased by the duke's refusal to consent to the abolition of the penal laws and test, an object which the king pursued with great and increasing violence, until it was the means of losing his crown. With the duke he was, however, not disposed to have recourse to the same extremities which he adopted towards others who set themselves against his will. He said that, "as his grace had distinguished himself from others, by his long and faithful services to the crown, so he would distinguish him from others by his indulgence."* Among the weaknesses of the king, one was the hope of converting his nobles, and leading men to his own religion. The history of these efforts is indeed curious and instructive; they had no other effect than to call up Stillingfleet, and a host of eminent theologians, and the public mind was soon farther than ever from the opinions of the king. Several controversial meetings took place, some in the royal presence, of which the result was not altogether satisfactory. The earl of Rochester was considered an easy subject, and the king intimated to him that he only desired him to confer with the court chaplains upon the subject. The earl consented, but said that it should be in the presence of some divines of the English church. The king agreed, but objected to Tillotson or Stillingfleet; the earl said he would be contented with the chaplains of the court establishment, who though protestant were yet retained according to the ancient usages, which the king had not yet advanced so far as to set aside. The parties met according to this arrangement, and the king's chaplains gave their reasons, on hearing which the earl said, that if they had none better, he would not trouble the other gentlemen to reply, as he could answer so far himself; which accordingly he did.†

The duke of Ormonde was soon assailed in a similar manner. Peter Walsh who had, in an intercourse of forty years, never before addressed him on the subject, and Lord Arundel, made a formal attempt, for which he prepared himself. Both were foiled. Carte gives the substance of his conversation with Walsh: "The good father confessed to his grace that there were abundance of abuses in their church, yet still it was safest to die therein; and showed that an open renunciation or abjuration was not required from any who were reconciled, except ecclesiastics; and that if a man did but embrace that faith in his heart it was enough. The duke, among other things, replied, that though he had great charity for such as had been brought up in that religion, and wanted the opportunities of knowing those errors which were confessed, and he might have hoped well of his latter end if he had been thus bred and thus invincibly ignorant, yet, since he knew their errors, he could never embrace what he saw cause to condemn; and wondered, if the condition wherein he was appeared to be so dangerous to him, why so good a friend did not admonish him sooner thereof. Peter soon saw there was no good to be done, and did not venture a second attempt. This religious had always been very cordial and sincere in his professions and zeal for the duke's service; and his grace having the

* Carte.

† Burnet.

post of seneschal or steward to the bishop of Winchester, (it being usually given in ancient times to some of the most powerful of the nobility, who were thereby engaged in the protection of that see,) by a patent from Bishop Morley, with the fee of £100 a-year, had settled it upon him for subsistence. This was all Peter Walsh had to live on; he received it duly, and had it till his death, which happened a little before the duke of Ormonde's."

In the beginning of 1688, the duke had formed the intention of accompanying the king on a progress, but found himself disabled by the weakness which followed an attack of gout. He applied in spring for leave to retire to a greater distance from the town, and waive his attendance at court; and took a place at Dorsetshire, where he hoped to be benefited by the goodness of the air. To this place he removed from Badminton with considerable fatigue, as his lameness was so great that he could not move without assistance. In March he had a violent attack of fever, and recovered with difficulty, after which he made his will. In May he had however so far recovered, as to be enabled, with some assistance, to walk in the garden. He received a visit this spring from Sir Robert Southwell, his steady and faithful friend, who had, for the two years previous, been engaged in drawing up a history of his life, and now remained with him for some weeks. Among the many conversations which occurred on this occasion, there is a passage preserved by Carte, we presume, on the authority of Southwell's narrative, which is worth noticing as an illustration of the even and tempered politics of the duke, who evidently was equally uninfected by the factious prejudices of either of the two violent parties, between which he had held the scale of impartial justice through so long a period of public service. Talking of the precipitate measures of king James to his friend, "he lamented that his majesty should be advised to put such questions, as was then too generally practised, to men of undoubted loyalty. That, for his own part, he had been ever zealous, not only to serve the crown, but even to please his prince; that he did, in truth, think the popish lords had been treated with great hardship and injustice when deprived of sitting in the house, which was their undoubted right and inheritance, but the danger of dispensing with the penal laws was now become so visible, that he did not see how any man could, in good conscience, be absent from the house whenever that came to be the question."

But the end of the duke's long and useful life was approaching. On Friday, 22d., he was taken ill with an aguish attack: and though by the extraordinary vitality of his constitution he threw it off, it was perceptible that his strength was near exhausted, and that he could not be expected to last much longer, though he was enabled to take the air daily in his coach. The bishop of Worcester came and remained with him for a month; but the duke began to feel so much better that he thought he might hold out for some months longer, and the bishop went away: he promised to return, and the duke said he would send for him in time, when he felt the approach of death. He continued to go out for a few days. On Wednesday, July 16th, he went out in the coach with lady Ossory, but returned ill: yet for the two following days he was so much better as to stir about the house a little. On Friday,

he was attacked by a violent stitch in the side, which gave way to the treatment applied. He was visited by Mr Clerk on Saturday, and observed to him, "this day four years was a very melancholy day to me:" Mr Clerk did not at first understand him, until he added, "it was the most melancholy I ever passed in my life: it was the day I lost my dear wife." Mr Clerk then thought his grace worse than he had yet been. The duke desired him to write to Sir R. Southwell to come over.

The duke was amused by his little grandson, whom he had constantly with him, though not more than two years old at the time. He frequently asked the hour, and desired his chaplain, Mr Hartstrong, (afterward bishop of Derry,) to prepare to administer the sacrament to him by ten next morning, naming those whom he wished to receive it with him. In the afternoon he got out of bed to join as usual in the family prayers, and read the responses with his usual clearness, but it was observed by those around him that he was evidently striving with pain. He continued sitting up till three o'clock, which was the hour of afternoon prayers, in which he joined as usual. He conversed a good deal, but showed starts of pain. He desired Mr Clerk to secure some papers which lay in the window, for Sir R. Southwell, who, he said, could not arrive in time. He was desirous to return to bed, but Mr Clerk remarked to him that he was going faster than he thought, and that it would be better not to wait till morning for the sacrament; the duke assented, and it was accordingly administered without delay, with the young earl of Ossory, who arrived a few days before, and all the servants of his household.

His grace then addressed his servants, and told them, that in recommending them all to the friendship and protection of the earl of Ossory, he had done all in his power to requite their faithful services, as he had been all his life in debt, and now died so. He then dismissed them, and feeling greatly exhausted, desired to be laid on his bed. This was done by his gentleman of the chamber and another: they were laying him on his back, and he requested them to turn him on his side; while this was doing, his hand was observed to fall deadly, and on examining they found that he had breathed his last in the interval.

His mind had been clear to the very last; he had frequently expressed a wish that he "might not outlive his intellectuals." He was by his own desire buried in Westminster Abbey, next to his duchess and his two sons, on August 4th, 1688; the funeral service being read by Dr Spratt, bishop of Rochester: he would have completed his 78th year in a few days.

The duke was something above the middle size, of a fair complexion, and a countenance remarkable for its grave and dignified expression, combined with an air of frankness and modesty. He dressed in the fashion of the court, but with a freedom from finery or affectation. His living was hospitable, but in his own person plain and abstemious. His life was free from vice, and his religious observance exemplary from youth to extreme old age: a fact more honourably characteristic than may be fully allowed for by every reader, until his recollection is called to the truth of common experience as well as of divine declaration, how little consistent with each other are the ways of piety and of the world,

in which latter his grace was by the necessities of his position, and of the times in which he lived a prominent actor. Neither the pomps and vanities, nor the anxious and engrossing cares, nor the temptations of acquisition and station, nor the applause and censure of multitudes, nor even the most long-sighted wisdom of camps, cabinets, and senates, are favourable to the attainment of that spiritual condition which is needful to the interests of that future state at present faintly apprehended, and therefore little the object of earnest concern, save to the few to whom they have been *realized* by faith, and the teaching of a better spirit than the statesman's heart ordinarily knows. The political partisan and the leader of state-parties may often indeed manifest a deep zeal for the maintenance of a church; but it will, on closer inspection, be ever soon observed, that such zeal has not necessarily any connexion with religion. A church may be regarded simply as a corporate institution, available for the various uses of human policy and constitutional arrangement; and thus viewed, may be the object of a competition, and an excitement of passions as violent and as inconsistent with christian spirit, as if it were a borough or a commercial charter. To exemplify this in the affairs of the present time would be most especially easy, though perhaps too invidious for a popular work. We shall not, however, be called partial, if we tell the reader, whatever may be his persuasion, to cast but a glance on which side soever he pleases, on the two prominent ecclesiastical parties of the hour, to be convinced of the entirely secular nature of the actuating principles on either side. A fact easily borne out in detail, whether we view the demonstrations of the parties, or the character of the individuals who are the leading actors in the strife. This is not the place to follow out this interesting position with the analytical detail by which it could easily be placed in a startling clearness of evidence: for our purpose it is enough that the duke of Ormonde was a most illustrious exception. And we must add, that the fact affords an easy solution of much of his high and noble career, which the moral ignorance of some of our esteemed contemporaries have laboured in vain, to reconcile with their own ideas of human motives, by the most ingenious and far-fetched imputations of design, unwarranted by any known action of his life, and broadly inconsistent with all. The duke was remarkable for his alert and indefatigable attention to business, his early hours, and strict economy of time. His affection to the duchess and all his children was a trait of his disposition, not less discernible throughout his life.

The duke's letters and state papers are to a great extent preserved, and form a large volume: they manifest in abundance all the higher qualities of the statesman—the man, and the christian. Of all these qualities we have already offered occasional evidence in the extracts we have selected from the duke's correspondence and other papers; we shall here add two more, which, on reflection, we think should not be omitted, though from the progress of the work, we have inadvertently allowed the occasion to pass. The following is, we think, a favourable specimen of the style and language of his grace's period, as also worthy of notice for its more substantial merits:

In the beginning of the reign of Charles II., the enemies of Ireland and of the duke endeavoured to obtain the nomination of English-

men to the vacant bishoprics in this country. The duke's remonstrance contains this just and eloquent passage:—"It is fit that it be remembered that near the city of Dublin there is a university of the foundation of queen Elizabeth, principally intended for the education and advantage of the natives of this kingdom, which hath produced men very eminent for learning and piety, and those of this nation: and such there are now in this church; so, that while there are so, the passing them by is not only in some measure a violation of the original intent and institutions, but a great discouragement to the natives, from making themselves capable and fit for preferments in the church: whereunto, (if they have equal parts,) they are better able to do service than strangers; their knowledge of the country and their relations in it giving them the advantage. The promotion too of fitting persons already dignified or beneficed, will make more room for, and consequently encourage young men, students in this university; which room will be lost, and the inferior clergy much disheartened, if upon the vacancy of bishoprics persons unknown to the kingdom and university shall be sent to fill them, and to be less useful there to church and kingdom than those who are better acquainted with both." To this we shall add another of those peculiar compositions in which the fervid and genuine piety of the duke appears to have imparted to his pen, an eloquence of a higher kind than often appears in the best writers of his age.

His prayer and thanksgiving, being recovered a while before from a most dangerous pleurisy, which he had in London.

March 19, 1682.

"O most mighty and most merciful God, by thee we live, move, and have our being; thou art the fountain of life, and to thee it belongs to set the bounds of it, and to appoint the time of our death: our business in this world is to adore, to praise, and to serve thee, according to the notions thou hast imprinted in us; and those revelations of thyself and of thy will, that thou hast vouchsafed to the sons of men in their several generations, by thy holy word. The blessings of this life are of thy bounty, given to engage us to gratitude and to obedience, and the afflictions we sometimes suffer and labour under come also from thy hand, with purposes of mercy to recall, and reduce us from the sinfulness and error of our ways, into which plenty and prosperity had plunged us before.

"I confess, O Lord, that by the course of a long and healthful life vouchsafed to me, thou hast extended all those methods by which thy designs of mercy might have been visible to me if my eyes had not been diverted by the vanities of this life, and my understanding obscured and corrupted by a wilful turning of all my faculties upon the brutish, sensual, unsatisfying pleasures of this transitory world. Thus have I most miserably misspent a longer, and more vigorous, and painless life, than one man of ten thousand has reached unto, neglecting all the opportunities of doing good that thou hast put into my power, and embracing all the occasions by which I was tempted to do evil: yet hast thou spared me, and now lately given me one warning more, by a dangerous sickness, and by a marvellous recovery, showing me the misery

I had undergone, if with all the distraction and confusion I was in, for want of due preparation for death, I had been carried away to answer for multitudes of unrepented sins. Grant (O merciful God,) that this last tender of mercy may not be fruitless to me; but that I from this moment, though it be later than the eleventh hour of my life, may apply myself to redeem not only the idleness, but wickedness of the days that are past—and do thou then, O Lord, graciously accept my weak endeavours and imperfect repentance, in forgiving not only what is past, but enduing me with grace to please thee with more faithfulness and integrity for the time to come, that so, when thou shalt call for my soul, I may part with it in tranquillity of mind, and a reasonable confidence of thy mercy, through the merits of my blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.”

Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory.

BORN A.D. 1634—DIED A.D. 1680.

THOMAS BUTLER, Earl of Ossory, the illustrious son of the first duke of Ormonde, was born in the castle of Kilkenny, July 9th, 1634. In common with every other eminent person of his age, the records of his youth are scanty and of little interest. It is only mentioned, that he began early to show signs of the ardent spirit and thirst for military enterprise, which were afterward distinguishing features of his life.

He was in his 13th year, when he was removed to England, by his father on his leaving the government in 1647; he then remained in London, till the duke having been compelled to escape from Cromwell, sent for him and took him into France, where, in the following year, he was placed under the tuition of a French protestant clergyman at Caen. In the following year, on the return of the duke from his secret mission into England, lord Ossory was sent to an academy in Paris, where he quickly obtained very great reputation, and excelled in all the other youths, chiefly the sons of the most noble families, in all the studies and exercises which belonged to the school education of the times.

After this it is simply known that he lived for nearly two years with the duchess in Normandy until 1652, when, as we have related, she passed over to England, to solicit the restoration of some portion of her estates, when he was taken over with her, and also accompanied her in her visit to Ireland.

We have already mentioned the particulars relative to the apprehension of the young earl by order of Cromwell, after he had already given permission for his departure. There was no specific charge; it was simply alleged that he conversed with persons who were considered dangerous; the truth seems to be, that the general popularity of his character had the effect of awakening apprehensions of the consequence, which might be the result of permitting him to improve this advantage to the promotion of his father's views; it is probable, that the sagacity of Cromwell had already obtained an insight into the bold and fiery spirit, and prompt activity and talent, which afterward

rendered their possessor remarkable in the field and senate. It is mentioned, that when Cromwell's guard called to look for him, the earl was out, and his mother promised that he should appear next morning. In the mean time, it was suggested that he was at liberty to escape; neither the duchess, (then of course but marchioness) nor the spirited youth, would consent that a promise should be violated, and accordingly, he surrendered himself next day. By the advice of his mother, he then repaired to Whitehall, where he remained in the waiting room, till three in the afternoon, and during some hours, sent in several messages, to which he received no answer, until at last, he was told by Baxter, that he was desired to find lodgings for him in the Tower. He was immediately carried thither in a hackney coach, and remained until the following October, when after a dangerous fever, he was liberated for his health, on the strong representation of his physicians, and allowed to go down to Acton with his mother. This was found insufficient, and the physicians finding it necessary to recommend a trial of foreign air, a pass was with some difficulty obtained, and he went over to Holland. His younger brother Richard was sent with him, disguised as one of his servants. They landed in Flanders, where lord Ossory remained; for it was not considered advisable for him to go near the king; as it might be made a pretence by Cromwell to take away the estates which had been allowed for his mother's maintenance.

In November 1659, lord Ossory was married to Emilia, daughter to M. De Beverweert, governor of Sluys and its dependencies, and a leading man in the assembly of the states. He received with her a fortune of £10,000, a large sum in those times, of which however, the king had the entire benefit. The young lord was not of a spirit, or at a time of life to be very anxious on the score of pecuniary considerations, and probably considered it enough to be blest with a wife not less attractive for her beauty, than for a degree of worth and prudence which endeared her quickly to all the members of the noble family, into which she was thus introduced.

After the restoration, while royal favour showered well-earned honours upon the duke of Ormonde, the earl was made (by patent), a colonel of foot in Ireland, February 8th, 1661; and in a few months after, changed into the cavalry with the same rank. In the military affairs of Ireland, at this time, there was no field for military distinction; and we feel it unnecessary to dwell on his lordship's history for the next three years, when he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, in 1665.

In the last mentioned year, he was present at the memorable sea-fight, between the Dutch fleet and the English, under the command of the duke of Albemarle. The reader is aware of the general history of this most dreadful and sanguinary battle, which lasted four days, and stands nearly at the head of the list of naval engagements, for the furious obstinacy with which it was contested, and the terrific variety of its incidents. It was on the second day of the battle, when the wind having abated, and the fight became, as Hume well expresses it, "more steady and terrible," that the great preponderance of the Dutch force, for a time compelled the English to retreat towards their

coast. The earl of Ossory and Sir T. Clifford were standing over the shore near Harwich, and were struck by the approaching thunder of the guns. Excited by the most animating sounds that are known to human ear, they hastened to the town and soon found a small vessel which they hired to carry them out to the scene of struggle, and they were not long before they reached the ship commanded by the duke of Albemarle in person. The earl was gladly received, and was the bearer of welcome intelligence. Before leaving the shore, he had been apprized that prince Rupert had received orders to join the duke with the squadron under his command, amounting to sixteen sail of the line. At this period, the Dutch had been joined by sixteen fresh ships, and the English were reduced to twenty-eight, so that it appeared that their best chance was escape; the Dutch were at this time powerful at sea, and the English had not yet attained the maturity of their naval eminence. A calm prevented the Dutch from approaching so as to continue the engagement, during the remainder of that day.

Next morning, dispositions were made for the safety of the English fleet; the admiral fought as he retreated, in order to secure the retreat of the weaker vessels; and as there was no adequate force to resist the overwhelming line of the Dutch, which crowded towering on, as it appeared to the earl of Ossory, in the exultation of assured victory. In this conviction, he turned to the duke to whom he was standing near, and said, that "he saw no help but they must be taken." The duke made answer, "I know how to prevent that." The Dutch still approached three to one; and the earl of Ossory who had been puzzling himself to conjecture the duke's meaning, again asked by what means he proposed to avoid being captured: "blow up the ship," was the duke's reply—a proposal to which lord Ossory gave his unqualified applause, and ever after had the greatest respect for the duke of Albemarle. About two o'clock, just as the Dutch had come up, and the action was about to be renewed, a fleet was seen to approach from the south in full sail. The appearance gave encouragement to each party; the Dutch were in expectation of being joined by a reinforcement under Beaufort, and the English were satisfied it was Rupert's squadron. The English were not deceived; Albemarle, immediately made signals for his ships to form a junction with the friendly squadron. And in the hurry of this operation, a first-rate man of war of one hundred guns was lost, by striking on the Galloper Sands; as their extrication from this perilous position was, under circumstances impossible, the captain and his brave crew were compelled to strike to the Dutch, who were about to attack them with fire ships.

The junction was effected, and the fleets were now nearly on an equality. On the next morning the fight was once more renewed with fresh fury, and continued until they were separated by a dense fog. The English were allowed the honour of the fight by their country; but the Dutch triumphed not less in the capture of a few ships. The English nevertheless appear to have contended with unparalleled determination against a far superior force, and thus gave unquestionable promise of that naval supremacy which now began to appear. The reader is aware that a more decided step was gained towards this re-

sult in the following month, when on 25th July, contrary to the expectation of Europe, a signal and glorious victory over the Dutch fleet commanded by Van Tromp, at once gave England the sceptre of the waves.

On the same year, the earl of Ossory gained a steady and powerful friend, by the marriage of lord Arlington with his wife's sister. He was also made gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king, on the resignation of that office by his father. He was in June sworn of the privy council, and by a patent bearing date September 14th, he was called to the English house of peers, by the title of lord Butler of Moore Park. In October, the king having invited the prince of Orange to pay him a visit, lord Ossory was sent to conduct him to England. As England was at this time at peace, he proceeded to Paris to engage as a volunteer in the service of the king of France, in an expedition which that monarch had planned against Alsan; but the plan having been abandoned, lord Ossory returned to England. A little after his return, he received from the prince of Orange a ewer and baton of gold, as a mark of his esteem.

Shortly after the attempt of colonel Blood upon his father's life, an incident occurred in the royal presence, which characterized alike the determined spirit and the filial affection of lord Ossory. The story is told by Carte, upon the authority of Dr Turner bishop of Ely. We shall give it in the author's words: "The bishop was the king's chaplain in waiting, and present, when the earl of Ossory came in one day not long after the affair, and seeing the duke of Buckingham standing by the king, his colour rose, and he spoke to this effect: 'My lord, I know well, that you are at the head of this late attempt of Blood's upon my father; and therefore I give you fair warning, if my father comes to a violent end by sword or pistol, if he dies by the hand of a ruffian, or by the more secret way of poison, I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it, I shall consider you as the assassin, I shall treat you as such, and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word.'"

In January 1672, his naval career commenced with a commission to command the *Resolution*, a third-rate, but in April he was changed to the *Victory*, a second-rate. In September, he was elected Knight of the Garter and installed the following month. In November, having been sent over as envoy extraordinary to the French court, to offer the usual condolence upon the death of the duke of Anjou, a prince of the blood, the distinction with which he was treated, was such as to indicate the high esteem in which his character and abilities were then held. The king of France pressed him to enter his service, and offered that if he would take a command in his army, he should have whatever appointment he should think proper to ask. On the earl of Ossory's refusal, the king sent M. de Louvois to him next day to offer him any command he should name; the earl returned a complimentary answer, such as at the same time to convey a disposition to refuse. "Come, my lord," answered De Louvois, "I see you are modest, let

* Carte.

me speak for you, will 20,000 pistoles for equipage, and 20,000 pistoles a-year do? If not, say what you will have, and choose what command you please." The earl pleaded his engagement in the sea service and declined. At his departure he was presented with a jewel worth £2000.

In 1673, he received the command of the *St Michael*, a first-rate vessel of the line: and bore a distinguished part in several actions with the Dutch that summer. A fresh war had been declared against that power, on the most absurd pretences, and contrary to all justice and wisdom; and numerous great encounters took place, of which the issue was so far doubtful, that in general the victory was with equal truth claimed by both. While by the secret orders of the king of France, for whose ambitious views, and at whose instigation the war was undertaken, the French vessels which swelled the allied armament, so as to give a hollow encouragement to the English, were prudently kept out of danger, and contributed nothing to their real chances of success. In one of those actions lord Ossory had an opportunity to distinguish himself by his promptness, in saving a first-rate vessel, which being disabled, was about to be taken possession of by the enemy. He was immediately after made rear-admiral of the red; and towards the close of the year sent to command in the *Nore*. In the latter part of the same year, he formed a plan to enter the Dutch harbour at Helvoetsluys, and burn a fleet which lay there, in retaliation of the insult which the English received at Chatham. With this intention he sent over a gentleman in his own service to survey the scene of meditated enterprise. The report was in a high degree satisfactory, and lord Ossory obtained the king's permission to take with him ten sail of the line and 2000 soldiers. But the influence of Buckingham interfered, and the king retracted. The earl of Ossory in his disappointment, assured the king, that he "would fire the Dutch ships with a half-penny candle, or he should place his head on Westminster hall by Cromwell's, for the greatest traitor that ever breathed."

In the following year, (1674,) lord Ossory was sent into Holland to negotiate the match between the princess Mary, daughter to the duke of York and the prince of Orange, who had two years before been made Stadholder by the states of Holland, and had on several occasions shown a degree of prudence, firmness, and natural elevation of character, which had drawn upon him the general expectation and respect of Europe. In England he was highly popular, and this match, to which Charles soon after felt himself driven, for the purpose of conciliating the protestant feelings of his people, may be looked on as the choice of the nation, as it was afterwards the immediate instrument under providence for its preservation and advancement in constitutional prosperity. In the year 1667, the discontents of the country had increased to a serious pitch—the king, whose indolence and feebleness of temper had grown into disease, and who found himself every year less and less able to contend with the national spirit, came to this resolution as the last resource to satisfy his people, who he knew looked already to the prince of Orange as a last refuge, and sought his advice on many occasions. His ministers were favourable to this course; and at last Charles was led to permit the prince to visit England as soon as the

campaign in which he was then engaged against France should be closed for the season. On this occasion the prince sent over a letter to lord Ossory, requesting that he would give his constant advice and assistance to his mission, the proposal of which was leave to come over to address the princess; and when the prince returned, the earl followed at his request to take a part in his campaign. He joined the prince before Charleroi. Shortly after, the French army showed itself under the command of M. de Luxembourg, and a battle was expected. The prince showed his high opinion of lord Ossory, by giving him the post of honour with the command of six thousand men. There was however no battle. But in the next year he had better fortune, and gained signal distinction at the famous battle of Mons, in which Luxembourg was forced to retreat. On this occasion his services were publicly acknowledged by the states, and the king of Spain sent a letter, written with his own hand, acknowledging his great services.

On his return to England, he was nominated to command the fleet designed to be sent against Algiers. A dispute however arose as to the force to be sent out on this service, and the result was the appointment of a lesser force with an inferior officer.

In 1679, when the earl of Shaftesbury, at the head of a party leagued for the removal of the duke of Ormonde from his post, had made a violent attack upon his character and conduct in the house, the earl of Ossory made the following eloquent and spirited reply, in which the reader may recognise an imitation of great and merited celebrity among the best known specimens of modern oratory:—"I am very sorry, and do much wonder to find that noble lord so apt to reflect upon my father, when he is pleased to mention the affairs of Ireland. It is very well known that he was the chief person that sustained the king's and the protestant interest when the Irish rebellion first broke out. His services were so acceptable to the long parliament, that after some successes he had against the Irish rebels, the parliament voted him thanks, and sent him a rich jewel as a mark of honour and of their esteem. It is well known, that when he made two peaces with the Irish, they both times perfidiously broke them and endeavoured his murder, and sent out several excommunications against him and those that adhered to him. When he was abroad, I believe many may remember, how, when the duke of Gloucester was taken into the hands of some that would have perverted him, the king commanded my father to bring him from Paris, which he did, notwithstanding the threatenings and animosity of that party against him. How he had been laid at by that party, since the king's restoration, I think is sufficiently notorious. I beg your lordships' pardon, if the nearness of my relation may have made me say any thing which may look vain, being infinitely much concerned, that any suspicion should be raised against him which may argue his being not sufficiently zealous in all things wherein the protestant religion and the king's service are concerned.

"Having spoke of what he has done, I presume with the same truth to tell your lordships what he has not done. He never advised the breaking off the triple league; he never advised the shutting up of the exchequer; he never advised the declaration for a toleration; he never advised the falling out with the Dutch, and the joining with France;

he was not the author of that most excellent position of *Delenda est Carthago*, that Holland, a protestant country, should, contrary to the true interest of England, be totally destroyed. I beg your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father, and of all men, according to their actions and counsels.”*

In 1680, he obtained his commission as general from the United States. In the same year he was preparing to go out as governor to Tangier, which was at the time besieged by the Moors, when he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died in the 46th year of his age. His death was felt by the whole country, and gave a momentary shock to the noblest persons in Europe: for there were few who obtained so high a place in the list of honour and the respect of the world without any aid from station; having in fact never risen in professional life to any rank proportioned to the distinctions he had won in the sea and land service, as well as in parliament. The violence of the current of hostility under which the established station of his illustrious father was insufficient to stand firm, continually impeded his advance: yet his reputation is confirmed by the number and character of his appointments at home and abroad; at home, indeed, these opportunities of distinction were mostly frustrated in the very crisis of preparation by the malice and intrigue of the British court, in which to rise it was necessary to be corrupt. In an age, degraded by the vices of Buckingham and Rochester, he ran the race of Sidney, without the reward of royal favour which valour and virtue could win in better times; and, we are compelled to confess, that although favour, and the elevation of success, can add no dignity to virtue, they are not unessential to its renown and still more important to its station “in the chronicle.”

The earl was indeed lamented by the king, who had both the sense and taste to appreciate his worth and talent; and in fact was always endeavouring to turn them to advantage, but court influence made this impossible. No person was more deeply lamented by his large circle of private friends, and his friends were the most illustrious persons of the age. His prompt benevolence, his endearing manners, his distinguished conversation and deportment, his free hospitality, and the steady energy of his friendship, made his loss a blow to many. He was loved with enthusiasm both in the army and navy, and his command drew volunteers for any service in which he was engaged. In the court he was respected by the vicious, and though he never stooped to dissimulation, flattered any infirmity, or was warped to any baseness, he was not hated by any. But among the many who were grieved for his death, the loss was truly calamitous to the duke of Ormonde, to whose declining age he had been an ornament and a support. “I am sensible,” said the duke to a friend “of the loss of such a son as Ossory was, yet I thank God my case is not quite so deplorable as that nobleman’s, for I had much rather have my dead son than his living one.”

The earl of Ossory left two sons, James, who succeeded to the ducal honours, and Charles, earl of Arran.

* Carte, Appendix, xciii.

Sir Philip Perceval.

BORN A. D. 1605—DIED A. D. 1647.

THE subject of our present memoir was the son of Richard Perceval, Esq., lord of Tykenham, who possessed a large property in England, and having been officially employed in Ireland, subsequently purchased those extensive estates in Munster which have been since enjoyed by his posterity. Being the friend and favourite of lord Burleigh, and having been signally useful to the queen in deciphering Spanish documents, which gave the first certain intelligence respecting the intended invasion of the Armada, his son Sir Philip entered life with advantages of no common kind, and possessed of talents and acquirements of a very high order. We accordingly find him holding official situations of trust and emolument before he was twenty. He was given immense grants of forfeited lands in the counties of Cork, Tipperary and Wexford; and having been made escheator of the province of Munster, and a commissioner of survey in 1637, he was allowed "to impark 1600 acres free warren and chace, along with many other privileges; and this manor is now the estate of the lord Egmont, and one of the noblest royalties in the three kingdoms."* Having such large possessions in Ireland which were each year augmented, he gradually transferred a great portion of his English property thither, and became at length the proprietor of about 100,000 (English) acres in the finest parts of the country, besides holding numerous lucrative situations, many of which were for life. His residence in that country gave him frequent opportunities of perceiving many slight but sure indications of the fermentation that was gradually spreading through the kingdom, and early in the summer of 1641, he felt so assured of the approaching outbreak, that he instantly set about repairing his castles and places of defence, arming his followers, purchasing horses, and laying in ammunition, which proved of the utmost importance, not only to himself, but to that entire portion of the kingdom which was preserved chiefly through his instrumentality. His castle of Liscarrol was a place of so much strength, and so well defended, that it sustained a siege of eleven days against seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse, besides artillery; and his castle of Annagh, in the same neighbourhood, when subsequently attacked by lord Muskerry and general Barry, with an army of five thousand men, resisted successfully, and with much detriment to the rebels, until betrayed into their hands by the treachery of some of the garrison. The rebels carried with them to the attack of Liscarrol, one battering piece which weighed 6892 pounds, and which they placed in a hollow piece of timber, and dragged with the aid of twenty-five yoke of oxen over bogs which were impassable to any wheeled conveyance. On Tuesday, August 20th, they sat down before the castle, which was strongly defended both by art and nature. "On the south and west side of it lay plain and fruitful grounds, environed with a pleasant hill looking

* Lodge.

into the county of Cork, but on the north and east it was bounded with woods, bogs, and barren ground. Serjeant Thomas Ryeman commanded in it with thirty men, and a competent quantity of victuals and ammunition. The enemy planted their cannon on a little round rocky hill, within musket-shot of the castle, and Ryeman surrendered it on Friday, September 2d, in the afternoon, though he was promised relief the next morning.* That very night lords Inchiquin, Barri-more, Dungarvon, Kinalmeaky and Broghill arrived at Mallock, and on the day following was the battle of Liscarrol, which was fatal to lord Kinalmeaky, and nearly so to lord Inchiquin. They however dislodged and dispersed the rebels with great loss, seven hundred of whom were slain, while lord Inchiquin lost only twelve men. No quarter was given, unless to two or three officers, one of whom was colonel Richard Butler, a son of lord Ikerrin, who was the last to leave the field.

The state of the country at this time made it necessary to establish many garrisons in the disturbed districts, and to send them provisions from a distance, as none would be supplied to them in their immediate neighbourhoods. Much want and suffering had accrued from the delays consequent on selecting convoys out of different companies, and to prevent the recurrence of this, lord Ormonde, then lieutenant-general, formed a company of firelocks for the especial purpose of conveying those provisions, and gave the command of it to Sir Philip Perceval, who expended large sums in providing it with men and arms at his own cost as they became necessary. This appointment gave umbrage, as we have already mentioned in the preceding memoir, to the earl of Leicester, who considered it an infringement on his authority, but even the lords-justices on this occasion interposed, and the commission was confirmed to Sir Philip Perceval. Early in the rebellion he had been appointed commissary-general, and had performed the duties of that important office with unexampled zeal, energy, and efficiency. He had been sent to Ireland without money, but with letters from the lord-lieutenant, and the speaker of the House of Commons, to the lords-justices, assuring them that within twenty days the earl of Leicester would follow with £100,000 for the supply of the army, and that in the mean time Mr Frost, the commissioner in London, would forward to them any provisions required. None of these specious promises were performed, and after apportioning and dispensing whatever provisions could be obtained from the ill-supplied stores of Dublin, Sir Philip had no alternative but either to see the army driven to starvation and mutiny, or to supply their pressing necessities out of his own purse. He accordingly distributed £1380, which, with the enormous multiplied losses that were entailed on him by the rebellion, left his wife and children, who resided in London, with scarcely the common comforts to which they had been habituated. He accordingly petitioned parliament to refund to them a small portion of the money he had so liberally advanced, and an order was issued for paying them £200, which however never was given though often solicited. A passage, which we extract from Carte, will give some idea of those losses:—

* Carte.

“Sir Philip Perceval had lost by the rebellion a landed estate of £2000 a-year, personal estate of £20,000, and the benefit of several offices worth £2000 a-year, which he held for life. He had as clerk of the crown of the king’s bench, been at a very great charge to make up records of indictments of high treason against three thousand of the rebels, and those for the most part noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders, and been obliged to prosecute two thousand of them to an outlawry. He had, without any charge to the state, raised and armed a competent number of soldiers, horse and foot, and maintained them for a year to defend his castles of Liscarrol and Annagh in the remotest and most exposed quarters of the protestant party in Munster. He had done the like with regard to those of Temple, Conila, and Walchestown, till the treaty of cessation, and had maintained his house of Castlewarning, about nine miles from Dublin, for some years after. He had relieved three hundred distressed English for twelve months together in Dublin, and having been made commissary-general of the victuals of the army, he had spent £2000 of his own estate in that service, besides goods of his own, and what money and goods he could procure of others; had contracted an arrear of £4000 and upwards, for entertainments due to him for his several employments in the war; and had engaged himself in more than £10,000 for provisions to feed the army, having never refused to engage himself or his estate for them upon any occasion.” When in 1645 he attended the English House of Commons to solicit the repayment of a portion of this heavy expenditure, they had the baseness to resist his just claims on the plea of his having been a party to the cessation, which they designated as “a dangerous plot,” and notwithstanding his able and unanswerable “vindication,” from which we extracted a paragraph in our memoir of the duke of Ormonde, they persevered in rejecting his suit, nor did he at any subsequent period receive the slightest compensation for such sacrifices. His noble and disinterested ardour for the preservation of the kingdom was not however to be quenched, even by personal wrong; and we find him in subsequent years meeting every emergency with the same liberal and self-sacrificing spirit, and when in 1645 the officers of the Irish army, who continued to be exposed to injustice and sufferings by the unprincipled conduct of the government, had to lay their grievances before parliament, they gave their most unqualified testimony to the meritorious efforts and sacrifices of Sir Philip, and added, “that he was the only instrument under heaven of their preservation.” As the rebellion advanced, and the public funds diminished, he was still impelled on each new emergency, to draw upon his own personal resources, and before the protracted struggle terminated, he had expended £18,000, for which neither he nor his family ever received any indemnification. The numerous garrisons he still continued to support in the south, were powerfully instrumental in obstructing the advances of the overwhelming forces led by lord Mountgarret, from the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, who, after proceeding as far as the Ballihowra mountains, and meeting with successive checks and oppositions, at length retired, and subsequently dispersed.

In 1644, when the king consented to meet the deputies from the Irish confederates at Oxford, he appointed Sir Philip as one of the

commissioners; and when the marquess of Ormonde wrote to lord Digby secretary of state upon the subject, he refers him to Sir Philip as the person capable of giving him the fullest information, and he adds, "and now that I have mentioned Sir Philip Perceval, I may not pass him by, without a very particular recommendation, as of a man exceedingly knowing in all the affairs of this kingdom; that hath been before, in the war, in the treaty, and since the cessation, extremely industrious to advance the king's service." &c., &c. This testimony gains some additional importance from the moment at which it was given. Sir Philip took a most prominent and decided part in the fruitless transactions at Oxford, strenuously resisting the absurd and exorbitant demands of the Roman Catholics, while with less than his usual judgment, he pressed the equally exorbitant claims of the opposite party. At the conclusion of that treaty, where nothing was concluded, he found he had become so obnoxious to the Irish, that it would be unsafe to return amongst them, and receiving the most earnest and pressing applications at the same time from the parliament through his friend Holles, he was at length prevailed upon to join their ranks, and represent the borough of Newport in Cornwall, which had been long kept vacant for him, probably through the interest of Pym, who was his near relation.

In the year following, when the parliament sent over Sir Robert King, Mr Annesley and others, with large supplies of money and provisions to their long neglected army in Ulster, both Sir Robert and Sir Philip Perceval had the courage or the folly successively to try what their personal influence, and specious representations could effect, in attempting to warp the exalted and invulnerable loyalty of the marquess of Ormonde, but they quickly relinquished the thankless and hopeless undertaking.

The province of Ulster, which had still great cause for dissatisfaction in the nominal protection, but real neglect of the parliament, selected Sir Philip for the management of its affairs at the other side of the channel, and he executed his trust with such zeal and fidelity, that he quickly excited the jealousy of the independent party. This was soon after, much heightened by his firm and conscientious opposition to those deep and dark designs which circumstances were daily developing. They in vain assailed his character with accusations and slanders which were triumphantly repelled, and at length relinquished, as each new investigation only brought to light fresh instances of self-devotion, zeal, and integrity, in the various offices which he had held, during a period of unequalled trial and difficulty.

On the termination of the cessation in 1647, the army in Munster, under the command of lord Inchiquin, committed to Sir Philip the direction and management of their interests, "a commission (as things then stood,) of great difficulty and hazard; but he cheerfully undertook it upon this sole principle, which he ever professed, *that he would willingly contribute his life and fortune for the public or his friend*; both which he verified by his constant practice."* The army of lord Inchiquin was at this period exposed to great privations, and Sir

* Lodge.

Philip was secretly endeavouring to incite the earl to the step he so soon after took, of casting off the trammels of his hard task-masters, and again enlisting himself on the side of monarchy. His efforts and intentions were probably suspected, for the bitter and rancorous attacks of the independents were again renewed, and they even passed a vote "that no man, who consented to the cessation, should sit in parliament," for the sole purpose of excluding him from that assembly. To these charges he made an animated and successful defence, and resumed his seat, with added honour from the signal defeat of enemies, though supported by power and unrestrained by principle.

This daring and determined faction daily gaining ground, at length impeached several of the leading members of the house, who had opposed their measures, and compelled them reluctantly to withdraw from the contest; while a small but resolute band headed by Sir Philip Perceval, still continued to contest the ground with them inch by inch, notwithstanding the rapid approach of the army, nor did he desist from his arduous labours, until by their "dishonest victory" they had actually become masters of the city. He then retired into the country until the following September, when he learned that his enemies were again actively engaged in seeking for fresh causes of accusation, and intended impeaching him for his conduct as commissary-general. He instantly returned to London and demanded his trial, but from the groundless absurdity of the charges, it was still postponed. A strong remonstrance against the general measures and proceedings of the independents, was at this moment forwarded to him by the army commanded by lord Inchiquin, which he fearlessly presented, and though alone and unsupported amongst his enemies, he was upheld by his own integrity, and their constrained respect. His constitution however was undermined by the long continuance of his mental and bodily labours, and he at length sunk under an illness of only a few days duration. He died November 10th, 1647, regretted and respected by all parties, and was buried in the church of St Martin-in-the-fields, Westminster; primate Usher preaching his funeral sermon. The parliament, to mark their respect for his memory, took upon itself the expenses of his funeral, and voted £200 to lady Perceval for the purpose.

Sir Philip had married in 1626, Catharine, grand-daughter of Sir William Usher, clerk of the council, by whom he had nine children; five sons and four daughters.

Dr Robert Maxwell, bishop of Kilmore, wrote the following epitaph, which was engraved on his monument:—

Epitaphium clarissimi viri Philippi Perceavelli,
Equitis aurati Hiberniæ, qui obiit bonis omnibus
Desideratissimus 10^o die Novembris, A. D. 1647.
Fortunam expertus jacet hic Philippus utramque,
Dotibus ac genere nobilitatus eques:
Qui nisi (sed quis non multis) peccasset in uno
Quod vitio vertat, vix habet invidia,
Flevit R. Episcopus Kilmorensis Maxwell.

Theobald Taaffe, Earl of Carlingford.

DIED A.D. 1677.

THIS nobleman was the second viscount of the name, and in 1639 was member for the county of Sligo. He took an early and active part in concert with lord Clanricarde and others, in endeavouring to suppress the rebellion in its first stages, when the resources of the kingdom, and the loyalty of its leading men would have been quite sufficient for the purpose; before the perverse and treacherous policy of the lords-justices, aided by the faction in the English House of Commons, insisted on the necessity of large reinforcements from England and Scotland, thus weakening the power of the king at home, and irritating the prejudices of his Irish subjects. The lords Taaffe and Dillon embarked for England immediately after the prorogation of the Irish parliament, in the hope of being able in some degree to counteract the effect of the lords-justices' urgent letter, sent by Mr Fitzgerald (one of the prosecutors of lord Strafford,) upon the subject. They were driven by a storm on the coast of Scotland, where they landed, and were making the best of their way from thence to London, when they were suddenly seized by order of the House of Commons, their papers taken from them, and they themselves kept in close custody for several months; when the parliament having obtained its objects, and the rebellion become universal, the vigilance of their guards relaxed, and they were allowed to escape. They at once proceeded to join the king who was then at York, and though too late to assist him by their counsels, it became each day more important that they should do so by their arms. Lord Taaffe attended him in his English wars as a volunteer, and afterwards proceeded to Ireland, to use his influence with the recusants and Roman catholic nobility, (he being of the same creed.) to make proposals for a temporary cessation of arms, as, although the marquess of Ormonde had received directions to treat with the rebels, he thought it inconsistent with the dignity of the king, to take any step until they had renewed their former propositions on the subject. Lord Taaffe accordingly proceeded to Kilkenny, where the general assembly of the confederates were to meet, accompanied by colonel John Barry; they encountered many delays and difficulties in their negotiations, but at length it was agreed by the major part of the assembly, that they should apply for a cessation for twelve months, accompanied by certain stipulations which were to be arranged by their agents with lord Ormonde at whatever place he should appoint for a meeting. Lord Taaffe, in his zeal to bring about this desirable object, had encouraged several of the members to expect a free parliament, but lord Ormonde, with his usual high sense of honour, would not for a moment leave them under the impression that he was authorized to hold out to them such a hope. After some further delays, the treaty, so desirable to all parties, was concluded with the sanction of the council and lords-justices.

As the king's difficulties increased, he naturally looked to Ireland for aid, and lord Taaffe undertook to raise two thousand men for his

relief, but his efforts, along with those of colonel Barry, Power, Sir John Dorgan, &c., were defeated through the treacherous intervention of the supreme council, who refused to let any troops leave the kingdom, but such as they should themselves send; and notwithstanding all their specious professions, the promised aid was still withheld.

The successes of the troops under Sir Charles Coote in Connaught, induced the lord-lieutenant to grant a commission to lord Taaffe, for the purpose of levying a sufficient body of troops for the suppression and subjugation of all such, "as in breach of the cessation had presumed to enter into any of the quarters allotted in Connaught to such as were obedient to his majesty's government." Crowds flocked to his standard, and he besieged and took Tulske, and a variety of garrisons in the neighbourhood. He also accompanied lord Ormonde into Westmeath, and was employed by him in various offices of trust and responsibility. He was constituted general of the province of Munster, but lost this situation in 1646, when the marquess concluded a peace with the Irish; on the interruption of this peace through the intrigues of the nuncio, aided by O'Neilé, the marquess came to the determination of delivering up Dublin to the parliament, rather than let it fall into the hands of the rebels. On his making some delay however in delivering the regalia into the hands of the commissioners, they placed guards on lord Taaffe, colonel Barry, and Milo Power, and issued orders for the apprehension of Sir Edmond Verney, colonels George Vane, Hammond and others. When the marquess remonstrated with them on the breach of the articles, they did not assign any reason for their proceedings, but with their usual arbitrary tone, told him they were competent judges of their own actions.

After the defeat of Preston by colonel Jones at Dungan-hill, lord Digby, who was at Leixlip waiting for an opportunity of passing into France, wrote to lord Taaffe, who commanded an army of 8000 foot, and 1200 horse in Munster, earnestly entreating "that he would not for any apparent bettering of his circumstances, or out of an impolitick courage and magnanimity expose his troops that campaign to the hazard of a battle, but to stand as cautiously as possible upon the defensive; always remembering that all their hopes, either of serving his majesty in that kingdom, or in failure thereof, of making their own fortunes abroad, depended on the preservation of that army." This advice seems to have been influential in the first instance with lord Taaffe, who gave no opposition to lord Inchiquin on his entering Tipperary, and putting that county under contribution for the supply of his army. Carte gives a curious fact respecting the taking of Cahir castle which we shall extract:—"He (lord Inchiquin) entered this county on Saturday, September 3d, very indifferently provided for any considerable enterprise, having no artillery with him for want of carriages to draw it, nor any larger provision of bread than the soldiers could carry in their knapsacks. Having taken ten or twelve small castles, he passed the river Sure, near the castle of Cahir, an ancient fort, environed by two branches of that river, and on account of its situation, as well as of the apparent strength of its fortifications,

deemed by the English officers, as well as the rebels, to be impregnable. This was enough to discourage all attempts upon the place, notwithstanding the great importance thereof, had not an accident occasioned an attack, and furnished Inchiquin with hopes of success. One of his horse, plundering near the town, was wounded by some of the Irish, and carried prisoner into the castle, from whence he was allowed to send to the English army for a surgeon to dress his wounds. Inchiquin had of late encouraged officers who had formerly served the king, to come into his army, and among others, had admitted one colonel James Hipplesey into his quarters, upon some assurance given him by a friend of his doing a service. Hipplesey was an ingenious man, skilled in surgery and fortifications, and undertook to go in disguise to the castle, and to dress the wounded soldier. This he did with so much caution and circumspection, that he discovered perfectly the condition of the place in every respect, the weakness of the ward, and especially some defects in the walls of the outward bawne, which rendered it assaultable. He observed likewise so much timorousness in the wardens, that he judged the taking of the bawne would probably induce them to surrender the castle. Upon these observations, it was resolved to make the attempt; and Hipplesey himself, at the head of a party, attacking the defective place, carried the outward bawne and some out-turrets by storm. A few hours after, the castle surrendered upon quarter for life; though Inchiquin upon entering it found that he could not have reduced it by force, had the garrison but had the courage to stand on their defence. Thus easily was a castle reduced, which in 1599, had held out for two months against the earl of Essex, and an army of twenty thousand men." Lord Taaffe was so enraged at the pusillanimity of the garrison that he had the governor and an hundred of the men, tried by a council of war, and shot. This conquest of lord Inchiquin's was productive of important results, for besides supplying his famishing army with present provisions, and ample resources for the future, his name spread such a terror that all either submitted or fled at his approach. Lord Taaffe gave no opposition to his progress, and retired with his army from Cashel as he advanced towards that town; cardinal Panzirolli imputes this to a secret understanding, existing between him and lord Inchiquin, but subsequent events do not warrant such an opinion. The inhabitants of Cashel deserted the city and fled to the cathedral, which had been strongly fortified and garrisoned by Taaffe, and was built on a rock adjoining the city. After its reduction, and before lord Inchiquin could stay the slaughter, about twenty of the priests had been killed, which caused such an outcry amongst the Irish, that Taaffe was compelled to assemble his army at a most inclement season of the year, and under signal disadvantages. He had with him seven thousand five hundred foot, and four regiments of horse, three thousand five hundred of which he placed on the right wing under lieutenant-general Macdonnel, along with two regiments of horse, commanded by colonel Purcel; while he himself took the left wing, with four thousand foot, and two regiments of horse. Lord Inchiquin with quiet confidence led his disciplined and victorious troops to the encounter. They met at a place called Knocknoness, and colonel Purcel charged the English horse with

such impetuosity that they at once gave way, while the Highlanders under Macdonnel, throwing down their pieces after the first fire, rushed into the midst of them, sword in hand, and after an immense slaughter, drove them from off the field, taking possession of the cannon and carriages of the enemy. Lord Inchiquin in the mean time attacked the left wing, commanded by lord Taaffe, who fought with determined courage, but was ill-supported by his Munster regiments, all of whom, excepting lord Castleconnel's, fled from the field after the first onset. In vain did lord Taaffe attempt to recall and rally them, the receding torrent rushed from him at all sides, while with his own hand he cut down numbers, and thus at least intercepted their flight. Macdonnel sent to lord Taaffe notice of his success, but becoming impatient at his messengers not returning, he retired to a small eminence to observe the progress of the battle. On his return he was unfortunately intercepted by a small party of the enemy and killed, while his brave Highlanders, without a general to command them, stood their ground till seven hundred of them were killed, when the remainder threw down their arms and asked for quarter. The Irish lost about three thousand men, amongst whom were the flower of their army, along with their ammunition and baggage.

Lord Inchiquin, who always in his heart leaned to the monarchy, at length joined lord Taaffe and others in sending communications to lord Ormonde, and in their earnest entreaties to him to return to Ireland. Taaffe and Preston took a solemn oath to stand by one another in support of the king's right, and, in obedience to lord Ormonde; and lord Inchiquin, made solemn protestations "to live and die with him in the prosecution of his majesty's service."

The cessation was at length established between the friends and supporters of the king, and the confederates, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the nuncio and O'Neile, the latter of whom the assembly at Kilkenny had publicly proclaimed to be a traitor and a rebel. He however wrote a letter conjointly with his officers to that body, desiring a safe conduct for himself and others of his party, that they might lay their grievances before that assembly. This Taaffe strenuously opposed, though by doing so, he ran the risk of a committal through the influence of O'Neile's friends.

About this period, the generals of particular provinces were suppressed, and lords Taaffe and Castlehaven became candidates for the appointment of general of horse. The situation had been promised to the latter two years before, and he was accordingly nominated, but lord Taaffe's merits were so generally acknowledged, and so very great, that he felt much discontent at the preference being given to his rival; his devoted attachment however to the royal cause, then in so tottering a state, made him suppress all private feelings, and continue his arduous and energetic efforts for its support. The year following, on the death of Sir Thomas Lucas, he was made master of the ordnance, a situation for which his talents and long experience had peculiarly qualified him. Preston in his turn became discontented at this nomination, and it has even been hinted, that in consequence of his disappointment, he joined in the vile plot which was about this time set on foot to assassinate lord Ormonde.

In 1651, when Synot and Antonio were sent by the duke of Lorraine to treat with lord Ormonde respecting the loan he had previously promised lord Taaffe, the marquess, who was then despatching him to the king, delayed his voyage for the purpose of having the treaty previously adjusted. He, with Athenry and Geoffrey Browne, were empowered to make the arrangements with Synot, but while they were on the road to Galway, captain Antonio hastily sailed out of the harbour, leaving behind him lord Taaffe, and his other passengers, whose baggage he had on board; he however took lord Taaffe on board at a creek in Ireconaght, and until he was gone Synot made various excuses to delay the conference with his colleagues, and then said, that as Antonio was gone he had no means of raising the money.

Lord Taaffe arrived in the island of Jersey in July, and obtained a letter from the duke of York to the duke of Lorraine, which he took with him to Paris, where he remained until November, when he proceeded to Brussels, and delivered his credentials to the duke. After perusing the papers relative to the loan, he expressed his willingness to assist the nation, but added, that he saw no person invested with sufficient authority from the king, with whom he could conclude the treaty. Taaffe at once engaged that any place in that kingdom, which was in the king's possession, should be delivered to him as security for the repayment of the sum. He also proposed on his own authority, a marriage between the duke of York and the duke of Lorraine's illegitimate daughter, by the princess of Cantecroix, a child not three years old. Whether it was the prospect of this alliance, or considerations more exclusively personal that swayed him, he at once delivered to lord Taaffe £5000 to buy arms and ammunition, which the latter forwarded to Ireland before Christmas. "Lord Taaffe," writes Carte, "at first gave him his bond in behalf of the kingdom for that sum; but the duke returned it to him in a few days, with a message, that his lordship's word was of more value to him, and what he had given was but an earnest of the future supplies he should send the nation. Taaffe easily imagined he had some design in that civility, and desired to know what retribution he expected from that poor kingdom. The duke ascribed all to his compassion for the miserable circumstances of the poor catholics of Ireland, which affected him so much, that if invited by them, he would personally appear in their defence, with such a fund of money and other necessities, as would probably in a short time recover the kingdom. Taaffe asking him by what title or commission he would undertake that work, he answered, he would seek no other title than duke of Lorraine; but that he expected an entire obedience from all persons, and would not serve by commission from any body." Taaffe was rather startled by these conditions, and proposed that some person of rank should be sent into Ireland to treat with the marquess of Ormonde, or some one in authority in that kingdom. Lord Taaffe who seemed fruitful in matrimonial speculations, suggested the possibility of a marriage being brought about between Mademoiselle de Ban-ners, the sister of the princess of Cantecroix, and the youthful earl of Ossory, the lady being ten years his senior. The marquess of Ormonde however declined the consideration of the subject until the contemplated union of the duke of York, and the infant princess should

have been decided upon. The duke of Lorraine sent his envoy to Ireland, and it was agreed that £20,000 should be advanced upon the security of the towns of Limerick and Galway, but the duke of Lorraine's proposals, accompanying this promise, were of so very suspicious and questionable a nature, that the queen and the marquess of Ormonde at once saw that it would come to nothing.

On lord Taaffe's arrival in Paris, he was mortified at finding not only the inauspicious state of things concerning the treaty, but that the queen had been seriously offended by his officious though well-meaning interference respecting the marriage of the duke of York. Through the kind offices of the marquess he was however quickly reinstated in her favour, and on his return to Brussels, would take no part in the unauthorized and unwarrantable treaty concluded between the duke and Sir Nicholas Plunket and Mr Browne, though these gentlemen added lord Taaffe's signature to it after his departure.

On Cromwell's act of parliament for the settlement of Ireland, he was excepted from pardon for life and estate, but after the restoration, the king ordered that he should be paid £800 a-year out of the treasury monthly, for his personal expenses, until his estate should be restored to him, and that he should be put into possession of it as expeditiously as possible. The acts of settlement accordingly reinstated him, along with his relatives Christopher Taaffe of Braganstown, and Theophilus Taaffe of Cookstown in their respective estates, which had been severally forfeited. The king also, having a strong personal regard for him, "was pleased," as is stated in his patent, June, 1662, "as an especial mark of the gracious sense he had of his eminent services for him and his interests, to honour him with the dignity of earl of Carlingford in the county of Louth, entailing that honour on the heirs male of his body," and he was accordingly advanced to that title with the creation fee of £20. In consideration also of his losses and services, and for the better maintenance of the title, the king further granted to him £4000 of the rents payable to the crown, out of the retrenched lands of soldiers and adventurers, and settled on him in 1676, a pension of £500 a-year.*

Lord Taaffe married twice; his first wife was Mary, daughter of Sir Nicholas White of Leixlip, who brought him a large fortune, and by whom he had six sons and one daughter; his second wife was Anne, daughter of Sir William Pershall, who out-lived him, and by whom he had no family. He died December the 31st, 1677, and was buried at Ballymote; he was succeeded by his sons Nicholas and Francis, who were successive earls of Carlingford.

Arthur Chichester, First Earl of Donegal.

BORN A. D. JUNE, 1606—DIED A. D. 1674.

ARTHUR CHICHESTER, nephew to the first nobleman of that name, and son to Edward viscount Chichester, and Anne daughter and heiress

* Lodge.

of John Coplestone of Eggesford in the county of Devon, commenced early the career of arms, in which he was subsequently so eminently distinguished. Before he was of age he was nominated captain to the first troop of horse that should become vacant, and was appointed to it in 1627, on the resignation of lord Valentia. He became member for the county of Antrim in 1639, captain of sixty-three carbines, with the pay of £1 4s. per day, and arrived at the rank of colonel before the breaking out of the rebellion.* Carte, in describing its earliest manifestations, says, "Colonel Arthur Chichester was resident at Carrickfergus, when the news of the insurrection was first brought thither upon Saturday, October 23, about ten of the clock at night. He immediately ordered drums to be beat, and fires to be made in the most eminent places of the country, to raise the people, who, grown secure by a long peace, were exceedingly startled at the noise of war. He took a view of the arms lodged in the stores of the castle, and laid by as many of them as could be spared to be distributed the next day. The country came in apace, bringing what arms they could get, so that in a short time the streets were full of men; but most of them provided with no better weapons than pitchforks." He adds, "Edward, lord viscount Chichester, immediately sent away an express to Scotland, to advertise his majesty of the rebellion, the state of the country, and the danger that was likely to ensue. Colonel Chichester likewise, leaving only fifty musqueteers under the command of captain Roger Lindon to guard the castle, delivered out the rest of the arms, with powder and bullets, to the country people, and formed them into companies, putting the most considerable gentlemen of the county over them as captains, and making others officers for the present necessity."

The rebels surprised Newry, where Sir Arthur Tyringham and his company were quartered: he with difficulty escaped, but his men were seized and disarmed: they also took several persons of note prisoners, and what was more to their purpose, possessed themselves of seventy barrels of gunpowder, and a large quantity of arms out of the castle.

Colonel Chichester held a consultation whether it might be best to keep within the walls, for the defence of Carrickfergus, of which his father was governor, or to march out and meet the enemy in the field. The latter course was adopted on lord Montgomery of Ardes promising to meet them at Lisnegarvy (now called Lisburn) with one thousand men. They accordingly, after leaving a sufficient garrison in the town and castle, mustered about three hundred men, which was strengthened by one hundred and fifty from Antrim as they advanced on their march. The lord of Ardes lay that night at Drumbee, with about eight hundred horse and foot, from whence he marched the next day to Lisnegarvy, where he was met on the following by colonel Chichester.

On finding that Dromore was nearly deserted by its inhabitants, and that colonel Matthews only succeeded in retaining that small number together, by keeping the solitary merchant who remained in the town (of the name of Boyd,) in confinement; (for if the people had seen him depart, none would have remained;) colonel Chichester took with him two

* Lodge.

hundred foot of his own, lord Conway's troops of horse which were well armed, besides one troop of light horse to its relief: when he arrived there he found it utterly defenceless, and surrounded in all directions by the enemy. He sent out scouts to view the country, and made his troopers remain on horseback all night, but most of the foot soldiers and the light horse scattered in various directions in search of plunder. The next day, on receiving intelligence that the enemy was advancing in vast numbers, he assembled as many of his forces as could be collected, and went out to meet them. When he was about half-a-mile from the town, he saw about fifteen hundred advancing in three divisions, in the direction he had taken, and was most earnest to bring them to an immediate engagement, but was dissuaded by some old and experienced officers, who saw that the rebels had seized on a most advantageous position; and that if colonel Chichester attacked them with his handful of men, he would not only have numbers to contend with, but every disadvantage of ground either for attack or retreat. He accordingly returned to Dromore for the remainder of his men, and marched back to Lisnegarvy, determining to attack them the next day, when he should be reinforced by lord Montgomery's forces.

On the following morning they accordingly marched towards Dromore, but when Sir Con Magenis, who had taken possession of the town in the interval, heard of their approach, he set fire to it and retired to Newry. After this, the various forces returned to their garrisons, and lord Conway's troop, with a party of two hundred foot, were stationed in Lisnegarvy. Sir Phelim O'Neile remained the chief part of November in his camp at Newry, from whence, on the 8th, he despatched about three thousand men to take Lisnegarvy, hearing how ill it was provided with either men or ammunition. The garrison had no notice of their approach, so that some of the enemy had entered the streets, and were near seizing two of their field-pieces, before they were aware of their arrival. The inhabitants, unprepared with any other weapons of defence, pulled the fire out of their hearths, and set their houses in a blaze around them; and captains Burley and Dines, leading out their men, rushed upon them with such impetuosity, that they quickly drove them out of the town without losing one of their own men, while eighty of the rebels were slain. Sir Phelim made no further attack upon the town until the latter end of the month, when he sent an army of four thousand men against it, which was nearly doubled by reinforcements from other rebel generals, before it reached Lisnegarvy. The details of the gallant and successful resistance which it made, have been simply and circumstantially given by an eyewitness, who inserted an entry of it in one of the old vestry books, which still exists, belonging to the church at Lisburn, and as the document is curious, we give it verbatim:—

Lisnegarvy, the 28th of November, 1641.

“A brief relation of the miraculous victory there that day over the first formed army of the Irish, soon after their rebellion, which broke out the 23d of October, 1641.

“Sir Phelemy O'Neil, Sir Conn Maginnis, their generals then in Ulster, and major-general Plunkett, (who had been a soldier in

foreign kingdoms) having enlisted and drawn together out of the countries of Armagh, Tyrone, Antrim, and Down, and other countries in Ulster, eight or nine thousand men, which formed into eight regiments, and a troop of horse, with two field-pieces; they did rendezvous on the 27th of November, 1641, at and about a house belonging to Sir George Rawdon at Brookhill, three miles distant from Lisnegarvy, in which town they knew there was garrisons of five companies, newly raised, and the lord Conway's troop of horse; and their principal design being to march into and besiege Carrickfergus, they judged it unsafe to pass by Lisnegarvy, and therefore resolved to attack it next morning, making little account of the opposition could be given them by so small a number, not half armed, and so slenderly provided of ammunition, (which they had perfect intelligence of by several Irish that left our party and stole away to them,) for that they were so numerous and well provided of ammunition by the fifty barrels of powder they found in his Majesty's store, in the castle of Newry, which they surprised the very first night of the rebellion; also they had got into their hands the arms of all the soldiers they had murdered in Ulster, and such other arms as they found in the castles and houses which they had plundered and burnt in the whole province. Yet it so pleased God to disappoint their confidence; and the small garrison they so much slighted, was much encouraged by the seasonable arrival of Sir George Rawdon, who, being in London on the 23d of October, hasted over by the way of Scotland, and being landed at Bangor, got to Lisnegarvy, though late, on the 27th of November, where those new-raised men, and the lord Conway's troop, were drawn up in the market-place, expecting hourly to be assaulted by the rebels, and they stood in that posture all the night, and before sunrise, sent out some horse to discover their numerous enemy, who were at mass; (it being Sunday) but immediately upon sight of our scouts, they quit their devotion, and beat drums, and marched directly to Lisnegarvy; and before ten of the clock, appeared drawn in battalia in the warren, not above a musket-shot from the town, and sent out two divisions of about six or seven hundred a-piece to compass the town, and placed their field-pieces on the highway to it, before their body, and with them and their fowling-pieces, killed and wounded some of our men as they stood in their ranks in the market-place; and some of our musqueteers were placed in windows to make the like returns of shot to the enemy. And Sir Arthur Terringham, (governor of Newry,) who commanded the garrison, and Sir George Rawdon, and the officers foreseeing if their two divisions on both sides of the town should fall in together, that they would overpower our small number. For prevention thereof, a squadron of horse, with some musqueteers, was commanded to face one of them that was marching on the north side, and to keep them at distance as long as they could; which was so well performed, that the other division, which marched by the river, on the south side, came in before the other, time enough so to be well beaten back by the horse, and more than two hundred of them slain in Bridge street, and in their retreat as they fled back to the main body.

“ After which execution, the horse returning to the market-place, found the enemy had forced into our small party on the north side, and had entered the town, and was marching down Castle street, which

our horse so well charged there, that at least three hundred of the rebels were slain in the street, and the meadow behind the houses, through which they did run away to their main body, whereby they were so much discouraged, that almost in two hours after, their officers could not get out any more parties to adventure a second assault upon us; but in the mean space, they entertained us with continued shot from their body and their field-pieces, till about one of the clock, that fresh parties were drawn out and beaten back as before, with loss of many of their men, which they supplied still with others till night; and in the dark they fired all the town, which was in a few hours turned into ashes; and in that confusion and heat of the fire, the enemy made a fierce assault. But it so pleased God, that we were better provided for them than they expected, by a relief that came to us at night-fall from Belfast, of the earl of Donegall's troop, and a company of foot, commanded by captain Boyd, who was unhappily slain presently after his first entrance into the town. And after the houses were on fire about six of the clock, till ten or eleven, it is not easy to give any certain account or relation of the several encounters in divers places of the town between small parties of our horse here and there, and of the rebels, and whom they charged as they met and hewed them down, so that every corner was filled with carcases, and the slain were found to be more than thrice the number of those that fought against them, as appeared next day, when the constables and inhabitants employed to bury them, gave up their accounts. About ten or eleven of the clock, their two generals quit their station, and marched away in the dark, and had not above two hundred of their men with them, as we were informed next morning by several English prisoners that escaped from them, who told us the rest of their men either ran away before them or were slain; and that there were two field-pieces was thrown into the river, or in some moss-pit, which we could never find after, and in this their retreat, or this their flight, they fired Brookhill house, and the lord Conway's library in it, and other goods, to the value of five or six thousand pounds, their fear and haste not allowing them to carry any thing away, except some plate and linen; and this did in revenge to the owner, whom they heard was landed the day before, and had been active in the service against them, and was shot that day, and also had his horse shot under him, but mounted presently upon another, and captain St John, and captain Burley, were also wounded, and about thirty men more of our party, most of which recovered, and not above twenty-five or twenty-six were slain. And if it be well considered, how meanly our men were armed, and all our ammunition spent before night, and that if we had not been supplied with men by the timely care and providence of the earl of Donegall and other commanders from his majesty's store at Carrickfergus, (who sent us powder, post, in mails, on horseback, one after another) and that most of our new-raised companies were of poor stript men, that had made their escape from the rebels, of whom they had such a dread, that they thought them not easily to be beaten, and that all our horse (who did the most execution,) were not above one hundred and twenty, viz., the lord Conway's troops, and a squadron of the lord Grandison's troop, (the rest of them having been murdered in their quarters in Tanragee,) and

about forty of a country troop newly raised, until that of the troop company from Belfast came to us at night. It must be confessed that the Lord of Hosts did signally appear for us, who can save with or without any means, and did by very small means give us the victory over His and our enemies, and enough of their arms to supply the defects of our new companies, besides about fifty of their colours and drums. But it is to be remembered much with regret, that this loss and overthrow did so enrage the rebels, that for several days and weeks after, they murdered many hundreds of protestants whom they had kept prisoners in the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, and other parts of Ulster, and tormented them by several manners of death. And it is a circumstance very observable, that much snow had fallen in the week before this action, and in the day before it was a little thaw, and, frost thereupon in the night, so that the streets were covered with ice, which proved greatly to our advantage; for that all the smiths had been employed that whole night to frost our horses, so that they stood firm, when the brogues slipt and fell down under their feet. For which, and our miraculous deliverance from a cruel and bloody enemy, how great cause have we to rejoice and praise the name of our God, and say with that kingly prophet—‘If it had not been the Lord himself who was on our side when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us. Yea the waters of the deep had drowned us, and the stream had gone over our soul; the deep waters of the proud had gone over our souls; praised be the Lord who has not given us over for a prey unto their teeth: our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken and we are delivered. Our help standeth in the name of the Lord who hath made heaven and earth. Amen.’”

The army of Ireland consisted at that time of fourteen troops, amounting to 943 horse, and of forty-one independent companies, making 2297 foot.* Only three of these troops, lord Conway's, lord Grandison's, and colonel Chichester's, were allowed to remain in the north; lord Wilmot's and Sir W. St Leger's, with the presidents of Connaught and Munster, and all the rest, were summoned to Dublin. Notwithstanding the obstinate refusal of the lords-justices to send reinforcements to the north, either from the wish of allowing the rebellion to spread, or as Sir W. St Leger asserted, “that they were so horribly afraid of their own persons, that they thought the old army and all the new raised forces little enough for their security;” the small bodies that were under the command of colonel Chichester, lord Montgomery, Sir W. Cole, &c., &c., kept the rebels on the defensive, and prevented them from maintaining their ground in the north. About the middle of April general Monroe landed at Carrickfergus with 2500 Scots, when he was joined by lord Conway and colonel Chichester, with 1800 foot, besides horse. They at once directed their march to Newry, from which the rebels fled as they approached, and the castle was surrendered to them without any opposition. It was found to contain only half-a-barrel of powder, and about sixty muskets.

* Carte.

During the remainder of this year Monroe remained quite inactive, and the regiments under colonel Chichester, Sir Arthur Tyrningham, the lords Claneboy and Ardes, &c., were left in so totally destitute a state, without pay, provisions, or ammunition, that they could do but little, and were with difficulty kept from disbanding; while their commanders were gradually exhausting their own fortunes in maintaining them.

On the arrival of Conally in 1644, with the letters of parliament pressing them to take the covenant, lord Montgomery, Sir Robert Stewart, Sir William Cole, colonel Chichester, &c., called a meeting in Belfast to consider what should be done, and privately agreed among themselves, without entering into particulars with the parliament, to preserve their inviolable allegiance to the king, to obey the orders of the marquis of Ormonde, and not to accept the covenant nor any commander over them.

After Monroe and his officers had with great solemnity taken the covenant in the church of Carrickfergus, the Scotch clergy traversed the country in all directions, pressing it upon the soldiers and inhabitants with as much zeal and earnestness as if their salvation depended upon it, and in many instances refusing to give the sacrament to those who rejected it. On hearing of these proceedings the lord-lieutenant and the council sent positive orders to all the colonels in Ulster to publish the proclamation against the covenant at the head of their respective regiments. The colonels were aware not only of the strong infatuation that existed upon the subject, but also that most of their own soldiery had already accepted it; but yet, with a brave defiance of the consequences, Sir Robert Stewart, colonel Chichester, colonel Hill, and the commanding officer of lord Conway's regiment, had their regiments drawn out, and respectively read the proclamation. When colonel Chichester had finished it, "one of his captains, a lieutenant, and about thirty of the common soldiers, protested publicly against it, and declared that, if no public act had been done by their colonel against the covenant, they would never have taken it (as now they would) nor have deserted him or his commands. The colonel could not but take notice of this insolence; but all that he could do to punish it was to suspend those officers from their commands for the present, not daring to proceed with greater rigour, because he was not provided for defence, and every bit of bread that his men ate, came through the hands of the Scots." The wants of the army became every day more pressing, and colonel Chichester made so strong a representation of them to the lord-lieutenant, that he, on his own private credit, raised £300 and sent it to colonel Chichester for the immediate relief of his garrison in Belfast, and promised farther supplies as soon as they arrived from England. He also gave him authority to act as he judged best respecting the refractory officers and soldiers, but observed that he had always found "round dealing with the Scots full as available as connivance, and that he should be bold with them if they were in Dublin." A very few days, says Carte, "passed before the colonel, with all his lenity, suffered as much mischief as ever he apprehended from severity, and found by experience that connivance at

public insolences is the most improper method in nature to procure obedience; and that impunity, instead of engaging offenders to a greater fidelity, only emboldens them to commit new crimes."

Monroe having received a commission from the English parliament under their new seal, appointing him commander-in-chief of the English as well as Scotch forces in Ulster, Sir James Montgomery (who had received information on the subject) sent to summon a meeting of the commanding officers of the different districts in Belfast, which place colonel Chichester commanded. They met on the evening of the 13th of May, but adjourned their consultation to the following morning. Late at night a soldier of colonel Chichester's regiment came from Carrickfergus with intelligence that Monroe had given orders to some Scotch regiments to be in readiness to march on Belfast at two in the morning. Colonel Chichester instantly gave orders to have all the guards doubled, and called out every officer in the garrison upon duty. As an additional security, scouts were sent out to ascertain the state of the country, and to give the earliest notice of his approach. They returned at six in the morning, asserting that they had gone within three miles of Carrickfergus, and that the whole country was in the most profound tranquillity. Trusting to this treacherous statement, the additional guards were incautiously dismissed, and the officers who had been all night on duty were allowed to retire to rest. Silently and treacherously Monroe approached, and, having corrupted the scouts, he had also previously made arrangements with the sergeant of the guard who kept the gate at that side of the city, to admit him and his followers, so that he was enabled to cross the town without any interruption, and when he arrived at the gate at the other side of the city, leading to Lisnegarvy, he directed his men to possess themselves of the cannon and bulwarks, and to take the guards prisoners. Colonel Chichester, made in the same moment aware of the loss of the town and the uselessness of opposition, sent some of the other colonels to inquire the meaning of Monroe's hostile movements. He answered, that as colonel Chichester had thought proper to publish a proclamation against the covenant, which implied that all those who had taken it, should thenceforth be considered as traitors; he did not conceive that those who trusted to his protection would be safe without his having a garrison of his own in the place, and that he had accordingly taken that course as the only one left open to him. He immediately desired that all colonel Chichester's men, except those who guarded his own house, should leave Belfast, and took measures for the custody of the city. He then proceeded to Lisnegarvy, whither Sir Theophilus Jones had gone the preceding evening, and, supported by the fidelity of the garrison, had taken such effectual means for its defence, that Monroe, after a conference with colonel Jones, in which he found that the soldiers were not to be corrupted, thought it better not to tarnish his bloodless laurels, and returned to Belfast. Thus a second time, in so short a period, had that small town, by its loyalty, fidelity, and bravery, resisted the attacks of two armies, overwhelming in their numbers, and opposite in their principles and discipline. Colonel Chichester, indignant at the

unfair advantage that had been taken of him, would not condescend to accept of the privilege allowed him of residing in his own castle, but went to England to complain of his wrongs.

The position of affairs in the north, along with the disaffection of the army, making his return there useless, he removed to Dublin and was sworn in a member of the privy council. His great fidelity in the royal cause, joined to his long services, induced the marquess of Ormonde, in 1645, to write a letter to the king, reminding him of those claims, and suggesting his elevation. We extract a portion of it: "You have been graciously pleased of late to reward some that have either served your majesty actually, or suffered for you eminently in their persons or fortunes, with new creations or with additions of honour in this kingdom. That colonel Arthur Chichester hath missed such a mark of your majesty's favour, I conceive to have been through his own modesty, and my not representing his personal merit. If he outlives his father he will be among the foremost of the viscounts of this kingdom in place, and (I am sure,) beyond them all, except one, in fortune, though he be for the present deprived of the latter for his faithfulness to your majesty's crown, the same means by which his uncle got both it and his honour. He hath served your majesty against the Irish rebellion since the beginning of it; and when, through an almost general defection of the northern army he was no longer able to serve your majesty there, he came with much hazard to take his share in the sufferings of your servants here, and with them to attend for that happy time that (we trust,) will put us in a condition to contribute more to your service than our prayers. If your majesty shall think fit to advance this gentleman to an earldom, I conceive that of Dunnegall, a county in the province of Ulster, wherein he shall have a good inheritance, is fittest, which I humbly offer to your majesty's consideration, as a part of the duty of

"Your majesty's, &c.

"ORMONDE."

The king, upon this representation, created him earl of Donegal, with limitation of the honour to the issue male of his father; his own children, of whom he had thirteen, being dead, excepting two daughters, the youngest of whom survived him. In the year following he had a heavy domestic calamity in the death of his second wife, Mary, daughter of John Digby, first earl of Bristol, by whom he had had seven children. He had lost his first wife, Dorcas, daughter of John Hill, Esq. of Honiley, when he was only twenty-four, after she had given birth to a daughter. His third wife was Letitia, only surviving daughter of Sir William Hickes, bart. of Rookshall in Essex.*

After the restoration he was made captain of a troop of horse, and *Custos Rotulorum Pacis* in the counties of Antrim and Donegal. In June, 1661, he took his seat in the first parliament after the restoration, and was appointed governor of Carrickfergus. In 1666, a variety of plots were carrying on through the three kingdoms by the fanatics; and in Ireland they found minds predisposed to mutiny, both

* Lodge.

from temperament and from the very bad pay of the soldiery. Strong indications of insubordination showed themselves in Carrickfergus, which were soon quieted; but being too leniently put down, soothed in place of being coerced, a second mutiny broke out the following month, in which all the privates of four companies, who were quartered there, rose in a body in defiance of their corporals, and seized on the town and castle of Carrickfergus; and when the governor, the earl of Donegal, endeavoured, by fair means and by offers of mercy, to recall them to a sense of their duty, they answered most arrogantly, and rejected the pardon which he volunteered. They framed a declaration, in which they endeavoured to incite other garrisons to follow their example, and they had the audacity to enclose this to lord Donegal along with a paper containing their demands. The duke of Ormonde, on receiving the first intimation of this outbreak, sent his son, the earl of Arran, with four companies of his guards, by sea to Carrickfergus, with positive orders to the earl to make no farther offers of mercy, as he considered it indispensable to the peace of the kingdom to make some examples. Lord Arran had a stormy passage, but arrived at Carrickfergus on the 27th of the month, and landed without any opposition. He was immediately joined by the earl of Donegal and the mayor of the town, who told him there was a party within anxious to seize upon one of the gates, and admit him, if he would make an attack upon the rebel garrison. The garrison, anxious to gain time for plundering the town and securing the provisions, sent to demand some hours for deliberation as to their future course; but lord Arran having intimation of their intentions, caused a party instantly to advance and demand admittance. This they obstinately refused, and a brisk fire at once commenced, the town being well supplied with men. Lord Arran quickly came up and forced an entrance, with the loss of only two men, while many of the rebels fell, besides their ringleader of the name of Dillon. Most of the officers belonging to these companies had been absent on leave, but on their return the garrison submitted, and hung out a white flag for the purpose of obtaining a parley. They let down two of their men by ropes; one of whom offered to persuade his comrades to surrender without conditions if his own life should be spared. Lord Arran rejected the base proposal, and refused to accept of a surrender, unless on an absolute submission to the lord-lieutenant's mercy, "to save or hang as many of them as he pleased." They asked for a few hours to consider such hard terms, which being granted, and at the same time any modification of them denied, they delivered up the castle at the appointed hour, which, besides being strong, was found to contain a month's provisions for the garrison, had they continued to hold out.

On the arrival of the duke, he held a court-martial on 110 of the offenders, nine of whom were executed.

The remaining years of lord Donegal's life passed in comparative tranquillity; and in 1674 he married his daughter and ultimate heiress to lord Gowran, son of the duke of Ormonde, who, however, from early dissipation, quickly fell into a declining state of health, and died, leaving no children. The eldest daughter of the earl had been married in 1655 to John St Leger, and became mother to the first viscount

Doneraile. His children by his third wife all died in infancy, with the exception of his daughter, Anne, countess of Gowran. The earl died two months after his daughter's marriage, 1674, at Belfast, and was buried, according to his own request, at Carrickfergus. He was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Arthur Chichester.

A splendid monument was erected to his memory in Eggesford church, where he is represented in alabaster as large as life, standing between his first and second wives, who are represented in recumbent postures. We subjoin the epitaphs of both ladies:—

ON THE FIRST.

Weep, reader, weep, and let thine eyes
With tears embalm the obsequies
Of her blest shrine; who was in all
Her full dimensions so angelical
And really good, that virtue might repine
For want of stuff to make one more divine.

ON THE SECOND.

Lo! here the mirror of her sex, whose praise
Asks not a garland, but a grove of bays;
Whose unexemplared virtue shined far
And near, the western wonder! like some star
Of the first magnitude; which though it lies
Here in eclipse, is only set to rise.

A. Forbes, Earl of Granard.

BORN A. D. 1623—DIED A. D. 1695.

As we are now to enter upon the events which lead to, or are contemporary with the revolution of 1688, we shall in this, as in the memoirs which immediately follow, endeavour to pursue, as nearly as possible, the onward progress of events; and to avoid needless repetition, we shall, whenever it may be necessary to retrace our steps, recur to incidents already commemorated, as briefly as can be made consistent with clearness. It may be convenient to the reader to be apprised that in this and the memoirs immediately following, we mean to dwell at some length upon the incidents principally leading to the revolution. The remainder of this period, though replete with event, is little marked by illustrious characters; and our subjects are selected, more with a view to the relation of the momentous and interesting train of incidents which constitute a *marked era* in the history of England and Ireland, than for any claim which the *persons* whose names must head these memoirs have upon our pen. The reader whose taste leads him to look for biographic detail, shall, we trust, find that our literary, and, in some measure, our ecclesiastical series, for the same period, will make ample amends for the want of individual interest in this portion of our work, in which we are in some measure to accomplish the historical part of our undertaking. Yet we strongly assure ourselves that the deep importance of the political history of this

eventful revolution, will be felt to require no interest from the fortunes or characters of individuals.

The family of Forbes seems to be of Scottish descent: the name is derived from an incident which has been preserved on the authority of Boetius. In 1304, king Edward took the castle of Urquhart, then in the possession of a chief of the name of Bois, and slew all its inmates, leaving alive only the lady of the chief, who was not long after delivered of a male infant. When this child grew up, he distinguished himself by the destruction of an enormous boar, which was then the terror of the surrounding country, from which exploit he is represented as having received the name of Forbeast, which was in the course of time contracted into Forbes. From this incident also it may be observed, that the family crest and shield are derived. The family received many grants from king Robert Bruce, and the lands of Forbes from Alexander the second, in Aberdeen, where they resided.

In 1622, a younger branch of this family, Sir Arthur Forbes descended from Patrick Forbes of Carfe, was with two other gentlemen of the same name (who were perhaps his brothers,) naturalized in Ireland, and received grants from James I., in the counties of Longford and Leitrim.

This person married a lady of the family and name of Lowther, and had issue, Arthur, the subject of this notice. He was in his eighteenth year at the rebellion of 1641, and could not therefore be much more than an anxious witness, or at most, a very subordinate actor at that fearful time, when he had not long entered the military service as an officer of cavalry. His mother was besieged for several days in Castle-Forbes, the residence of the family, and the siege is memorable for the valour and firm endurance which was shown in it, as also for the brutalities committed by the besiegers. The tenants of the estate, with those of lady Longford and Sir John Seaton, having been plundered and burnt out of their houses by the rebel party, crowded into Castle-Forbes for protection. Thither their persecutors quickly followed, to the amount of five hundred; and, relying on their own numbers, commenced a regular siege. They built themselves huts within musquet-shot of the walls, seized on the stock, and made several desperate assaults, in all of which they were valiantly repulsed. But not discouraged by these, they made a nearer approach, building within pistol shot and making trenches close under the walls, which they were thus enabled to annoy with a perpetual and harassing fire, by which many of the people within were shot through the windows. After some time they obtained possession of the well, from which the besieged obtained their supply of water, and contrived by a horrible expedient to render it useless: seizing a Scotchman, whom they caught in an attempt to enter the castle, they ripped open his belly and threw him into this well. The sufferings of the people and family within soon became unendurable for want of water, until they found a remedy for their distress by digging thirty feet into the ground within the bawn, and thus obtained a supply when nearly reduced to extremity. In this distressing condition matters went on until all the provision was consumed; and the lady Forbes gave her horses, which did not last very long; and the cow-hides were next attacked by the famishing, but brave and patient crowd, who bore

every privation and peril without murmuring. Lady Forbes, with lady Seaton, who had also taken shelter in the castle, wrote letters to the besiegers to entreat permission for some of the poor people that were within to go out and eat grass and herbs; they were answered, that "they would keep them in till the ravens did eat their guts." It was idly fancied by some of the poor people who had taken refuge within the walls, that their children might be permitted to go out unmolested to feed on the grass abroad, and under this delusion, two children were sent out. But the mistake was quickly ended, the children, eager for food and ignorant of the danger they incurred, went out without fear, and perhaps happy to feel themselves free; they had not proceeded many steps when they were fired upon by the reckless desperadoes, whose concealment they approached: one fell dead, the other was wounded. Immediately after, a poor woman, whose husband had fallen into their hands, went out with the devoted courage of her sex to beg his life—she had three children, of whom the youngest was at the breast—the mother and her sucking child were slain, with one of the elder children, but the other escaped. At last, after much negotiation, lady Forbes obtained terms. The rebels were so anxious to obtain possession that they were glad to obtain it at the expense of their revenge, though upwards of eighty of them had been shot from the castle walls during the siege. They permitted lady Forbes, with two hundred and twenty persons to march out with their wearing apparel and arms to Trim, which town they reached in safety, but after great hardships by the way; and from thence they escaped to Dublin.*

During the commonwealth, Sir Arthur Forbes adhered to the royal cause, and served in Scotland against the parliamentary troops, when they were commanded by Monk, from whom the royalists sustained a defeat, and were soon reduced. On this he returned to Ireland, where he was permitted, in accordance with the articles to that effect, between Monk and lord Lorne, to enjoy his estate if not disposed of. And as it appeared that he was quite unconnected with the rebellion in Ireland, his lands in the counties of Longford and Leitrim were restored.

When the Restoration was beginning to occupy the expectations of the country, Sir Arthur was sent by Coote to king Charles to invite him into Ireland. He was received with the utmost kindness as a known supporter, and dismissed with such commissions for the Irish loyalists as he had been directed to demand in case of the king's refusal to come in person.

His subsequent commissions during the long interval of broken rest, in which it was vainly endeavoured to restore the nation by settlements and commissions, we must here be content to enumerate from Lodge. After the restoration, he was appointed among the commissioners of the court of claims for the execution of the king's declaration, which appointment was repeated 1662. In 1661 he was returned to parliament for Mullingar. In 1663, when a conspiracy was formed for the seizure of Dublin, and several other towns, as already related

in this volume,* Sir Arthur discovered, and by his great alertness and vigilance frustrated the intentions of the conspirators in the north, having seized and imprisoned Staples member for Derry, who was the leading conspirator; upon which the soldiers returned to their duty, and the remaining conspirators took refuge in Scotland. In 1670, Sir Arthur was sworn of the privy council, and appointed marshall of the army: he was allowed £687 8s. 4d. per annum pay, and a retinue of one trumpeter and thirty horsemen; in addition he was allowed £600 per annum secret-service money. In 1671, and again in 1675, he was appointed to the then high dignity of one of the lords-justices of Ireland; and in the last-mentioned year, he was created baron Clanehugh and viscount Granard.†

After many services and honours, unnecessary to mention here, he was in 1684 raised in the peerage to the dignity of earl of Granard, and lieutenant-general in the army. In which post king James II. allowed him to continue; but difficulties soon arose in the execution of his duties as one of the lords-justices, which caused him to apply for his dismissal.

In our memoir of the duke of Ormonde we have already had occasion to notice the circumstances which indicate the secret course of the policy of king Charles and his brother, afterwards James II. The brothers were both Roman catholics—Charles in secret, James without reserve: the former was in truth of no religion; but the latter was not only sincere but bigoted in his faith, and a zealot to the church of his adoption. Charles, though indolent, averse from business, and still more so from the clash of creeds and parties, easily comprehended the impossibility of reconciling the English people to a popish king, and during his reign kept up a decorous reserve by the help of the natural indifference and insincerity of his nature. He shrunk from the conflict to which the duke of York and his priests were constantly endeavouring to urge him; and while he lived, though it is now easy to discern the early course of the political events which afterwards hurled his family from the throne, yet in point of fact the contest was not begun, nor is there any cause to predicate that he was likely to be seriously disturbed in his profligate and licentious reign, unless it be considered that as he grew older and more indolent, other counsels of a more determined character were beginning to assert their sway, and the duke of York, more zealous and active, though far less prudent, had actually commenced his career. Ireland was not without reason considered to be the safest ground to begin upon, and long before the period at which we are now arrived, lord Berkeley had been sent thither for the express purpose of preparing the way for the duke's objects, by the depression of the protestants and the gradual substitution of the papists, both in the army and in every post of power, influence, or emolument, in which it could be safely effected. Such changes were all through the chief means of operation resorted to, with a few bold attempts to effect a revolution of property, which, had they been successful, would have led by a shorter and safer path to the desired result.

* Life of the Duke of Ormonde.

† Lodge.

The conduct of Berkeley was impelled by his secretary Leighton, a creature of Buckingham's, who was sent over for the purpose of watching over and directing his administration; he was also attended by many influential papists from England, who were the judges, councillors, and spies of his actions: he was himself fully disposed for the prescribed course, and his measures were bold and decided, without scruple, or even a prudent regard to caution. Not content with favouring the church of Rome, he selected the extreme party of that church as the objects of his especial favour.

Among the clergy as well as the laity of the Romish communion in Ireland, there was at this time a division of opinion on the important question as to the authority of the pope in the secular affairs of the kingdom. One party acknowledged the king to be the supreme lord of the kingdom of Ireland; and declared or admitted that they were bound to obey him notwithstanding any sentence of the Roman see to the contrary. In conformity with this profession, a declaration was drawn up by Peter Walsh, a Franciscan, and signed by one bishop and several clergy of the Romish communion. Walsh, who was commissioned by the ecclesiastics of this party to express their sentiments to the king, drew up this declaration, which became famous under the title of the "Irish remonstrance;" it gave rise to the designations of both parties which were called remonstrants and anti-remonstrants, and was strongly framed to obviate the great and permanent objection to the toleration of popery as inconsistent with the constitution of a protestant government: it disclaimed all "foreign power, papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence to his majesty's person or government." In addition to this, it expressed the resolution of the remonstrants to resist and discover all conspiracies against the king, and went indeed to as full a length in support of the divine and indefeasible right as might have conciliated the favour of James I.

But the grandchildren of this monarch, who were not less tenacious of that slavish principle, had a still more anxious object at heart, and were little likely to countenance any declaration which might appear inimical to the authority of the see of Rome. The duke of York felt that neither himself nor his royal brother had any concern in the allegiance which might be considered due to protestant princes. On the contrary, their present object demanded the opposite impression, to be industriously diffused; all their difficulties and all the unpopularity with which they had to struggle, were mainly owing to the ascendancy of protestant opinion and influence. They were therefore little likely to acquiesce in a declaration which they regarded more as a tribute to their enemies the protestants than to themselves. They were also well aware, and the suggestion is worth the reader's notice, that the rights of kings and the actual power of the crown were more in danger from the free opinions of protestantism, than from any interference on the part of Rome. Such appears to us to be a clear and self-evident explanation of the treatment of the remonstrants, and of the novel part taken in this contest by the English court. Under the name and external forms of protestantism, a popish monarch sat upon the throne,

and an heir presumptive of the same communion saw the prospects of his succession altogether dependent upon the success of his efforts in behalf of his church.

Strong counter declarations were soon got up, and a violent contention between the parties ensued. The duke of Ormonde, who approved of the remonstrance, had no objection to the promotion of a controversy, which served to divide and divert the spirit of the Romish church. But the scene was changed by the arrival of lord Berkeley, who not only took part with the anti-remonstrants, but made the vice-regal power subservient to their passions, by persecuting their opponents. Peter Talbot, Romish archbishop of Dublin, taking advantage of the disposition of the castle, obtained possession of the vice-regal ear, and persuaded Berkeley that he had unlimited power in Ireland, and that all the designs of the court factions would be effected without difficulty by the aid of himself and his party. He was not only permitted to celebrate a mass in Dublin, but accommodated with the plate of the castle by secretary Leighton. The remonstrants were quickly taught to feel the strength thus acquired by their adversaries, and vainly petitioned for protection. Their petition was intrusted to the duke of Ormonde, and by the interference of this great man, the lord Berkeley was instructed to protect them; but it is also probable that he received a private intimation which led him to disregard the injunction; for, exclaiming against the interference of Ormonde, he said that he should in future regard all instructions in favour of the remonstrants as coming from him, and pass it by without any notice.

Among the most evident indications of the purposes of the king's or rather the duke's party, were two which we shall find uniformly and consistently followed throughout—the granting of magisterial commissions to the papists, and their admission into the corporations: two steps, *at that period*, as directly subversive of the English interest in Ireland, as it is possible to conceive. It may at first sight appear difficult to some of our readers to see why, as forming a large portion of the people of this island, they should be debarred from offices which seem merely to imply an equality of civil rights. We must make a few observations on this important topic. In the abstract, unquestionably such exclusions are unjust: nor can any country in which they exist be considered as advanced to a high state of constitutional perfection. Such exclusions will, however, seldom be found to maintain their existence long, unless when they are rendered indispensable by the civil state of the country. And such was then the case of Ireland. This will be easily admitted by any impartial person who will recall the object of perpetual contention in this country, that it was not the civil equalization of parties but the restoration of an imaginary ancient state of things, of which the direct and immediate consequence must have been the utter prostration of the English, who were in point of fact the nucleus of civilization in Ireland. It was not equalization, but ascendancy, that was looked for, by a party in whose hands ascendancy must have become the establishment of a most degrading tyranny at home, together with the admission of a foreign jurisdiction. For the exclusion of the papists from civil equality, it was enough that they were actually under the unconstitutional, slavish, and arbitrary juris-

diction of Irish leaders, and of their priests—of which the first sought to wield the democracy for their own ends, and the second for the ends of the see of Rome. No power should be suffered to command the populace in opposition to the constitution without strong checks, even in a republican state; but in a growing country it was evident ruin to depress the thriving, wealthy, and informed classes under any pretext. In these observations the reader must perceive that we have confined ourselves to reasons purely political: the reasons here noticed are only those by which the more respectable portion of the papists were then influenced; for their cause was one with that of the Irish protestants—property law, and civilization, against disorderly and destructive cupidity, armed with the brute force of the (then) ignorant and demoralized multitude. It was not then, as is sometimes misapprehended, to exclude the members of the Romish faith from any fair privilege that they were excluded from certain civil rights: it was the consequence of their admission that was seen and guarded against. But we shall have to recur to this topic a little farther on.

The demolition of these just barriers against foreign and popular encroachment, was, as we have observed, a sure and unequivocal sign of a conspiracy against the constitution as it then stood, and the indications thus discoverable demand the more to be distinctly observed, because the whole task of the historian from the commencement, will be mainly to trace the progress of their effects, as they brought on the subversion of that ancient and corrupt system of arbitrary government, of which it was attempted to use them as a last support. The main cause of these effects, is, it is true, to be sought in the history of England, as this country was but the scene of a preliminary trial of strength and preparation; here the battle commenced and ended. In our next memoir we shall take a brief and summary view of its progress in England. These few remarks, which we shall presently have occasion to illustrate and extend, may serve sufficiently to put the reader in the possession of the leading characters of the policy which commenced the contest, and to explain the conduct of the eminent person of whom we now write.

In the year 1685, Forbes was, as we have already mentioned, joined with primate Boyle in the office of lord-justice. The time was one of extreme perplexity, as the designs, which we have been describing, were far advanced. The party which it was the policy of James, now seated on the throne, to depress, was grown discontented, alarmed, and suspicious; that to which they had been sacrificed, insolent, exacting, and exorbitant in its pretensions, and pressing forward to have all its objects carried with a high hand. Boyle and Granard were unanimous in their zeal for the maintenance of the English interest, though there were in their opinions sufficient differences to have held them asunder in ordinary times: while Boyle was zealous in the support of that church in which he was a ruler, Granard was the great patron of those shades of protestantism which dissented or maintained a worship and discipline separate from the established church of England; having obtained five hundred pounds a-year from government for the presbyterian teachers in the north, and married a lady of presbyterian opinions. On that account he was at first the object of

strong suspicion to his reverend colleague, who was not perhaps wrong in the supposition that he was selected by the government to counteract any leaning on his own part to the church, and to divide the protestant interest. If such was the design of the English Council, it undoubtedly added one more to the long and tortuous tissue of errors in which it was involved. Ignorant of the true nature and operation of the dissent subsisting in the protestant churches of Ireland, it was not aware that the central principles of a common faith must, in the moment of extreme danger, combine the protestants of all denominations, which are united by those principles, for their common protection. And so it was at this time found: Granard, whatever may have been his private views, united sincerely with Boyle. They acted, nevertheless, with exemplary caution and moderation, as well as firmness. Receiving from the fears or designs of either party daily information and reports, equally unfounded, they dismissed them all, and were tempted or terrified by no imaginary inducement or fear from holding a calm and steady rein on both. In their determination to maintain the protestant interest, nothing in fact was more necessary than to ward off those gross and palpable injustices which the fear or zeal of the crowd will always be ready to exact. The earl was at last, however, compelled to give way to a power which was not to be repressed by any consideration short of its main object. He was pressed by his council, who were mere instruments of the English court, to authorise Roman catholics to commit any person without bail: he requested to be dismissed. The government was reluctant to take such a step, as his influence among the presbyterians was very great, and his appointment was considered to be a restraint upon himself also. The king therefore wrote him a letter to assure him that he would not do any thing injurious to the protestant interest. Nevertheless it immediately appeared so very visible that this assurance was thoroughly false, and had no view but the deception of the earl, that he soon found himself forced to act with the most decided firmness, to prevent himself from being made instrumental against the protestants; and entering with decision into their interests, he was dismissed in 1685 from his post of chairman to the council.

The remaining history of his life must be here briefly dismissed: as it contains nothing of sufficient importance to draw us into an extensive anticipation of the train of events into which we are presently to enter.

In 1690, the earl was sworn of the privy council to William III., and, in the following year, distinguished himself before Sligo, by the prudent dexterity which caused the garrison to surrender to the forces under his command and those of colonel Mitchelbourne. In the following year he took his seat in parliament, and was one of the committee appointed by the peers to present their address of thanks to the king.

He built a church at Castle Forbes, and promoted the linen trade there.

He died "in or about" 1695, and was buried at Castle Forbes.

Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel.

DIED 1691.

The life of Richard Talbot is an essential portion of the history of his period, and, though apart from this consideration he would possess but feeble claims on the pen of the biographer, yet the history of his career may serve to afford a strong illustration of the effect of revolutionary periods, in raising the obscure to rank, fame, and public importance, without any aid from the possession of great talents or virtues. When wisdom and virtue are elevated to station and command by the dispositions of that power which overrules the tide of events, by the emergency which often sets aside for an instant the ordinary agencies of society, or by the accidents of wealth and exalted rank, they will undoubtedly win the homage which is their righteous meed: partly because the world is always ready to bow down before success, however won; and partly because men are more just in their judgments than pure in their actuating motives. The avowed conventions of society are in favour of goodness,—every popular vice must wear an honourable mask, and when bad men receive the praises of the multitude, it is not for the vices by which they are earned. But, after all that can be said, the fame of true wisdom and genuine goodness is rather a conquest over, than a consequence from, the moral influences actually operating on the world; it is an extorted concession hardly wrung, and, as in the case of the duke of Ormonde, too often followed by a long and lasting wake of detraction: while, on the other hand, base servility, whether to the humours of the people, the will of the despot of the hour, or the prejudices of the age, rise wafted by all the influences which are at work in the ferment of human corruption: they have a royal road of greatness, or, at least, notoriety. Between the two conditions we have thus contrasted, there is all the difference between stemming the tide, or floating with it. And there is another moral lesson which the same contrast is adapted to convey, whether it is sought in experience or the page of history: that true greatness of character will most frequently be found standing equally apart from the blind and fierce impulses of public opinion, and from the profligate venality of courts. In each of these *extremes*, there is a perpetual effort of usurpation, and an equal ignorance of the real rights of man, as well as a most strange unconsciousness of the true *locus* of that centre of moral and intellectual gravitation in which the actual power of civilized society resides, and its true balance is to be found. We should gladly extend our remarks on this most important, and much desiderated branch of moral science, but it is our business to display examples rather than enforce rules. The first duke of Ormonde has, we trust, afforded no doubtful example of a statesman who was equally inaccessible to the clamour of crowds and the corruption of tyrants, though true alike to the just claims and real interests of king and country, and assailed but too often by the ingratitude of both. In Tyrconnel, we here present the reader with a character remarkably illustrative of the contrast to these noble features.

Of the birth of Talbot we have not found any record, still less can we offer any notice of his early career; nor are these considerations such as to warrant the delay that they might offer in our narrative, which must derive its entire interest from the history of the time. We find Richard Talbot first in the historian's page the active advocate of the claims of the papists in 1662, and among the most forward and violent of those whom they sent to plead their cause in England; on which occasion he did more harm than good to the cause he was employed to serve, by his extreme want of prudence and moderation, and of all the qualities necessary for so difficult an office. If the reader should demand to what grounds we are to attribute a selection so injudicious on the part of his countrymen, we believe that, independent of the effect of mere violence to recommend the possessor to an angry crowd, Talbot was recommended by the reputation of his favour with the duke of York, into whose regard he had insinuated himself in the Netherlands before the Restoration, by a convenient and subservient attention, when attention and subserviency were harder to be met and of higher value. His devotion to the royal interests was shown, it is said, by an offer to assassinate Cromwell; and, after the restoration, his services were recompensed and his peculiar merits recognised, by the post of gentleman of the bed chamber to the duke of York.

His zeal in the cause he undertook, was increased by the early impression received in the course of the rebellion of 1641, and the terrors of the sack of Drogheda, left in his breast an abiding horror of fanaticism, which, in his narrow and worldly view, perhaps included all of religion beyond its forms and its secular associations.

In 1678, he was among those persons who were ordered to be apprehended on the accusations of the popish plot: but nothing to his prejudice having been discovered, he was permitted to leave the kingdom. From exile he was soon allowed to return, when this spurious excitement had subsided, and a strong reaction of popular feeling for a time gave strength to the actual machinations of the king's and duke's designs for the same end. On his return he lost no time in the exertion of his influence with the duke; and availing himself of his reputed knowledge of Irish affairs, he soon raised a fresh cloud of calumnies, doubts, and misapprehensions against the government of Ireland, then in the hands of the duke of Ormonde. The recall of this illustrious nobleman was the immediate consequence: Rochester was sent over with contracted powers; and the authority over military affairs, which till then had been committed to the lord-lieutenant, were now transferred to the lieutenant-general; which post was destined for Talbot.

Rochester, unwilling perhaps to go to Ireland, delayed his journey, and, in the mean time, a fresh and sudden change took place in the condition of affairs. The circumstances appear to be imperfectly understood: the king seems to have given way to those secret counsels in favour of Monmouth, which created a sudden coolness between him and the duke of York, of whose presence he endeavoured to rid himself by sending him to Scotland. The projected policy with regard to Ireland was entirely suspended, and matters remained there in a state of suspense, though aggravated by the increased animosity and the mutual accusations of parties.

Under these circumstances, while matters appeared not only to take a turn opposed to the duke's political designs, but even to menace his claim to the succession, the king opportunely died under circumstances impossible to be perused without some strong impressions of foul play. The duke was under a growing disfavour, and the earl of Rochester was on the point of being sent to the Tower, on a charge of official malversation in the treasury; and "a message was sent to Mr May, then at Windsor, to desire him to come to court that day, which it was expected would turn out a very critical day. And it proved to be so indeed, though in a different way."* The king was taken suddenly ill after taking "a porringer of spoon meat," which was made "too strong for his stomach," after which he had an unquiet night. The next day he was attended by Dr King, a chemist whom he had sent for concerning some chemical operations, upon which he was at the time engaged. When the doctor came, he was unable to understand the king, whose language was become suddenly so broken and incoherent as to be unintelligible. The doctor went out and reported this unusual circumstance to lord Peterborough, who desired him to return to the king: but he had hardly entered the chamber when the king fell down in a fit, which, for the moment, was judged to be apoplectic. The doctor then bled him, and he regained his senses; but still appeared so oppressed and stupified, that a return of the same attack was expected hourly. It was proposed to administer the sacrament to him, and he was addressed by Sancroft and Kenn, who, considering the real emergency of the occasion, spoke strongly to him of his sinful life: the king was meanwhile exhibiting in the presence of these reverend prelates a singular illustration of the life he had led, and of his awful unfitness to meet so sudden a call; for he was supported in the bed on which he sat by his mistress the duchess of Portsmouth. He was pressed to receive the sacrament, but resisted all entreaty till the duke of York sent for Huddleston, a favourite priest of his own persuasion: when this person had all things prepared for the purpose, every one was desired to leave the room but the earl of Bath and Feversham, when the sacrament according to the ritual of the Romish communion was administered with extreme difficulty, as the king was unable to swallow the wafer. After which, the company being re-admitted, the king "went through the agonies of death" very decently, according to Burnet: now and then complaining of being burned up within, but still commanding his sufferings enough to deliver his last injunctions to the duke, in favour of his favourite mistresses Portsmouth, and Nell Gwyn; and to give his blessing to those present, who fell on their knees to receive it, which seems to have been carrying the farce of court obsequiousness as far as can well be conceived. And thus king Charles II. died. In addition to the slight incidents which give a suspicious character to these circumstances, one far more unequivocal remains to be told. Poison was suspected by some of the physicians: and when the body was examined, great care was taken to divert the attention of the medical men present, from the stomach, which was not suffered to be examined; but while means were taken to divert and

* Burnet's Own Time.

interrupt the spectators' attention, it was suddenly put out of the way; but not before doctors Lower and Needham observed "two or three blue spots on the outside," from which their inference was evidently of an unfavourable nature. "Needham," says Burnet, "called twice to have it opened," but the operators pretended not to hear; and he heard a murmur amongst them when he repeated the call. Le Fevre, a French doctor, observed a blackness on the shoulder; and Short, whose creed encouraged him to speak his suspicions more freely, "did very much suspect foul dealing," and was soon after taken ill after drinking a large dose of wormwood wine given him by a patient, and died, expressing his opinion to the physicians who attended him, that he was poisoned for having spoken too freely of the king's death! These incidents may easily be overrated; yet it is not to be neglected that they are reported upon the authority of those who were least likely to be deceived; and whose inferences were the most likely to be grounded on a just appreciation of the actual circumstances. After having composed his history, Burnet received a very curious account from a Mr Henly, of Hampshire, of a conversation this gentleman had with the duchess of Portsmouth, who expressed herself as if she thought the king had been poisoned; and on being further pressed, she mentioned that she had always pressed his majesty to set himself at ease with his people, by coming to an agreement with his parliament; that he had made up his mind to follow this advice, and as a needful preliminary, resolved to send away the duke. These purposes were to have been carried into effect the day following that on which he was taken ill. She having been aware of these particulars beforehand, mentioned them (with an injunction of secrecy perhaps,) to her confessor: it was her impression that this person mentioned them to others, and that they thus went round through the parties most interested to prevent the king's designs by any means. This account, it must be observed, seems to coincide with the facts, so far as they are known, and account as well for the sudden interruption above mentioned in the Irish arrangements as far as the king's sudden death.

The licentious profligate, whose prudence, when fairly alarmed, might have led him to recall his steps and retrieve the fortunes of his race, was succeeded by his shallow and bigoted brother on the throne. Sincere and earnest in the principles he would have maintained, inflated with a false notion of the power and rights of kings, incapable of any sense of public rights, or not conceiving the real force and character of public opinion and national feeling, he tampered with these dangerous elements with a feeble and inadvertent hand, until they exploded, to the destruction of his house, and the subversion of the infirm and tottering pillars on which it stood.

Among his first acts was the reparation of that broken tissue of fraud and despotism, by which he had fondly hoped to effect his favourite purpose. The recall of the duke of Ormonde was confirmed with circumstances of gratuitous harshness; and having publicly avowed his adherence to the church of Rome, he prepared to pave the way for the restoration of the papal dominion in England by the completion of its triumphs in Ireland. The mere report of his favour went before his acts, and heaped fresh fuel in Ireland upon the flames of party

contention and fear. The Irish papists were naturally eager to avail themselves to the fullest extent, of a revolution which appeared to be working in their favour. The notions of the day with regard to civil rights were crude, loose, and unsettled. The various territorial arrangements which had been taking place since the great rebellion, by which lands and claims had appeared to be shifted by arbitrary awards and decisions with a meteoric uncertainty, had tended to this effect, as well as the continued interpositions of government, by stretches of prerogative and special enactment, rather than by ascertained ordinances and jurisdictions. With the understood sanction of the king, sudden impulses of popular feeling became more violent in the effects which they produced: the party animosity or alarm, as well as the ambition and cupidity of turbulent and designing partisans, were at once in arms, and all who looked for any advantage rushed with characteristic impetuosity to their object. The papists were animated not simply by the desire of obtaining political ascendancy—they were also governed by an ardent thirst for revenge: nor, considering human nature, do we consider the statement to their prejudice; for they were only obliged to look on the policy of which they had been the subjects, according to the principles they held; and if we abstract that stern and stringent policy from its own most imperative reasons, it could not fail to be regarded as oppressive. The time was now seemingly at hand for the assertion of their civil and ecclesiastical principles, and for seizing upon the ascendancy, which every party will not fail to usurp when the occasion offers. The restoration of the forfeited lands was expected to follow that of a communion, which the fondness of popular credulity now conceived to be the ancient faith of the land; and this expectation gave its usual excitement to the eagerness of the fresh impulse then communicated. The proceedings of council and their enactments appeared tardy to the popular zeal, and the departure of the duke of Ormonde to Dublin was the signal for a universal influx of the party, thus roused into life and hope. The alarm thus excited was increased by the selection of officers appointed by the English council. They were, it is true, protestants; for the king was checked at every stage of his rash course by the advice of persons more cautious than he; but they were generally supposed to be selected for dispositions likely to promote the royal aims: Boyle (until tried) was supposed to have a leaning to popery, and Granard being the zealous patron of the presbyterians, would thus, it was presumed, be not unlikely to lead to a division of the hostile camp. These impressions were indeed, as we have already noticed, soon found to be erroneous.

The rebellion of Monmouth, quickly suppressed, gave the king a pretext of which he gladly availed himself, to accelerate his operations. The Irish militia, embodied by the duke of Ormonde and composed of protestants, was by his orders disarmed, and the measure was rendered specious by rumours of a protestant insurrection, for which there was much cause, but no disposition. It was immediately after this act that Talbot was raised to the peerage by the king, and the act was approved by the loud applause of his party. The clergy of the church of Rome addressed the king, to petition that he would send over

the earl as lord-lieutenant, with plenary power to restore them to their rights and functions; but the king or his advisers felt that such a step would yet be precipitate: there was danger in suffering the too rapid advance of his policy in Ireland to expose its real design in England, where some degree of caution was, even by the infatuated king, felt to be necessary. The character of Talbot was rash and unmoderated by judgment. On this account it was judged safer to steer a middle course, and the earl of Clarendon was sent over. His near connexion with the king, and his zealous profession of loyal principles, together with his ignorance of Ireland, recommended him as a safe person to quiet suspicions and allay the disturbances, which, having been raised by intemperate eagerness, might lead to premature results. Clarendon began by congratulating himself in his public speech to the council on the quiet state of the country. He was ere long undeceived: the disarming of the militia had been productive of disorders unknown for many previous years in Ireland; the bands of plundering bonaghts which they had kept down, soon overspread the country with murders and robberies, and it was found necessary to restore, to a considerable extent, the arms which had been taken from the protestants.

The appointment of Clarendon was nothing more than the masque devised to cover the approaches of the grand attack—to quiet alarm and baffle the observation of England, which was now looking on these transactions with jealousy; but the zeal of James was too earnest for the slow and temporising methods which prudence would have demanded. A more long-sighted and dexterous politician would have shunned the precipitate course, which, producing its effects without mature preparation, is sure to terminate in a dangerous reaction. He would have known that no state of things is so perfect, that it may not be speciously undermined under the pretext of remedying its evils and repairing its defects; and that the measures by which these useful ends may be seemingly approached, are but instruments to be used according to the will of those who devise and govern their operation. A well feigned zeal for the protestant constitution of the kingdom, might easily have been reconciled with the demonstrations of a just and humane regard for the civil prosperity of their brethren of the Romish communion; and while by slow and cautious forbearance, the fears of the country and the discontents and jealousies which were gradually fermenting into an organized existence, might have been dissipated; the political forces of the nation, and the moral prepossessions which are sure to follow their direction, might have been worked round in the course of a few years, to a point at which resistance would be ineffectual, and the power attained well and widely rooted, and have sent out its fibres wide and deep through every institution and source of civil life. But neither James, nor the zealots by whom he was secretly impelled, nor the Irish party who were to be the vanguard of the struggle he was about to commence, had the patience for political manœuvring. The pliancy of Clarendon was to be associated with the fierce and unscrupulous resolution of Talbot, who was created earl of Tyrconnel, and sent over as lieutenant-general of the Irish army, and invested with all the powers over that efficient branch of the Irish administration, which had till then been an essential power

of the lord-lieutenant. Talbot was, as King remarks, "a person more hated than any other man by the protestants," he had been named by Oates as the person destined for the very employment now committed to his hands, and the remark circulated, that if "Oates was an ill evidence, he was certainly a good prophet." Tyrconnel entered upon his new office with ferocious alertness, while his first care was to new-organize the army; for this purpose he omitted no means, and suffered no sense of humanity or regard for the claims of right or honour to stand in his way. His sudden and violent steps were aggravated by insolence, and debased by dissimulation. "In the morning he would take an officer into his closet, and with all the oaths, curses, and damnations which were never wanting to him, he would profess friendship and kindness for him, and promise him the continuance of his commission, and yet in the afternoon cashier him with all the contempt he could heap upon him. Nay, perhaps, while he was then caressing him, he had actually given away his commission."* From the same historian we learn, "as for the soldiers and troopers, his way with them was to march them from their usual quarters to some distant place where he thought they were least known, where they would be put to the greatest hardships, and then he stripped them, &c., &c."† Thus turned out of employment, and stripped, these unfortunate men had to return home in the condition of paupers across the country. This was but a small portion of the evil inflicted by the same act. The soldiers by whom these were replaced, were selected for a purpose, and governed by impressions little favourable to any end but the insolence and disorder into which they launched at once. Raised for the understood purpose of aggression, they did their worst to exceed the purposes of their employer. Tyrconnel's orders, as the orders of the worst administration will commonly be, were couched so as to present the sound at least of civil right; it was simply ordered that all classes of his majesty's subjects should be allowed to serve in the army. Tyrconnel better understood the spirit of his employer, and went straightway to his end. He gave open and peremptory directions, that none should be admitted but members of the Church of Rome.

The consequences of this innovation were some of them immediate and deplorable. The change thus violently effected was not more remarkable for the ruinous and inhuman dismissal of the existing corps of the army, than for the indiscriminate admission, in their place, of the most unqualified and the most vile. Tyrconnel, whose object it was to carry his purposes with the rough and strong hand of violence, and to ruin as well as to depress, had no scruple in the adaptation of his instruments to his ends. The dregs and offscourings of society, robbers and adventurers, poured into his ranks, and incapable of discipline, continued to pursue their lawless vocations under the countenance of authority. Of their general conduct, King gives the following account:—"The new-raised forces and officers, being put into arms and command to which they were strangers, into good cloathes, and mounted on horses for which others had paid, behaved themselves with all the insolence common to such sort of men when unworthily

* King.

† Ibid.

advanced. They every where insulted over the English, and had their mouths continually full of oaths, curses, and imprecations against them. They railed on them, and gave them all the opprobrious names they could, and if any chastised them for their sauciness, though ever so much provoked, they had the judges and juries on their side; they might kill whom they pleased without fear of the law, as appeared from Captain Nangle's murdering his disbanded officer in the streets of Dublin; but if any killed or hurt them, they were sure to suffer, as captain Aston found to his cost, &c." King further continues his description of the constitution of the new force. "The non-commissioned officers were obliged without pay, to subsist their men, as they termed it, for three months,—a thing impossible for them to do, since most of them were not able to maintain themselves. The better sort of their captains and inferior officers had been footmen or servants to protestants. One gentleman's cow-herd was made a lieutenant, but he would fain have capitulated with his master, to keep his place vacant for him if his commission did not hold. Most of them were the sons or descendants of rebels in 1641, who had murdered so many protestants. Many were outlawed and condemned persons that had lived by torying and robbing. No less than fourteen notorious tories were officers in Cormack O'Neale's regiment, and when forty or fifty thousand such were put into arms, without any money to pay them, we must leave the world to judge what apprehensions this must breed in protestants, and whether they had not reason to fear the destruction that immediately fell on them. They saw their enemies in arms, and their own lives in their power; they saw their goods at the mercy of those thieves, and robbers, and tories, now armed and authorized, from whom they could scarce keep them when it was in their power to pursue and hang them; and they had all the reason in the world to believe, that a government that had armed such men of desperate fortunes and resolutions, was so far from protecting them, which is the only end of all government, that on the contrary, it designed to destroy both their lives and fortunes. The latter of which, as will appear by the sequel, they have in a manner entirely lost."

Upon an arrangement so fatal to the civil state of the country, the reasons given at the time offer a sufficient comment, the plenary power of the king to select his servants, will now demand no reasons on any side; but the excuse that the "Protestants would not concur with the king's intentions," and that there was therefore "a necessity of dismissing them," and that the permission to plunder the protestants was a necessary encouragement to raise an army, without which the king had nothing to trust, were the remaining pleas thus publicly and generally maintained, and the topics of controversial discussion between the writers and debaters of either party; they show clearly the bold and thorough-paced character of the agents and their aims, and render all their Irish acts clear from any ambiguity. The similar attempts to pervert the courts of justice to similar ends, must be viewed as the consistent prosecution of the same policy, in a country, from its imperfect civilization and continual disorder, subject to the irregular influence of every civil authority, and every power regular or irregular; the bench, always an organ of civil

administration capable of the most extensive influence, was particularly adapted to be converted into an instrument of tyranny. The barrier, apparently so wide and insurmountable, between judicial integrity and the accommodating subserviency of the place-man, is in reality no hinderance to the worst imaginable perversions, so long as the place-man can be elevated at the will of courts and bonded to their purposes. King James made short work of the matter by a summary removal of three judges, in whose places he substituted others. Sir Alexander Fitton, a person in all respects unworthy of the trust, was made chancellor; and, arrogating for his court a power above the laws, he accommodated it to the purpose of his appointment. The same method was applied to the common law courts, with the same success. Nugent, Daly, and Rice, three lawyers only recommended by their obsequious devotion to the dictates of the castle, were made judges, in direct opposition to the remonstrances of lord Clarendon, then lord-lieutenant. We think it now unnecessary to observe, that we consider the unfitness of these appointments not to consist in the creed of these men, but in their personal unfitness, and the party end of their election. It needs not to be urged that a person of any communion, having the principles of a gentleman, integrity and honour, could not be warped into the subserviency of which these persons are accused; but such persons were unquestionably not the instruments of king James's designs, or of the measures by which he pursued them—measures which it is to be observed, were censured even by the pope as impolitic and unjust. The only remaining fastnesses to be assailed were the corporations, upon which mainly depended the civil strength of the English; these were assailed with the same measure of consideration and justice, as the army and the bench. This attack was carried through with his characteristic violence. Clarendon being found quite unsuited for the thorough measures required, was recalled; and Tyrconnel, by the influence of the earl of Sunderland, to whom he agreed to pay a share of his salaries, appointed lord-deputy in 1687. He went to work with the civil as he had done with the military departments. He demanded from the Dublin corporation a surrender of their charter; they petitioned the king, and received an insulting repulse. By a most infamous mockery of justice, they were ejected by a *quo warranto* brought into the court of exchequer, which was the court in which the whole business of the king was done. The whole of these infamous proceedings may be found in great detail in the "*State of the Protestants of Ireland*," by archbishop King, a contemporary and a looker on, whose testimony cannot reasonably be objected to, on the ground either of insufficient judgment or means of observation, as he stands incontrovertibly at the head of those, who can be named eminent for high attainment or ability in his generation; and the querulous accusations of prejudice brought sometimes by very incompetent judges against his representations, are gratuitously unfounded, and would be unworthy even of the passing comment of a sentence, but that every word dropped in the support of party clamour derives some weight from the passions and the ignorance of the crowd who are concerned in public affairs.

"To prevent writs of Error into England," writes King, "all these

quo warrantos were brought in the exchequer, and in about two terms judgments were entered against most charters." For this purpose, all the lowest and most paltry chicanery was resorted to. It was endeavoured to find the corporators guilty of illegal acts, but in this design the instruments of James were totally frustrated. The principal pleas which were effectively resorted to were entirely technical, and consisted for the most part of quibbling objections to the form and wording of the charters. Some corporations were betrayed into surrender by the agents of their head landlords. Of this, the borough of Athy is mentioned by King, which thus fell a victim to the agent of the earl of Kildare. It is needless however to enter at length upon the curious history of the various artifices or tyrannical means made use of in this proceeding; for the most part they were even ridiculously unfair. It may generally be observed that the general principle adopted was to adapt the forms of law to the utmost extent to which they could by any stretch of language be made available, and when this was either impossible (an unlikely case to occur; for the reach of sophistry is unlimited,) or where some advantage was to be gained by more direct injustice, it was directly resorted to without any scruple. The only obstacle which indeed offered itself to the sweeping and resolute career of civil change, arose from the pressure of the party itself. The eager and inflamed zeal of the popular party quickly took flame at the prospect of a triumph. The intellect of the community, unenlightened to a degree not easily comprehensible from any thing now existing, was soon inflamed to the point of fanaticism. The people interpreted the intentions of their leaders, as the people ever will, according to their own prejudices, and in consequence were ready to rush to the results they expected and desired. Seeing the protestants oppressed, persecuted, and unceremoniously ejected from their rights, they joined impetuously in the violence with which they were assailed, and every street was disturbed with brawls arising from violence or insult attempted against those on whom the government was employing its whole arsenal of persecution.* The persons as well as the rights of the persecuted party were insulted, and every injury committed which the sense of impunity was likely to encourage.

The government also, was no less unsparing in its outrages upon the rights of individuals, than on those of public bodies, and in these latter far less form was required; it was the maxim of the king, and the continual text of his agents, that he "would not be a slave to the laws," and Ireland was the selected scene for the trial of this right. Here the laws were daily set aside by a dispensing power, and we could offer flagrant instances of robberies perpetrated virtually by the king under the pretence of this right. "If he had a mind to any thing, he sent an officer with a file of musqueteers and fetched it away without considering the owners."† In the pursuance of its purposes, neither public nor private rights were allowed to have any weight. Private property and patent offices or privileges were treated with less ceremony

* If any one should consider the representation here made as savouring of a party spirit, we may refer to the accounts which we have given of the rebellion of 1641, as clear evidence of the contrary.—ED.

† King.

than the public character of corporate bodies had required. Instances are unnecessary, but the reader may be gratified by a few. The chancellor of the exchequer was turned out to make room for Rice the instrument of the crown; Sir John Topham, and Sir John Coghil, were turned out of their masterships in chancery. Of the persons thus deprived, few had even the privilege of a hearing; and they who had, were called before the chancellor, who on a private hearing dismissed them without further ceremony. It is however unnecessary to dwell further on this state of affairs; our sole object being to convey some general impression of the character of James's policy in this country.

Indeed, among the many circumstances which either tend to characterize or authenticate our view of this policy, there is none more unquestionable in the construction or the evidence it offers, than the fact that it had not the sanction either of the more moderate or the more respectable of any party. The court of Rome censured its folly and cruelty. Dr Maguire, the primate of the Roman church in Ireland, joined the better portion of the aristocracy and clergy of that communion in a strong remonstrance addressed to the king, to whom they represented that Tyrconnel's violence had only been directed to awaken a universal terror and indignation, and that he had displaced the protestants to no other end than to excite discontent and spread distress and confusion through the country.

Even here it is perhaps right to admit that some attempts were made to keep up some such shadow of justice as the purpose would admit of; one-third of the new corporations were allowed to be protestants, but this arrangement was so contrived as to convey no protection, the protestants were cautiously chosen from the quakers and other dissenting classes, who were at the time least likely to make common cause with the Church of England. The same was the method pursued with regard to the courts of justice; one protestant judge selected for those qualities which should have excluded him from the bench, sat with two of the church of Rome, and thus preserved the appearance of equal and indifferent justice.

While these attacks on the protestants were going on, it was not to be expected that the great seminary of the protestant church in Ireland was to escape its share of persecution. Before Tyrconnel's arrival, the king sent his mandate to the university, commanding the admission of a person named Green, as professor of the Irish language, and that he should be paid all arrears of the salary. It is needless to say that there was no such professorship, and thus the first attack was baffled. After Tyrconnel's arrival, a more determined effort was to be made; seeing that nothing was to be hoped from the fear or subserviency of the university, more violent means were to be used. One Doyle, a pretended convert, was named to be a Fellow in virtue of the king's dispensing power, but his utter unfitness was shown, so as even to confound Tyrconnel himself; the college, however, would have been overruled on this point, but the oath of supremacy which Doyle feared to take, was a surer ground of defence, and on a hearing in which every point was strained in his favour, the case was given up. The enemies of the Irish protestants did not however suffer their purpose to be

thus defeated. The chief means by which the University was then supported, was a government allowance of £388 per annum; this resource was stopped: such a proceeding was at the time nearly equivalent to a suppression of the university: it was soon followed up by still more summary proceedings. The learned body, to which, independent of all consideration of their main function as subsidiary to the church, Ireland was so much indebted, were expelled from their walls, and a garrison quartered in their room. The soldiers vented their fury upon the walls, and mischief to the amount of £2000 remained to be afterwards repaired by the university. The plate, furniture, and all property, private or public, were seized for the king; the scholars were persecuted, and prohibited on pain of death from meeting together to the number of three. The same course was pursued with all protestant schools, whether of public or private foundation. From this, the next step was the seizure of the churches, and the sequestration of all vacant benefices and bishopricks.

The sheriffs every-where appointed for the same purpose, and selected for the same qualifications, went beyond the intent of their employers in oppression and spoliation, and the country sounded with universal outcries against them, and the effects they quickly produced. The civil and military officers of the crown were leagued to plunder and oppress by all means which lay within their several vocations. A consequence, which, in the eagerness of fanaticism and cupidity had been lost sight of, occurred to aggravate the shock which the kingdom thus received; commerce, chiefly in the hands of the protestants, was utterly destroyed. This mischief is the more to be noticed, because it was not the mere result of the king's eager hostility against the protestants, but an avowed expedient for the general depression of the kingdom: for it was a well-known maxim, openly avowed by this feeble, though violent and wrong-headed bigot, that the depression of the people and the abatement of national prosperity, were the only security for the power of the crown. The scheme for the destruction of commerce involved every portion of his majesty's dominions, but it was considered a prudent caution to begin this unworthy operation upon the vantage ground of Ireland.

This country had, as we have already had occasion to state, suffered considerable shocks in the late reign, which had much disturbed its progress. Till the cruel and insane enactments against the exportation of Irish cattle, there had been a uniform consideration for the advantage of Ireland in all previous commercial enactments and regulations concerning trade, and no distinction had been made between the two kingdoms. For a long time this island had indeed fortunately escaped the attention of the commercial part of the English community, owing to the limited scope of commerce itself; and the kings of England, who mostly felt their own interest in the advantage of Ireland, were allowed to use their discretion. But when the country gentlemen had acquired general notions on the political interests of the country, they naturally fell into many errors, from false reasoning upon a subject of which the extent and difficulty had not begun to be appreciated. Hence arose the commencement of those commercial restrictions, so long injurious to this country. But king James and his culpable advisers delib-

erately adopted their ruinous policy, without any regard to any consideration but the increase of the royal power. In pursuance of this design, it was at the time affirmed by those who were supposed to be in the king's counsels, that he had determined to suffer the English navy to fall into decay, that the French might grow great at sea, and thoroughly destroy the trade which increased the wealth and promoted the insolence of his British subjects. It was at the time a cant among the royal partisans, that the king "could not have his will" of the people by reason of their wealth, and he could not himself forbear occasionally expressing himself to the same effect. It was openly reasoned by his officers that "it was more for the king's advantage to have his subjects poor than rich; for, said they, you see how willing the poor Irish are to enlist themselves soldiers for twopence a-day, who know no better way of living: but it were impossible to bring the rich churls of England (so they usually called them) from their farms, and shops, and such terms, to serve the king. They further alleged, that the poverty of the generality of France is the reason that they are so willing to be soldiers, and makes them so easily maintained when they are enrolled."*

The trade of the kingdom was, as we have stated, chiefly in the hands of protestants, and this gave an added reason for its destruction, so powerful as to have in some measure thrown all others into comparative neglect. The protestants not entering into the general views of the king, drew from a sense of their own importance to the welfare of the kingdom, a fallacious hope that they might still receive protection. They soon were undeceived. They were quickly received, or drawn out of the kingdom by oppressions and injuries of which the following are chiefly enumerated as leading to this disastrous consequence: in the towns they saw the lowest persons, many of whom had been either their menials, or in some such way dependent on them, raised over their heads into situations which gave them that power to insult and injure, which the base and low will never be slow to use to the hurt of those who have been their superiors: the great and destructive exactions consequent upon the elevation into sudden authority of persons who had no money, and who were therefore necessitated to repair this want by extortions, under the pretext of taking goods on credit: the customs were also used for the purpose of ruining trade; the duties were raised by discretionary valuations, so that the merchant was often compelled to pay treble duties. There was another grievance, more circuitous in its operation, but not less destructive in effect:—the whole coin of the kingdom, which was short of the revenue, circulated once a-year into the treasury: from this, great care was taken that no part of it should be paid into protestant hands: and it was generally impressed on the members of the church of Rome, that they should deal exclusively with each other. Of this it was the consequence, that no one would deal with the protestants unless on credit, and that without any design to pay. They were similarly oppressed by the officers of the army, who took whatever they wanted by force when persuasion failed.

Of these injuries the consequence was, that the wealthiest traders

* King.

soon contrived to remove their property from the kingdom, and trade was at an end. Other means were resorted to by Tyrconnel, among which was the unhappy expedient of encouraging the illegal conveyance of Irish wool into France; but we cannot afford further detail of this class of oppressions, for which the materials are unusually abundant in the numerous documents which remain from the contemporaries. The attacks on property were not confined to trade.

In addition to the measures of destruction last mentioned, the whole tribe of informers sprung up with more than their usual fertility. The varied plots against the proprietors of lands, which had, in the administration of Parsons, been such an aggravation of the evils of that calamitous period, were now sadly increased in amount and variety. This can easily be understood: the protestants were then beyond all comparison the more civilized class: the insolence, injustice, and falsehood, which always belong to the triumph of the democracy of every party, were now aggravated by the character of the party itself, and by the general condition that it was now for the first time countenanced by authority. Formerly there was always a hope of escape at the worst, in the chance that the prosecution of private or official tyranny might be exposed to the English council or the eye of royal justice; but now there was no refuge at the throne; the fountain of all malversation and perversion of all right was the royal breast. Yet, even under these circumstances, so monstrous was the combination of villany and ignorance, that accusations failed, from being too evidently false for even the goodwill of the council to admit. On one occasion, they had indeed the mortification to be themselves the reluctant witnesses in favour of sixty protestant gentlemen, who had been before them to be examined on the very day that they were accused of holding an illegal meeting at Nenagh.

While the most unprecedented combination of oppression, misgovernment, and the most incredible infatuation, were thus working their most deplorable effects, and Ireland was a stage of every species of oppression, borne as oppression has seldom been borne in the history of nations, the triumphant party had their own quarrels: like foul birds, they soon began to tear each other upon the carcass of the fallen foes. The lord-lieutenant did not escape the enmity of those whom it was impossible even for his unscrupulous nature to satisfy: his secretary, when restrained in the selling of offices, resolved to ruin him, and drew up an accusation for the purpose. He was backed in this attempt by the titular primate and father Petre: but the influence of Sunderland prevailed to save Tyrconnel, who met the charge with a long and true detail of his enemy's corruption. We shall not enter into this detail; accusation found sufficient scope on either side, and it will be enough to state, that the secretary was dismissed from his employment, and the attack upon Tyrconnel had no effect in diminishing his favour with a master whom he served too well. More serious was the dissatisfaction of the English privy council at the great and sudden defalcation of the Irish revenue. Such a consequence was not to be viewed with much complacency by any; but there were in the council some lords, who saw with disapprobation the course which had been adopted towards Ireland, and now noticed its effects with a severity

not very acceptable to king James. Lord Bellasis, a Roman catholic peer, with just indignation, observed that a governor like Tyrconnel would ruin ten kingdoms; and so loud became the outcry in England, that at last he was compelled to go over to set matters right with the king. The king, perfectly willing for the destruction of both kingdoms, was under the necessity of disguising his policy as much as his violent and narrow disposition would admit, and was from time to time compelled to contradict his own declarations, and belie his purposes.

Tyrconnel committed the government of the kingdom to Fitton and the earl of Clanricarde, reminding them of the great power which their party had now gained, with a blasphemous imprecation that God might damn them should they be remiss in the use of it. He took with him chief baron Rice, and waited at Chester on the king, whom he easily satisfied. His foes were not so easily satisfied; the titular primate, who had been Sheridan's assistant in the recent accusation, and father Petre, who had joined in the same attempt, were filled with resentment. The English Romanists were dissatisfied at the atrocity of the means taken to exalt their party in Ireland, and the Irish members of the same church were utterly discontented at the result. The latter soon saw that while the protestants were insulted and robbed by soldiers and lay officials of every denomination, no substantial change was all the while effected in favour of the Roman church, neither were the hierarchy and ecclesiastical privileges on one side a step raised, or on the other depressed; and the Pope, who did not approve of any part of James's character and policy, showed his entire contempt of all their proceedings on every occasion, as we shall presently notice more fully.

Before proceeding farther with the train of events in Ireland, we shall now call the reader's attention to the concurrent progress of English affairs, upon which depended the great event of all this miserable wickedness and folly; and lest any reader should consider this an unnecessary digression, we may here observe, as we shall hereafter more fully explain, that numerous modern historical writers have, either by inadvertence or design, altogether misinterpreted the history of the period, from taking a narrowed view of events, isolated from all the essential concomitants of cause and circumstance. We cannot, indeed, too frequently repeat our maxim, adopted in this work, that to investigate aright the justice and policy of measures, the designs and principles of the party by whom they are to be administered, is the chief element, and, for the most part, the only one worth consideration. To estimate rightly the violent proceedings of the Irish government at this critical period, it becomes absolutely necessary to survey the whole system of instrumentality of which they were a portion.

King James had ascended the throne under circumstances unusually favourable. A severe struggle between the court and the country party had, by a succession of incidents, most of which were apparently accidental, terminated in the temporary prostration of the popular spirit. The sounds of party conflict had been silenced by the defeats and disasters of the popular party, by the guilt and folly of those who had made the public cause instrumental to their private malignity or ambition, or by the exposure of the great impostures which had be-

trayed the public zeal into a false position. A cessation of party intrigue was accompanied by an obsequious parliament, who, if the mere appearance of moderation had been preserved, and the king had simply contented himself with the attainment of despotic power, would have been content to fill his coffers, swell his prerogative, and sleep on their forms, under the soporific influence of a despotic sceptre, and in full faith in the divine right of kings.

But the divine protection which has, we are willing to believe, ever watched over the fate of England, ordered it otherwise, and broke this fatal trance. The king was, as the reader is aware, not nearly so desirous to exalt the prerogative, as to bring his heretic people to the foot of the Pope, and either his impatience, or that of the priests by whom all his actions were guided and governed, would not allow him to pursue his beloved object by the longer, but safer and surer, path of policy. His arrogant faith in the power of the crown, and the easy conquest over the ill-concerted rebellion of the duke of Monmouth, increased his power and his confidence, and he soon came to the rash and fatal resolution, to fling aside the flimsy disguise which had hitherto concealed his motives, and go directly to his object. The intemperance of his zeal hurried him on, and many of the steps which at first appeared to secure him a triumph, and to increase the terror and submission of his subjects, were, from their nature, sure to create a speedy and dangerous reaction. By a fatality, not singular in the events of Europe, the triumph of protestantism was to be ushered in by menacing appearances of protestant adversity all over Europe. A general revolution in favour of the church of Rome, appeared to have fully set in, and a seeming conspiracy of thrones and principalities in its favour, was crowned by the fearful consequences of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. The horrors of religious persecution, so much talked of, and so little truly imagined in our own times, let loose against protestants in the dominions of Louis, excited terror and despair in the British isles, among the crowd who looked no further than the bounded circle of the moment. But England, though at an humble distance it is to be confessed, reflected the horrors of the continent in that dreadful period. The will of the despot will never want agents suited to its utmost reach of cruelty and injustice: the execrable Jefferies and the monster Kirke, with their cloud of fiend-like officials, were let loose upon the English protestants; the one made a mockery of justice, and the other turned aside its very name, for the satisfaction of the tyrant's and bigot's eager fanaticism, and for the gratification of their own blood-thirsty natures. We are not under the necessity of entering upon the well-known details of their crimes, to be found in every history of England,* as strongly narrated by the latitudinarian Hume, as by the zealous and decided pen of Burnet. Suffice to say, that every town, and almost every village in England, was stained with judicial and military executions, on so little warrant or pretence of crime, that no protestant could feel safe. To throw a slight veil over this flagitious persecution, every pretence was adopted to give a civil character to the pro-

* See Hume's *England*, Vol. viii., p. 184, et seq.

ceeding: the common pretence was some suspicion of having been engaged in rebellion, being disaffected, having harboured rebels, or uttered disloyal language. The nearest general idea we can give of the nature of the proceedings, may be had from the statement, that even Jefferies, who pretended to use the forms of law, constantly threw even these aside to obtain quick and summary convictions; that not content with bullying the advocates, where any such had the courage to appear, and in his own person confounding the judge with the prosecutor, he adopted the still shorter method of endeavouring to bully the prisoners into admissions which might save any unnecessary delay between the bar and the gallows. Kirke had a still shorter course; setting aside the mockery of trial, he considered that the real object of the whole proceeding was the death of obnoxious persons, and he hanged those who were brought before him without further inquiry. Even these atrocities might have escaped the retribution they richly deserved, had the infatuated monarch been content to carry his objects in detail, and by slow approaches, making conquest precede the assumption of victory. His first step was the assertion of the power to dispense with the tests by which the members of the Romish communion were excluded from the army. He declared to his parliament his wish to retain the services of the numerous officers of that persuasion who had assisted in suppressing the late rebellion. He told them that the militia had been found useless, and that it was necessary to maintain a force, on which, in case of any future rebellion, he might rely, and that he would neither expose them to the disgrace of a dismissal, nor lose their service. For this purpose he demanded a supply, and at the same time mentioned, that by his royal prerogative he had dispensed with the test in their favour. The commons were as much disposed as it was possible for any body of English gentlemen to be, to submit to the encroachments of royalty, and it is most likely, as Hume suggests, that if he had been content to exercise the unconstitutional right which he thus claimed, they would have been silent; but, under the direct appeal, silence would have been too ignominious. The double assertion of a dispensing power and of a standing army, composed too of that class most incompatible with the constitution, and most likely to be used against it, was too much, and the commons were roused to the exertion of some freedom of speech. A remonstrance was voted, prepared, and transmitted; but they received a bullying reply from the king. They soon, however, gave way before the king's anger, and had the baseness to send Mr Coke, the member for Derby, to the Tower, because, while they were yet quailing under their terror at the angry reply of the king, he attempted to recall their spirit by the simple but eloquent reproof, "I hope we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened with a few hard words." From such cowardice little resistance was to be apprehended by the king. They adjourned without committing themselves by any further consideration of the contested points, and when they next met, they entered with loyal alacrity upon the business of supply, voting a large additional revenue to strengthen the hand they feared. This victory was, however, in other respects frustrated by the firmness of the other house, and by the impetuosity of the king. The king's speech was received by the lords.

after the usual custom of the house, by a vote of thanks, which was yet merely personal. A few days after, when the consideration of its actual purport was proposed, an attempt was made to arrest this course, by the representation that by their vote of thanks the peers had precluded themselves from all further animadversion on the subject. This doctrine was promptly repelled, and several peers expressed their opinions in opposition to the court with frank spirit. The lead in this opposition was, however, taken by the bishop of London, in the name of the whole bench, which Hume, with a gratuitous levity of assertion which the whole history of the reign should have silenced, observes, was the quarter from which such a freedom was least to be expected. These, with the temporal peers who took the same side, strenuously urged, that the "test was the best fence they had for their religion; if they gave up so great a point, all the rest would soon follow; and if the king might by his authority supersede such a law, fortified with so many clauses, and, above all, with an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more; the government would become arbitrary and absolute."* Jefferies took the principal part on the opposite side, and attempted to maintain the doctrines of the court by such arguments as alone could have any weight in the maintenance of such doctrines; but as these consisted in menace and blustering assertion, the eloquence of Jefferies fell pointless, and he found himself disconcerted, humbled, and out of his element, in the presence of those who rebuked his insolence with merited scorn, and treated his reasons with the slight which was their due. The king was enraged, and committed the precipitate step which was never to be retrieved, by proroguing and finally dissolving a parliament, less hostile to his person and aims than any other he might after hope to bring together; and we would here call the reader's attention to the consideration which we think essential to a due allowance for the folly of this and many further steps of the king,—that his heat of temper, and the fierce indignation with which he met every opposition, prevented that moral recoil of fear and alarm, by which a more considerate and composed spirit would have been led to perceive danger, where James, in his blind and intemperate zeal, only saw offence; so inveterately was his understanding bigoted to the sense of his indefeasible power, that he felt the very remonstrance of those upon whose rights he would infringe, as an insult and an outrage, so that his resentment and gloomy pride went before all regard to consequences. By keeping this seemingly slight moral fact in view, and looking in addition on the exceeding instability of a temper so little supported by manly firmness or statesmanlike wisdom, it will be easy to conceive at a glance the opposite attributes of mind which appear to characterize his conduct—the extremes of presumption and imbecility are indeed never far asunder.

On the abstract merits of the question thus raised, as to the dispensing power of the king, the decision is involved in too many difficulties for the brief method of discussion which our limits would require. Lawyers have exerted all their ability to enlighten and obscure it, and with all the admirable resources of learning and talent

which they can bring to bear on such questions, and have brought to bear on this, they can seldom be cited as the best guides in the investigation of a principle, or even in the policy and expediency of its application. Ever engaged in advocacy, and fettered by the habitual constraint of conventional maxims, which are in so many instances only valid in courts of justice, they are better judges of what is the law than of what is right, fit, or just. The mind of Coke will, on this very question, be found perched on the absurdity that the king is entitled to the entire service of all his subjects, which can only be true in virtue of an admission; and may, like some other maxims, be very useful as a summary statement of the facts and secondary principles it is meant to embody, but no more than a wretched assumption when applied as a first principle to the decision of a right which can only exist in one of three ways, as the inference from a necessary principle, from unquestionable and general admission of fitness, or from the express declaration of positive law. Viewed in the last mentioned aspect, there seems to be a general consent of lawyers, whose authority can hardly be rejected in such a question, that a dispensing power in the crown has always been admitted in the legislature as well as in the courts, up to the period in question; so far there can properly be raised no question. But the state of the law being so far ascertained, a very wide question must be admitted to arise as to the *limits* of such a power. If we have to look no farther than special precedents, it is evident that there may be a very grievous latitude for all abuse: as the encroachments of power and the delusions of party feeling would simply draw the variety of the precedents into a fallacious and dangerous, yet very simple and specious principle in favour of a general power. When once admitted in all the cases which appear to have arisen, there seems to be no reason why it should, for the first time, be arrested upon any new case which may arise, and this inference only shows that the principle must be found in some other mode of looking at the question than precedents. That some limit must exist, will be admitted the moment the constitution is denied to be a pure despotism.

But that we cannot afford space to go into refined distinctions, it would be indeed easy to prove, that the application of precedents is on such a question a defective mode of reasoning. Such has been, however, the argument mainly relied upon, and is perhaps the most efficient which could be used in a court of justice, of which the decisions are principally no more than the statement of law and authority. But it is enough to show that such questions are not precisely to be measured by the limits of men's prudence and legal decision, if it be considered that every unconstitutional stretch of power might, until that very period, have been maintained by such reasonings to an extent which must in fact have established the most contradictory positions. The frame of government actually contained within its texture numerous contradictory elements, and for several reigns there had been an inherent strife between its vital powers, which was itself a part of the constitution as it then stood. But in any form or state of government there are some essential principles of universal application which cannot fail to lead to a conclusion satisfactory to the reason, however it

may escape from the impassioned, partial, and conflicting views of courts and parliaments. Admitting without comment the necessity of some limiting power to the operation of human laws, we may state, in the simplest language, these elementary principles, which we think set bounds to every dispensing power, so far as it comes within their application. First, and most universal, is the principle which we have often seen stated in the works of juridical and historical writers, namely, when the law to be dispensed with, is itself inconsistent with the existence of such a power; on this we shall not dilate. Another involves the same principle, in a different manner, that is to say, when a dispensing power is at variance with the civil constitution of the country. Such a ground is not, however, within the strict bounds of legal argument. But there is a distinction which we conceive ought to be considered as a limiting principle, and to contain one true criterion of the general boundary of such a prerogative: it lies simply in the distinction between the *general* and special operation of a law. To dispense *generally* with a law, must virtually amount to a repealing power; to arrest its application in any *particular case* is different, and even if the interference should be erroneous, amounts to nothing more than an abuse of a discretionary power, needful for the due application of all the imperfect results of human wisdom. Here we would contend on this principle, that a general dispensing power is, in the strict sense of the word, contrary to law, unless it be assumed to be the despot's will; as any law independent of this *essentially* involves, that it is independent of such a prerogative; we must therefore feel ourselves bound to affirm that all decisions to the contrary, which legal writers have adduced, were either illegal, or not precedents in favour of the prerogative so exercised. Had king James's claim been, to dispense with the test in favour of his own chaplain, the case would escape the application of the principle. When he set it aside as affecting a particular set or body of individuals, it amounted to a gross, dangerous, and unconstitutional abuse of a prerogative; but when he declared a general exemption, he set aside the law of the land, and broke down the very barrier on which his own rights were based—his right became no more than the right of the strong, and opposition to whatever extent circumstances required and admitted, justifiable. In this conclusion it is only assumed that there is some limitary line, at which the trust reposed in the crown, for the national advantage, may be considered as betrayed. A question of great peril and difficulty, and open to great and destructive errors; but such is the necessary result of the imperfection of human judgments. The errors of human reason become dangerous in proportion to the importance of the interest at issue; and perhaps in such questions as that on which the English nation was then compelled to decide, the safest rule would be, that the case should be imminent and extreme, and the danger universal and fundamentally affecting the constitution of the country. Happily, such a question in the present state of things, is not very likely to arise in the British nation. The crown has been reduced to its just place in the combination of national authorities of which the legislature is composed; and though we have no doubt that from time to time unconstitutional proceedings will be

adopted for the purpose of raising every one of these powers above its constitutional level, yet at the present time, the danger of these, if any, seems rather in the democratic than in the kingly scale.

Such was the main question in that critical controversy between James and the English nation, in the course of which the several functions of the civil constitution of the state were attempted to be perverted by force or influence. The commons which, deriving its character and spirit ever from the preponderant power for the time in being, is therefore liable to great inequalities in its action, gave way, though not without sufficient demur, to give warning to a saner spirit than that of king James of the national feeling and of the tendency of his conduct. The stress of that great contest was destined to be thrown upon the church, which, as it was the direct object of attack, so under the merciful protection and guidance of Providence, it offered the first and most decided resistance which arrested the frantic career of James, and forced on the progress of his despotic attempts upon the freedom and religion of the nation, to a great and critical deliverance.

The house of peers, led on this occasion by the bench of bishops, who were supported by the lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt, carried a motion of the bishop of London's for the appointment of a day to take the king's speech into consideration. These indications of the sense of the country and of the resistance which was to proceed from the church, were not confined to the parliament: the spirit, learning, and eloquence of ecclesiastical writers and preachers were called up, and sermons and pamphlets were multiplied with extraordinary ability and effect. Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, and many other eminent men, whose works yet hold a standard place in British literature, wielded the pen of controversy with a power which met no adequate opposition; and every week brought out some new work which was received with the most general avidity. The king made a rash attempt to arrest this torrent in its course, by an order to the bishop of London, for the suspension of Sharp, the rector of St Giles, who had preached some controversial sermons. The bishop remonstrated upon the illegality of the required act, and the king, determined to carry his point, had recourse to the jurisdiction of the court of ecclesiastical commission; a court which had not only been abolished but its renewal declared illegal. The bishop protested against its jurisdiction; he was sent to the Tower and suspended in his ecclesiastical functions.

The king thus found himself committed in a war with the Church of England. He attacked the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and was foiled at every point by the vigour, firmness, and courage of these learned bodies. Among the members of the Church of Rome he was by no means generally supported. The lords of that communion, who were his principal counsellors, did not concur in any of his rash measures, and in vain remonstrated at every successive step of a course of which they could not fail to feel the iniquity and to perceive the result. James was ruled by father Petre, a Jesuit, who, like Rinuncini, was incapable of comprehending any result but that one to which all his aims were directed. At Rome, where (as has always been observed) there is by no means the same blind zeal which belongs so often to the remoter realms of its spiritual empire, the conduct

of the king was despised and condemned; and this, we are much inclined to believe, was aggravated by the Pope's enmity to the Jesuits. Innocent was a man of very prudent worldly dispositions, and far more alive to the care of his fiscal interests than ecclesiastical concerns: of theology he was ignorant, but he was keenly alive to the insults and offences which he received from the French court, and more offended by James's sedulous and obsequious cultivation of Louis's friendship than pleased by his spiritual zeal. He was therefore in reality more inclined to throw his weight, to the utmost extent which decency would permit, into the protestant scale, and looked with a more friendly eye on the interests of the prince of Orange, who, though the champion of protestantism, was the foe of his foes, than upon the rash and infatuated measures of the English court, which he was, *pro forma*, compelled to sanction, but at the same time treated with all allowable slight.

Among other demonstrations, which, at the same time, showed the weakness and insincerity of James, was his conduct to the dissenters. He first let loose upon them the fury of Jefferies, but on coming to a direct quarrel with the church, and finding the want of some popular pretext for dispensing with the tests and penalties affecting his own church, he changed his tone; he began to speak sounding maxims about the blessings of toleration, of freedom of conscience, and the injustice of all suffering on the score of religious faith. Thus, as Hume (who is not to be suspected of a bias towards any creed, or any fixed principle of action or opinion,) writes, "even such schemes of the king's as might be laudable in themselves, were so disgraced by his intentions, that they serve only to aggravate the charge against him." It was in the prosecution of his plan for the depression of the church, and effecting his real object at a stroke, that, in 1687, he declared a universal toleration, which did not for a moment deceive any one. Every one understood that the main bulk of the dissenters were all more at variance with his church than the church of England; having, indeed, for the most part, quitted the church of England on the ground of some form or doctrine, retaining, as they alleged, the savour of popery. Yet even of these, the most considerable churches, the presbyterian and independent, especially the former, so far agreed in the articles of their communion with the English church, that in its downfall they must have seen their own. From the more leading and reasonable members of these communions the king received no credit, though they were glad to avail themselves of the indulgence thus obtained. The king had neither the patience nor the dexterity to conceal his true objects: while he endeavoured to win the English dissenters, he exhibited his real temper in the denial of his countenance to those of the same communion in Scotland. His declarations of indulgence too, while they failed to effect the delusion intended, exposed the spirit in which they were designed, by indiscreet assertions of illegal power which accompanied them as a running commentary; "he had thought fit, by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey without reserve, to grant this royal toleration." In the midst of this infatuation, James felt, or more probably it was continually urged upon him, by those who were less confident than he in the despotic maxims on which he relied, that to give a permanent

security to the Romish church, it would be necessary to obtain the sanction of the legislative body. This he had, from the commencement of his reign, been vainly endeavouring to obtain; and nothing more plainly shows the real temper of the nation than his entire absence of success. Generally, the temper and opinions of the representatives of the nation are so far divided, and for the most part there is so much ignorance of constitutional interests, and so much indifference to all but private and personal interests, that it is not difficult to form a tolerably even balance in favour of any views of the cabinet; and, unless when some great national ferment has been raised, it is difficult to conceive a course of policy so deleterious to constitutional welfare and stability, that cannot soon be maintained by a sincere, zealous and powerful party, both in the house and throughout the nation. Such indeed is necessarily the constitution of public opinion; a thing, if we may so call it, more many-headed than seems to be generally imagined by those who write and speak of it; so that it is, as it were, the fictitious deity of journalists and street rhetoricians. And yet so strong, unanimous, and resolute, was the universal repugnance to the aims which James had so much at heart, that his first and most obsequious parliament, who would, if properly managed, have yielded up every barrier of the constitution, were found stubborn in this. In vain the king had recourse to the summary expedient of the *quo warranto*, and tried by the usurped prerogative of dissolving,* renewing, and changing at will the corporations, to command the boroughs and the magistracy: in vain he continued an illegal jurisdiction to interfere with the privileges of the electors. The result of all his interferences, tamperings, and closetings, was the same. The party which he was thus enabled to form did not amount to any assignable proportion of the constituency anywhere, and he was obliged to give up the hope.

In this infatuated course of tyrannical but self-destructive efforts, the king continued to rush forward with something like a judicial blindness for some years. It is indeed difficult to conceive the degree of rashness which his whole conduct evinced, without having recourse to the supposition of an influence behind the throne too great for ordinary discretion. The probable duration of his life was measured by his spiritual counsellors against the progress of their wishes; and all their counsels, directed to the conscience of the feeble and bigoted monarch, were strongly actuated by some sense of the desperation of their cause. At length matters began to take a more decided turn, and events occurred which soon precipitated the career of this rash and ill-fated king. Rather goaded by continued disappointment, and embittered by the influence of an unceasing controversy with his people, than warned by instances so decided of the national spirit, the king became more harsh and peremptory in the assertion of his designs, and took more decided steps. Of these the most decisive was the attack upon the bishops, which had the dangerous effect of drawing forth a decided and general expression of the national sense. In 1688, he published a fresh de-

* The elections in many of the borough towns were by this means placed directly in the nomination of the crown, or what was the same thing, in that of its minions. Such indeed is always the virtual result of any regulation which gives individuals a power or a preponderating influence over the elections.

claration of indulgence, to which he added a command, that it should be read, for two successive Sundays, in all the churches immediately after divine service. The bishops were commanded to send this round with the sanction of their authority. The command caused great alarm, and the bishops and clergy held meetings to consider what course they should steer in a matter of such pressing emergency. The enormous power of the crown, when directed against individuals, was too formidable to be looked upon with defiance: on the opposite scale, the voice of conscience, the sense of the nation, and the safety of their church, presented motives of greater weight. In this difficulty a few less firm advised a compromise—such as, in less trying times, had often evaded acts of tyranny by an equivocal obedience or a mental reservation. Against this most disgraceful and unworthy course the voice of the majority was now raised: it was clearly pointed out that their ruin was so evidently designed that no compromise could avert it; that the obedience now required would be but a step towards this purpose; that it was useless to consider how far they could safely comply, as the requisitions upon their compliance were uniformly precedents for greater demands; and if they must make a stand at some point, *the sooner the better*, and the more especially, as these compliances would have the effect of drawing other persons into still greater compliances, by which at last they might be left in a dangerously small party; for they could not reasonably expect the nobility to sacrifice their own private interests in a struggle for the church, if the clergy themselves led the way in its abandonment. These, and other such reasons, operated upon those who required them—the body of the clergy required no reasoning to actuate their conduct—and some of the bishops prepared to stand in the gap of the constitution, and to take that part which the interests of the church and state, as well as the feelings of the nation, demanded. They resolved that the declaration should not be read.

The king was not prepared for a step so decided; some few prelates who were nothing more than creatures of the court, had deceived him into the notion that his order would be obeyed by the majority of the bishops and clergy; and that from the general submission he might draw a reasonable pretext for proceeding for contumacy against the recusant party, and thus a very decided confirmation of his authority would be obtained. While the court lay still in this delusion created by its own partisans, the churchmen proceeded with quiet and secret celerity, to convey their orders, and intimate the course to be pursued to the clergy throughout the kingdom.

The feeble and indecisive Sancroft then at the head of the English church, found himself involved in the necessity of leading the march of resistance; and it may be observed that this is of itself a strong indication of the spirit of the moment, as well as of the strong sense of the emergent necessity of the occasion; two years sooner this archbishop would have given way: he now prepared to act as became the duty of his high station. Having convened his bishops and clergy and taken their nearly unanimous consent, he came with six bishops to London, where they agreed upon a petition to the king, expressive of the reasons for their resolution not to obey the late orders of council. They disclaimed any un-

willingness that a toleration should be conceded to the dissenters, but objected to the power by which it was attempted to be done, as laying both the church and constitution of which it was (then) a part, at the mercy of an illegal and arbitrary discretion. They expressed their willingness to consent to any measure to the same effect, which should be affirmed by the wisdom of the parliament and convocation; and noticed, that the power involved in such an order had been repeatedly declared illegal in parliament, in 1662, 1672, and in the beginning of the present reign.

Sancroft was himself ill, but sent the six bishops, St Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chester, and Bristol, to deliver the petition, which was however drawn up with his own hand. They were admitted quickly and received by the king with unexpected complacency. Deluded to the last, the king was persuaded that their object was simply to evade the public feeling, by throwing the responsibility of the required obedience upon their chancellors, and that their petition was only to suggest that it was usual to direct such an order to these functionaries, instead of to the bishops. The king's good temper was destined to have a speedy reverse; on hearing the actual petition, his rage and surprise were boundless, and his language was suitably violent. It was one of his habits to address the most indecorous and intemperate language on the most solemn or public occasions, to all who fell under his displeasure; and to the bishops his wrath was now shown by the most unmeasured reproaches. Among other things he told them "he was their king, and that they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him," to this the only reply was—"the will of God be done." Such was the crisis of this blind monarch's fate; there was no longer room for either party to retract.

For a fortnight matters lay quiet; the king was himself staggered by the decisive blow he had struck, and consulted with persons of every persuasion. The Roman catholic noblemen of his council strongly urged that he should let the matter drop in silence. But this was repugnant to the character and state maxims of James, who held that a king should never retract, and that any measure once begun should be carried through. Father Petre, violent, short-sighted, incapable of looking to consequences, and only alive to the fierce impulse of the conflict, was transported beyond all bounds of decorous reserve by the hope of a triumph. He said in his joy that the bishops "should eat their own dung," and exerted his entire influence to hurry on the king in the frantic path on which he needed no spur. The bishops were cited before the council, and asked if the petition was theirs: they urged that their own confession should not be brought against them, and, assuming that a course so unfair would not be adopted, they acknowledged the petition. They were then charged with its publication. To this charge they answered that, they had not only not published it but that all pains had been taken to prevent its being seen by any one beyond themselves and the king. There had been no copies taken from the original draught in the archbishop's own hand, but the one; and the publication must have proceeded from some one to whom the king had shown that one. The bishops were then re-

quired to enter into bonds for their appearance before the king's bench; but on pleading their peerage, they were sent to the Tower.

This step caused a ferment in the city, such as says Burnet, was never "known in the memory of man." A ferment not soon allayed, or confined in its immediate effects. The bishops were sent by water to the Tower; the banks of the river were crowded the entire way with people, who threw themselves upon their knees, and asked their blessing as they past along; the soldiers who were their escort caught the universal enthusiasm and followed the example of the people. At the Tower they were received with the same testimonies of reverence and affection. The king was indignant but unalarmed by demonstrations which should have made him pause and reconsider his course, had it been other than infatuation—*si mens non læva fuisset*. The moderate portion of his friends were dismayed and urged moderation to no purpose; and in two days after when the queen was delivered (or said to be delivered) of a son, they pressed it upon him to take the fair pretext which this event offered, for their release. But the king was inflexible; he replied that his authority "would become contemptible if he allowed such an affront to pass unpunished."

A week after their committal they were brought up on a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to the bar of the king's bench, and entered into bonds for their appearance in a fortnight, to answer the charges which should be brought against them. The trial came on at the appointed time, and excited a vast commotion of the city, and not less in the army which lay encamped on Hounslow heath. As the reader is already aware of the grounds of charge, it will be unnecessary to enter upon the details of this trial, simple in the character of its proceedings and the obvious questions at issue, but momentous in its consequences. There was in fact no ground on which the prosecution had a moment's chance to stand in any court having the least pretence to be called a court of justice. Williams and Powis who conducted the case for the crown, found some thing to say, as advocates must and will. The only evidence against the bishops was their own confession; and the publication could not by any reach of ingenuity be brought home to them. Their right to petition could not be shaken by any argument sufficient to satisfy the most courtly understanding that had any pretence to sit there; and had the judges forgotten themselves so far, there was a jury. The people of England stood at the door; its first nobility crowded the court; the atmosphere of influence and corruption was excluded; and the justice of British law took its untrammelled course. The principal charge was that the petition was a libel against the king's government; to which it was replied, that the bishops had not only, in common with all subjects, a right to petition the king; but as peers they had a right to offer their counsel; and, being spiritual peers, more especially in matters of ecclesiastical concern; that having been required to act in direct violation of the law, and of their own ideas of the obligations of conscience and duty, they had a right to offer their reasons. It was also strongly argued that the dispensing power claimed by the king had been, by many votes of parliament, declared illegal, and that the point had been given up by the late king.

The trial lasted ten hours. The jury were quickly agreed upon their verdict, but they considered it prudent to make some show of prolonged deliberation. They therefore remained shut up till morning. The crowd continued all this time in anxious suspense; the king, with the impetuosity of his temper, had not allowed the fear of defeat to approach him. Early the next morning he went out to Hounslow Heath, considering his presence necessary to repress the temper which had upon that occasion manifested itself in the army. While he was there, the joyful acclamations of the city on the announcement of the bishops' acquittal rose loudly on the air, and was heard with no great complacency by the royal persecutor. His presence kept the troops silent; but he no sooner turned to leave them than their irrepressible joy broke forth. On hearing their tumultuous cheers, the king stopped to ask the cause: "Nothing but the acquittal of the bishops, which has reached them," was the simple but astounding answer. "Call you that nothing," said James; "but it shall be worse for them."

King James had little weighed his force, or the power with which he had thus rashly committed his strength; and he was not to be warned by defeat. He was like a personage described by Milton, who

"For very spite
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
And never cease, though to his shame the more."

From the shame of defeat his pride and self-will only collected accumulated inveteracy; and he now resolved to show his contempt for the triumph of the bishops by transferring the same violence to the inferior clergy. But they too, had this lesson been wanting, had learned their strength, and seen the impotence of their persecutor. The chancellors and archdeacons of the dioceses were requested to send in a list of the clergy who had disobeyed and resisted the order of council. They refused to comply. And the bishop of Rochester, who had hitherto sat with the court of commission, declined to sit with them any longer. In consequence, this illegal court adjourned for some months, and never sat again.

These affairs were not, in their results, confined to England; but caused a profound sensation in every part of Europe; and it was generally considered, as it really was, a contest for victory between the crown and the church. The constitution of England was actually in the very crisis of a struggle between its higher and more vital powers: the rights of the nation, its liberties, its laws, and its religion, were quivering in the balance against those pervading and all-grasping powers of spiritual tyranny, on which the principles of the most crushing despotism reposed. In this awful juncture, the church and the courts of justice had held their ground; but two of the judges were dismissed on suspicion of having favoured the bishops, and the powers of the constitution were giving way to a more detailed system of attack—the magistracy had been changed and the corporations tampered with. The local authorities were easily taken in detail. The king's assumed power to dispense with laws and the disabilities they created, met no power to resist them in the provinces, and there were mayors and sheriffs everywhere to secure the king's interest at the next election. It is indeed plain enough that if not

forcibly interrupted by some external force, or by some exertion of that ultimate right which subsists in the people, in such cases of extremity, even the imprudence of James would not have been sufficient to prevent the victory he sought over the liberties of the nation; had he been allowed to proceed, experience would have been the result of failure, and fraud would have at last obtained what direct violence was found unequal to wrest from the courage of a people who are alive to a sense of their constitutional rights.

James had himself begun to feel that something more than violence was essential to the desired subjugation of the national spirit; and though confiding much in his own sense of the sacred and indefeasible powers of the crown, he did not altogether remit his endeavours to win the consent of every party. To the exertion of compulsory means he added all the fraud of which he was master, and stopped at no resource of falsehood or circumvention within his power. Having endeavoured to cajole every party and sect by promises, which few had the weakness to believe; when his professions failed to impose, he soon exposed his game by the abruptness with which he changed from flattery to persecution.

Amid these dangers, the hopes of the nation were turned to the illustrious prince of Orange, who, by his many eminent moral and intellectual endowments had obtained an unusual ascendancy in the European system; being at this time universally looked to as the centre of the protestant interests on the Continent. Equally opposed to the grasping and ambitious projects of Louis XIV., both by the political interest of his own country, and by religious principle, he had succeeded in organizing a formidable combination of the most powerful of the crowned heads and small independencies which then constituted no inconsiderable portion of the European states. As his wife was the next in succession to the British throne, until the recent event of the queen's delivery of a son; and as even after that there remained still no inconsiderable chance of her reversionary right, the prince, thus recommended by the double consideration of a common interest and a common religion, was naturally turned to in this season of urgent distress. He was pressed by the urgent applications of many public bodies and many individuals of rank, weight, and public influence, to hasten his interference. He was himself not an indifferent spectator of the progress of events; but a sense of justice, his respect for the filial tenderness of his princess, with the delicacy of his own relationship to the king, and also the immediate position of the system of politics in which he was then engaged, all contributed to restrain his conduct. He nevertheless was far from remiss, but continued to keep an earnest and vigilant attention to every turn of affairs in England. In this he was aided by the constant influx of intelligence from all the protestant parties; but he found a still more certain guide to the thorough comprehension of all the evolutions of the king's cabinet, and also an able and intelligent adviser, in that well known and sound divine and political historian, Dr Gilbert Burnet, whose independent and active spirit made him an object of strong dislike to king James, so that he soon began to feel himself unsafe in England, and took refuge in Holland where he was protected by the prince, to whom he quickly became a most

ready and influential adviser: thus indeed taking a greater share in the events of his time, than, from the nature of his agency, appears on the face of general history.

The prince's attention had first been called to the affairs of England by the king's anxiety to obtain the sanction of his consent to the abolition of the tests and the confirmation of his dispensing power; this he thought would not only influence the sense of parliament, but afford the best security for the permanence of those changes which he was endeavouring to bring about. With such views he gave the prince reason to expect the assistance of England in his Continental engagements. This strong temptation had been resisted by the prince, who, with a due sense of the machinations of his father-in-law, and of the necessity of the test to the preservation of the protestant religion in England, refused to concede more than his consent to a general toleration in favour of dissenters. The king, still anxious to obtain a more full concurrence, continued to push his object by a protracted correspondence with the pensionary, Fagel, who at last returned a full statement of the views entertained on the subject both by the prince and princess: in this paper he drew the important distinction between penal persecutions on the score of conscientious opinion, and the mere exclusion from offices; which latter he deemed to be not in the nature of punishment, but simply a necessary security for the established worship, under such circumstances, and from the interposition of such opinions as might endanger its safety. To recognise the necessity of such a security at that period, it is only necessary for the reader to call to recollection the history of the churches in that age when the persecution of the Hugonots had not merely aroused the fears of the protestant states, but given a tangible reality and substance to the object of those fears. The publication of Fagel's letter produced a very considerable effect upon all parties in England. To the protestants it imparted firmness, concentration, and spirit; it excited at once the enmity, and called forth the active hostility of the king. He entered into an amicable understanding with the Algerines, who then infested the Dutch marine, and gave them a friendly refuge in his harbours; he recalled his subjects from the prince's service, and began to strengthen his navy with no doubtful intentions.

The prince was not remiss; he sent over Dykvelt, his envoy, to remonstrate in behalf of the English protestants, and at the same time to feel the pulse of the nation, and cultivate every favourable inclination. The correspondence with Holland soon began to grow frequent and important; the Hague became a general resort for all whom apprehension or discontent drove from England; Admiral Herbert took up his residence there, and Admiral Russell made himself the means of keeping open a free communication. In England, all parties but that small one for whom the king was hazarding his throne, united in the common cause. Faction, which the slightest shade of difference in creed or form is enough to raise to all its intensity, was consigned to a temporary repose; the larger and more influential portion of the English peerage, spiritual and lay, concurred in their appeals to the prince; and applications too authoritative to be slighted, and too earnest to be resisted, came pouring in from every quarter. Many lesser incidents,

which our space has not permitted us to notice, added motives to the national appeal, and at length the prince became convinced that the interests of England, as well as of his own country, lay in the same course, and he resolved to follow the path thus pointed out.

His preparations had been already commenced, from the moment that his intercourse with James had assumed a hostile turn; the strengthening of his navy had become a matter of prudence, and the military character of his continental engagements rendered such a course both easy and little liable to be suspected. Availing himself of these circumstances, he completed his preparations with discretion and vigour, and at the fortunate moment, when the mind of England was agitated by the persecution of the six bishops, it was understood by all whose privity to his purpose was desirable, that the prince was on his way to England.

The king of France, by his interference, added resolution to the Dutch, offended the preposterous dignity of James, and filled England with a fear of being filled with Frenchmen, and betrayed to the ambition of Louis. King James, in the mean time, continued obstinate and incredulous. His understanding could not open itself to the conception of any invasion of those rights which he considered indefeasible; yet, besides the resistance he had found in the various civil and ecclesiastical authorities, he at this time received intimations of his real helplessness, which would have been warnings to a more prudent mind. His navy had nearly mutinied, because their admiral, Strickland, had a mass celebrated on board his ship; and, at the same time, declared that they would not fight the Dutch, whom they called "friends and brethren." A still more marked and fatal demonstration occurred in the conduct of his army. He made a plan to obtain the consent of the troops to the repeal of the test and penal statutes, by taking the regiments separately. His general, the earl of Litchfield, accordingly drew out a battalion in the presence of the king, and told them what was required of them, with the alternative of laying down their arms. The battalion immediately (with the exception of two captains and a few men) laid down their arms. James was completely unprepared for such a consequence, and gloomily commanding them to resume their arms, he assured them "that for the future he would not do them the honour to apply for their approbation."

During this emergency, Tyrconnel, who was pushing forward the king's views in Ireland with a hand retarded by no scruple, is asserted to have been the first to communicate decided intelligence of the imminent danger. This we do not believe, but think it probable that he was among the first to obtain decided intelligence. Such a warning would indeed have produced but little influence upon the indomitable folly of James. He had, early during the prince's preparations, received a letter of a more authoritative nature from the hand of his own minister at the Hague, and in the extremity of his terror, made a late effort, which only showed his feebleness and his fears, to retrace his steps. He offered to enter into an alliance with the Dutch; he replaced the lieutenants of counties who had been dismissed for adhering to the test and penal laws; he restored charters, and annulled the ecclesiastical commission court; he released the bishop of London from

the suspension under which he had been suffered to remain, and reinstated the president and fellows of Magdalen College. Such attempts at conciliation were late, and only drew upon him the contempt of all parties. The bishops, to whom in his terror he condescended to use flattery and protestations, sternly reminded him of his tyranny and misgovernment, and advised him for the future to be more select in his advisers. Notwithstanding all this appearance of terrified concession it is generally believed that upon some momentary rumour of the wreck of the Dutch fleet, he was on the point of recalling all these illusory retractations. But neither his pertinacious folly, nor his affectation of repentance, was to have any further effect to retard the approach of that retribution which he had so effectually drawn down: the measure of his crimes and infatuation was complete.

We do not feel it necessary to enter upon the relation of the subsequent incidents of this great event as connected with English history, but have felt ourselves compelled to go so far as we have written, in a general statement of their immediate causes, as the most clear and just method of meeting the numerous mis-statements of the party writers, who have maintained their opinions by the very usual method of narrowing the subject. The warfare of accusation and recrimination has been, as too frequently occurs among the writers of the last century upon Irish history, merely a battle of posts: single facts, and circumstances merely local, affording the entire materials of a controversy, in which the real merits of the question assumed to be under discussion, are, to a very great extent, shut out of view. The rancorous contest which was carried on in Ireland by two parties, violently imbibited against each other, by a long and furious contest of rights, and mutual or alternate injuries, which in countries more advanced would have been forgotten, exhibits a tissue of crimes and sufferings on either side, complicated beyond any power of analysis to disentangle; and affords abundant matter for the strong details of King and Borlase, or for the acrimonious compilations of Curry,* without in any way transgressing the line between fiction and truth. Such statements as these which such writers contain, would now be much softened and balanced by the better portion of their authors, and many strong extenuations would be found for the actors of those fearful times. It would be perceived that neither the crimination of unpaid protestant soldiers for such crimes as the soldiers of every party are prone to commit, nor the defence of the rash acts by which king James interfered to break down the protestant ascendancy in Ireland, in the remotest degree contain the real questions attempted to be thus settled. When the reader, however, looks upon the true character of king James, and his whole subversive policy, his rejection of all principle, his

* We do not of course mean here to bring these writers into any comparison. King may justly be viewed among the greatest men of his time. His views are by no means narrowed; but his statement abounds with such details as must always occur in the representations of those who are eye-witnesses of the events they relate. The difference is this; King's facts are illustrations and instances of the real respective positions of the actors then on the stage of events; Curry's are altogether irrelevant to the great transactions then in their course, and being exclusive of all the questions really at issue, serve no end but the most pernicious and exasperating misrepresentation of history.

contempt of all right, his monstrous acts of despotic injustice, his base hypocrisy, and flagitious falsehood, and the avowed object of all this baseness and violence, he must comprehend that the question, how far the members of the Romish persuasion had a claim to certain rights, either in precedent or natural justice, is altogether nugatory. The precedent may be admitted, and the natural right be allowed, but the act of imaginary *justice* will be seen to spring from the most wicked and dangerous conspiracy, to enslave a great people, and destroy the civil rights and the religion which they revered and loved. It was no time for acts of justice; it is not upon the verge of battle that questions of national equity are to be canvassed; however just it may have been to admit the Romish laity to corporate rights, or even to equalize them with those of the opponent communion, the act was *designed* and *adapted* to effect a wicked, ruinous, and unjustifiable end. The measures by which justice might be consulted, had ends far different from justice; and it certainly should not be demanded, that the protestants of that day were to stop to concede rights and immunities, of which the avowed design was to wrest from them all that they possessed. The contest was, in effect, one between king James and his kingdom: the indignity of the protestant church was its direct and immediate object. In Ireland the schemes of the tyrant were carried on with more fierce determination, and their true intent well understood; and there was, concurrently with this general sense, the natural terror of one party, the anticipated triumph of the other, and the many hostile feelings and restrictions of both. The rights of men, and the conflict of reason and statement, were not seriously relied upon by either, and behind the questions which were hung out to give speciousness to the partisans of a tyrant, there were other views, of which his advocates say nothing. Such are, in our view, the considerations which render it expedient to look upon the events of the revolution in England, as the just commentary upon the Irish history of the same period. The question then at issue, was neither one of detailed grievances, nor yet was it one of abstract right. It was, and ought ever to be, like all great questions, resolved with a view to the general rights and interests of the nation, and to the character and principles of the claimants. In the abstract there was no reason against a popish judge or a popish corporation, but they were justly referred to certain well known and not concealed principles, to certain hopes of an ulterior nature, and to a dangerous and unconstitutional relation with certain unconstitutional authorities greater than the law. Such reasons, while they existed, made general positions such as are applied to these questions, ridiculous. The *transfer of land* was the popular excitement of the *Irish* party of that day, and no one can pretend to doubt but they must have obtained their end had they been enabled to pursue the means adopted.

It would, indeed, be for the benefit of Ireland, if such details as exhibit to either party the frightful tablet of the injuries which they have received from the other, had never been written; for, while the inferences to which such details must ever lead, are inconclusive, their effect in creating and keeping alive animosities is fearful. Had not the bitterness of the 17th century been industriously propagated—had not dangerous positions been kept alive, the protestants and papists of

the present century might have found some difficulty in discovering the grounds of that civil inequality, which, till recently, has existed. We are aware of all that might be replied to this assertion, but we write after much and long deliberation.

We have now very fully stated to our readers the reasons for which we shall continue to lay before them the acts of the main parties, and the leading events during this period, with the least possible reference to the detail of local and personal inflictions and sufferings.

The news of William's landing in England, brought with it a sudden change of spirit on either side. The leaders of the king's party were terrified—the protestants were raised from their dejection. Under the government of Tyrconnel they had been nearly prostrated by the most severe and merciless persecution; and the last hand had been put to their ruin, by their having been disarmed, and in their defenceless state exposed to the licensed assaults and robberies of the low and savage banditti, to whom the lord-lieutenant handed over the country. Tyrconnel now, like his master, thought proper to court the party which he had roused to the fiercest and most uncompromising hostility. He flattered them with audacious lies, and endeavoured to draw a testimony to his character and government which he hoped might have shielded his person and government from the justice which seemed to be visibly impending. In this expectation he was quickly undeceived. The protestants assumed a silent attitude of menace; the seizure of the castle was proposed: but it was hoped that the course of events would now give them the desired relief, and that Tyrconnel would fly the country. Tyrconnel had recourse to measures of desperation; he let loose the armed rabble under his command upon the country, and fearful crimes were committed. The public agitation was suddenly awakened to tenfold terror, by a report industriously spread, of a conspiracy to massacre the protestants of Ireland. The alarm was terrific: the timid multitude, of every age, and sex, and condition, left their homes, and crowded to the shores and quays, in the vain hope to find vessels to convey them from the scene of apprehended carnage. Tyrconnel sent to assure them of their safety, but they refused to be convinced.

Every effort was at the same time made to keep up the courage of the Irish party. Tyrconnel's zeal and resolution appear to have suffered no abatement from the desperation of his cause; but his ability was unequal to a crisis in which nobler courage and more adequate judgment could have been of little avail. His activity only served to precipitate the downfall of the interests he had so perseveringly laboured to sustain. He recalled to Dublin the troops, which served for the moment to repress the spirit of the north; and Eniskillen and Londonderry gave a powerful example to the protestant body through Ireland, and a memorable and glorious record of heroic courage and constancy to history. We thus passingly advert to these memorable events, because we must at this period take up the thread of history in the succeeding memoir, to which we are now endeavouring to hasten. The life of Tyrconnel derives its chief importance from the succession of events of which he was a principal agent, and having so far availed ourselves of his life, we shall now dismiss him as briefly as we can.

For a moment king William was persuaded that Tyrconnel might

be gained to his side; but Tyrconnel knew well enough that, deserted by the adventitious recommendations of his position as the leader of the Irish party, and the favoured agent of a cause which demanded his principles, he must have quickly fallen into contempt. He was, perhaps, in some respects sincere; but whether he was or not, the price of perfidy would have been low, compared with the rewards of success, and of success it is evident that Tyrconnel did not despair. The king, encouraged by the representations of Richard Hamilton, sent him over to gain Tyrconnel, but Hamilton took the opposite part, and laboured to give firmness to Tyrconnel's resolution of resistance.

It was, however, under the circumstances, necessary to dissemble with the protestants, and dissimulation was carried so far as to send a deputation with a pretended commission, to remonstrate with James in Paris, against any farther resistance towards the prince of Orange. This mission is remarkable for the craft and treachery of its contrivance and conduct. Lord Mountjoy was sent, charged with such a direct and open message as suited the overt professions of Tyrconnel. Rice, chief baron of the exchequer, was associated with him, and conveyed the real purposes of his false and double-dealing employer. On their arrival in Paris, Mountjoy was seized and incarcerated in the Bastile. Rice gave representations adapted to encourage the hopes of James, and to induce the French king to be liberal in his aid.

Tyrconnel was himself encouraged by the success of his messenger, and casting aside all fear, pressed on in the course he had adopted for the depression of the opposite party. To complete the disarming of the protestant body, before the occurrence of any trial of strength in the field, was his policy, and it was pursued with the savage and remorseless barbarity which the reader of the foregoing pages might be led to anticipate. He was universally charged with treachery, but he bluntly denied the instructions which he had given to lord Mountjoy—a denial which deceived no one on either side.

On the 12th March, 1689, James landed at Kinsale, high in that confidence which seems to have been the result of an entire want of all calculation of the consequences of events and circumstances. He was met by Tyrconnel, to whom he gave the title of Duke.

We may now dismiss the subject of this memoir, as the succeeding occurrences which have their place in the remaining short interval of his life, will come more appropriately under other names. The events of the struggle which have now to be related, were so entirely military, that Tyrconnel held but a very subordinate position in the course of affairs. Shortly after the battle of Aughrim, he reached Limerick, together with Sarsfield, who conducted thither the shattered remains of the army under his command. There, a difference of opinion arose between himself and Sarsfield, as to the further course they should pursue. Sarsfield was for a continuance of military operations, but Tyrconnel saw that the chances of resistance were for the time at an end. He died a few days after his arrival, on the 14th, 1691, and his death was generally attributed to vexation and a broken spirit.

David Cairnes.

BORN A.D. 1345—DIED 1722.

THE great struggle, to which the events in the previous memoir may be considered as preliminary, was destined to be terminated by a personal conflict between the heads of the adverse interests, upon the banks of the Boyne, and for a season the agency of those contending heroes and statesmen, of which the troubles of this country had till then been comparatively fertile, almost, if not entirely, disappears from the scene. To carry on the narration of most important and interesting events, we are compelled to avail ourselves of such names as our history affords. Instead of the princes of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and Connaught, or the princely nobles of Desmond, Kildare, and Ormonde, we have the less dignified names of actors who were but subordinate in their powers, and local or incidental in their range of action; and to avoid a broken and perplexed order of narration, we are compelled to reverse the rule which we have hitherto been enabled to observe, of arranging our historical materials in subordination to the place and order of the great actors in the eventful scene. We must now, in the dearth of great and leading names, endeavour to preserve the order of events, under such names as may not inappropriately be presented in connexion with a few very prominent events. Omitting, therefore, for the present, many names distinguished by deeds of heroic exploits during this interval, we shall endeavour in our memoirs of Cairnes and Walker, to give a summary account of the events from the landing of James to the battle of the Boyne, after which we shall press into our service the earl of Athlone, de Ginkle, who, although not an Irishman, has earned for his name an illustrious niche among our most memorable patriots, and whose descendants yet rank among our peerage.

On the 12th of March, 1689, the ex-king James landed at Kinsale, and was received by Tyrconnel, who conducted him to Cork. There he heard mass in the Franciscan monastery, to which he walked, supported through the streets by two friars of this order, and followed by a train of the brethren of St Francis, in their full monastic attire.* From Cork he repaired to Dublin, which he entered in state on the 24th of March. He was there received by the entire ecclesiastical body of the church of Rome in the metropolis, in full and solemn order, arranged in all their pomp, and bearing the host. They were charmed and edified by the deep humility with which the royal victim of their cause worshipped the consecrated wafer, amidst the acclamations of the crowded street. The next day he called a parliament, of the proceedings of which we shall in the next memoir offer a full and accurate account.†

In the same interval, events were taking place in the north which were to have a material effect upon his fortunes in Ireland. The protestants of Ireland had everywhere else been deprived of their arms; and a violent alarm, excited by a fearful rumour of an intended mas-

* Smith, Mant.

† Mant, p. 703.

sacre, already mentioned in the close of our previous memoir, while it spread wild and uncontrollable dismay among the defenceless crowd in Leinster and other protestant districts, it roused the north to a firm resolution of self-defence.

In his first alarm, Tyrconnel determined to recall the troops under his command to the defence of Dublin. His order had not long been issued for the march of the soldiers stationed in the fortified city of Londonderry, when he received accounts of the formidable spirit and martial condition of Ulster, and hastily endeavoured to repair the error. He placed garrisons in the frontier towns, Newry, Drogheda, and Dundalk; he directed that a regiment newly raised by the earl of Antrim, and entirely composed of papists, should take their quarters in Londonderry, and it was not long before that city was filled with terror and consternation by the rumour of their approach. Londonderry was at the time filled with protestant fugitives, and the imaginary massacre from which they had fled, now fearfully presented itself to their apprehensions. While consternation reigned through the streets, and anxious suspense possessed the stoutest hearts, the report was received that the dreaded regiment had reached Newtownlinavaddy, twelve miles from the town, and the resolution to resist their entrance began to be diffused among the citizens; and before night, a heroic project had already been concerted between Horatio Kennedy, one of the sheriffs, and a few youths, ever since commemorated by the honourable appellation of the "Prentice Boys of Derry."

Early the next morning, the soldiers of the formidable regiment began to appear upon the opposite bank of Lough Foyle, and two officers who were ferried over made their application to the governor, who was secretly in the interests of James, and gave his consent to their admission. The soldiers had not waited for their return, but were already over the river, and on their approach to the ferry gate, when the youths already mentioned, who stood watching for the moment, leaped from the terrified crowd, and with drawn swords rushed to the main guard, seized the keys, and, after a short struggle, raised the drawbridge and locked the gate. The decision of this bold step alarmed the crowd, but soon drew forward many noble spirits.

Among these, few may claim a higher tribute from the historian of that memorable hour than David Cairnes. His family had held a prominent place for more than two centuries in Ulster, having come from Scotland with Murray, earl of Annandale. Thomas Cairnes, the individual who accompanied the earl, married his niece, who was also connected with the noble house of Buccleuch; and his descendant, John Cairnes of Donaghmore, in Ireland, became allied to royalty, having married Jane, daughter of Elizabeth Stuart, sister of Darnley, and aunt of James I. The fruit of this marriage was Sir Alexander Cairnes, who distinguished himself at the battle of Blenheim, and was created a baronet by queen Anne, on his return to England; it does not appear that he took any active part in the troubles of the revolution, but retired from the struggle in the commencement of the year 1688, having received deeply religious impressions, and according to his own words, resolving "to put away his idols," he continued in seclusion for the remainder of his life. He left but one daughter, who

was educated in the family of his friend and patron the duke of Marlborough, and afterwards married to lord Blaney. The title descended to his two brothers, with whom the baronetcy became extinct. David Cairnes, the subject of the present memoir, was a collateral branch of the same family. He was the first person of any influence, who, arriving in Derry on the day that lord Antrim led his troops to the gate of the city, strenuously supported and encouraged its defenders. Gradually, by the weight of his character and representations, he turned the scale of public opinion, implored the inhabitants to join hand and heart in the work of resistance, and extolled the courage and energy of the young men who had so gallantly commenced the defence of Derry against the enemies of civil and religious liberty. He assured them of his counsel and assistance, and went round the walls with them, to satisfy himself that the other three gates had been secured as effectually as that of Ferryquay street; and in the evening, succeeded in persuading almost all of the leading men of the city to co-operate with him, and those who had so providentially stood forward on this memorable occasion. He also wrote to several gentlemen of the surrounding counties, to inform them of what had been done in Derry, representing to them the danger they were in, and the necessity of their concurrence in the defence of the only place in Ulster, except Enniskillen, in which a stand might be made, after the disasters of Dromore, Portglenone, and Coleraine, from which the associated protestants had been driven by Tyrconnel's army.*

In replying to these representations, some approved of the design, some promised their assistance, but others discouraged, what they thought to be too hazardous an enterprise. He received a letter at this time from Mr John Kelso, a presbyterian minister in Enniskillen, informing him and the men of Derry, with whom he had identified himself, of Enniskillen having been deserted by its magistrates, and of the intention of the inhabitants to repulse a body of fresh troops advancing towards their town. The letter concluded with an earnest entreaty that the men of Derry would co-operate with the Enniskilleners, in the defence which they had resolved to make. Among those who were occupied during the evening of the 7th of December in opening this correspondence, and who had been induced to do so with some reluctance by David Cairnes, was Alderman Norman; he, in the course of the day, terrified at the rashness of the apprentice boys, and wishing to secure a friend at court, had written a letter to lord Mountjoy, of which the following is a copy, and which was signed and sent off secretly on Sunday the 9th of December.

"On Friday last, the 7th instant, the rabble shut the gates of this city against some of lord Antrim's regiment, for which we then blamed them. Among the causes of their alarm, was, that the popish dean of Derry, O'Cahan, had been known to buy four chain-bridles, and the priests and friars had, for some time before, been preaching alarming sermons in the neighbourhood of the city. Several outrages had been committed by lord Antrim's soldiers, who had been overheard uttering terrible threats against the inhabitants. One of these

* Memoirs of the Cairnes Family, by the Rev. J. Graham.

soldiers, without any provocation whatever, cut one of the ferry-men almost to the loss of his hand, and some of them broke into houses, and took provisions thence by force.

"When the inhabitants of Derry heard that, under pretence of four hundred men that were to come into the city, there were at least twelve hundred on the road to it, besides a great number of women and boys, they then deemed it providential that the mob had been stirred up to shut the gates for their safety.

"In conclusion, we request your lordship will represent our danger to lord Tyrconnel, and obtain his countenance for securing ourselves from our enemies, who never were obedient when they had power in their hands."*

Cairnes, who was a lawyer, and had considerable property in Ulster, was qualified both by station, education, and nature, for the important and responsible position which he then filled. During three days of anxious precaution, and watchfulness, he superintended and suggested the plan of defence for the city, and on the fourth (the 11th of December), he set out, at much personal risk, as the bearer of letters to king William, and to the Irish Society of London. These letters were from the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, as well as from persons of rank and influence, stating the pressing emergency of their position, and imploring a speedy supply of arms and ammunition. We subjoin the letter addressed to the Irish Society, which was published in the first edition of M'Kenzie's Narrative, a scarce book, and now out of print.

"Right Worshipful,—In our sad calamity, and under the greatest apprehensions of our total excision by the Irish in these parts of the kingdom which border upon us, we thought it necessary for us immediately to dispatch David Cairnes, Esq., a very worthy citizen of this city, and lately a member of our corporation, into England, to report our case to you, and to use his endeavours, by all just means, for our speedy relief. And we have eternal obligations laid on us to bless God, whose mercy and providence rescued us from the designs of wicked men that conspired our ruin, without any provocation on our parts, whose inclinations as well as interest it was to live peaceably with all men.

"On Friday, the 7th instant, several intimations came to hand hereabouts, that on the Sunday following, a massacre was designed by the Irish in Ulster; and although it caused great thoughts of heart to the most assured amongst us, yet many of the most aged and grave came to no other resolution than to submit to the Divine Providence, whatever the result might be; and just in that juncture, whilst the younger and more inconsiderate were consulting their own safety, and, it seems, had resolved on the means, a part of the earl of Antrim's regiment, newly levied, and all composed of Highlanders and Irish papists, came to the river side, and their officers came over for quarters and lodgings for them.

"We confess our fears on the occasion became more pungent, but we still remained silent, except in our prayers and devotions. But

* Memoirs of the Cairnes Family, by the Rev. J. Graham.

just as the soldiers were approaching the gates, the youthhood, by a strange impulse, ran in one body and shut the gates, and put themselves in the best posture of defence they could.

"We blamed, but could not persuade them to any other resolution that night; and so the soldiers retired, and were quartered in the neighbourhood, where although they did not murder or destroy any, yet many threats they uttered, and outrages they committed.

"The next day we hoped to prevail with those who assumed the power of the city, to open the gates and receive the garrison, but the news and intimations of the general design came so fast, so full from all quarters, that we then blessed God for our present escape, effected by means unforeseen and against our wills.

"In the general hurry and consternation of not only us, but all the neighbouring counties, when we have had but scarce time to hear the repeated informations of our danger, it is not possible for us to furnish the bearer of this letter with all requisite testimonials to evince this sad truth, nor will it consist with our safety to protract his stay till it can be done, the vessel that carries him being just ready to sail. We must refer you to his report, and to copies of papers carried over by him, for your farther satisfaction in particulars; but we do most humbly and heartily beseech you, as you are men of bowels and charity, to assist this gentleman, how best you can, to secure us from the common danger, and that we may peaceably live, obeying his majesty and the laws, doing injury to no man, nor wishing it to any. Your interest here is now no argument to engage you; the lives of innocent men, women, and children, are at stake. If you can, and will not now afford your help to the utmost, we shall never be able to urge a motive to induce you, or to prevail upon you. May the Lord send deliverance to us, and preserve you all in peace and tranquillity, is the hearty prayer of, Gentlemen, your most obedient servants,

"GEORGE PHILLIPS.

"SAMUEL NORMAN.

"MATTHEW COCKER.

"JOHN CAMPSIE.

"ALEXANDER TOMKINS."

LONDONDERRY, Dec. 10, 1688.

Cairnes sailed on the following day to London, where he was detained for nearly three months before the necessary supplies of men and arms could be obtained. Early in March he received directions from the earl of Shrewsbury to return to Londonderry with as much expedition as possible, and to convey to the governor and magistrates of the city, the king's high approval of the firm and determined spirit already evinced by its inhabitants, with an assurance of his deep concern for their security, and a promise of speedy and effectual protection not only to them, but to the entire kingdom; and as an earnest of this, he sent, previously to this communication, a supply of men, arms, and ammunition, for the present emergency.

The earl, at the same time, delivered to Cairnes the accompanying testimonial to his energetic and unwearied exertions:—

"Given at the Court of Whitehall, on the 11th of March, 1689.

"Mr David Cairnes, the bearer hereof, being appointed by the committee for Irish affairs forthwith to repair to Londonderry, these are to certify to all whom it may concern, that the said Mr Cairnes hath for these two months past attended constantly his majesty and the council, in behalf of the said city, and that he hath behaved with prudence, diligence, and faithfulness.

"SHREWSBURY."

He arrived in Derry the 11th of April, having been preceded about three weeks by captain James Hamilton, afterwards earl of Abercorn, who brought to its relief from England a quantity of arms and ammunition, with five thousand pounds in money.

As he approached Derry, he had been surprised by meeting crowds of men, and even some officers, leaving the town in panic, and bearing passes from Lundy, which at once suggested to the mind of Cairnes the treachery of the governor, and this was farther corroborated by learning that it was from him they had received that impression of terror which impelled their flight. He had also neglected to form any line of defence along the frontier garrisons on the Bann and the Finn water; and had it not been for the timely return of Cairnes, who intercepted and recalled the fugitives by his animating representations, he would have succeeded in quietly and treacherously emptying the town of a large portion of its most effective population.

Being the bearer of a letter from the king to Lundy, Cairnes delivered it to him in the presence of his council, and announced at the same time that they might look with confidence to speedy and effective aid from England, as large bodies of troops were already on their way to them from thence; and implored the governor not to allow this strong hold of protestantism to be deserted.

He demanded from him, in the king's name, a particular account of the state of the city, what means of defence had been resorted to, what quantity of arms and ammunition it contained, and how it was provisioned in case of a siege. To none of these questions could satisfactory answers be returned, and the total neglect of all precautionary measures, combined with other less equivocal symptoms, produced a general impression of the faithlessness of the governor.

The excitement of the populace was so great, on the first surmise of treachery, that he was compelled to leave the town in disguise, and to remain concealed until their fierce ebullition had subsided. A new and trust-worthy council was immediately formed, and their declaration of union, and resolute determination of defending the city to the last, posted on the market-house.

The expressed approbation, and promised aid of the king gave a new stimulus to the loyalty and determination of the citizens, to which they gave vent in loud shouts and huzzas. The enemy, probably aware of the friendly dispositions of the governor, and seeing no obstacle to their approach beyond the walls of the city, began to make preparations for crossing the Foyle in their boats. The Rev. George Walker, who afterwards took so prominent a part in its defence, receiving intelligence that the Irish army was rapidly advancing on the

city, hastily rode into it, and communicated the fact to Lundy, who was already too well informed on the subject, and who had the audacity to treat it as an idle rumour. Walker finding his warning slighted, remounted his horse, and returned to Lifford, where he joined Colonel Crofton's regiment, and bravely fought the enemy on the banks of the river during the entire night, each keeping their respective sides, as from its swollen state they were forcibly prevented from coming into closer contact.

On the 11th of the month, that portion of the enemy which had been stationed near Derry, moved on towards Strabane. Cairnes, perceiving their movements, strenuously urged upon the governor the importance of securing the passes of Foyle and Finn at Lifford and Clady; but a careless reply, that orders had been given to this effect, served to diminish the general astonishment at the sad occurrences of the following day.*

On the nearer approach of the enemy to Derry, Lundy led out a body of seven thousand men on the pretence of opposing them, but really for the purpose of placing in jeopardy the lives or loyalty of his own troops. After making a sign to the opposite commander, he fled; and the indignant citizens appointed major Baker as their governor, Murray having refused the honour.

David Cairnes accompanied Murray to Pennyburn mill, on which occasion he was as much distinguished for his personal valour, as he had before been for his zeal and ability. The Irish were repulsed with much loss both of men and commanders, and four hundred of their wounded soldiers had to seek for shelter in the church of Culmore. Cairnes, who had been appointed lieutenant-colonel to a regiment of horse, again distinguished himself at the rout of general Hamilton's army on the Windmill hill, on the 1st of June.

We have no farther account of his martial services, "and henceforward find him acting only as recorder for the city, or the representative of it in the house of commons, which latter trust he discharged with zeal and fidelity for thirty years after the siege."

On the 9th of June, 1692, colonel Cairnes and Robert Rochfort, Esq., recorder of Derry, were appointed by the Irish Society as commissioners for rebuilding the city of Derry, and for granting leases.†

Cairnes in 1707 succeeded Rochfort as recorder of Londonderry, and was also promoted to the rank of attorney-general. To a petition from the mayor and commonalty of the city, praying for some remuneration for their great losses, the committee of the house of commons state in their reply, that in investigating "the extraordinary losses, disbursements, and debts contracted by the inhabitants of Londonderry, from and after November, 1688, in the securing and fortifying the place," &c., &c., adding "that it appeared to them, that David Cairnes, Esq., member of parliament for the city of Londonderry, had been remarkably instrumental in first securing of the said city against the Irish, and that he afterwards underwent several hazardous journeys for the preservation of it, and that he had been a great sufferer by the siege," &c., &c., they accordingly recommend the lord-lieutenant

* Memoirs, by the Rev. John Graham.

† Rev. John Graham.

to lay the case before the king for his "princely consideration." It does not however appear that his long and indefatigable services were further rewarded than has been already stated, as in his will, (a very interesting and impressive document,) he says, after enumerating a long list of bequests and legacies, as if in excuse for the smallness of some of them, "I did indeed once think and expect, and had much reason for it, to have been, ere this, in a much greater and ampler condition as to my outward state and concerns in the world, and in a capacity to have left my children, and offspring, and other friends also, much more than I have here done, and might also soon have obtained it, would I but have bartered my conscience for allurements of that kind, which, I bless God I never did, nor ever inclined to do; and had matters but any way answered my reasonable expectations from the state and government, for the faithful and important services I did them, and the whole protestant interest in these kingdoms, and the many sore and most dangerous journeys and travels I had both by sea and land, with many signal hazards of my life in the spring and summer then following, for the saving and preserving of that city, being sent and employed by the honourable lords of the privy council in England at that time, who have amply attested it under their hands, and public seals, yet extant. All these matters, for which I had many good words and promises of great things I had to be done for me, never yet had any effect or performance, but put me to much trouble and expense in making several applications on that behalf without any effect. I may indeed truly say I found but few grateful or suitable returns, either from the state, or divers other persons and people I had laboured and done much for, and to their manifest advantage, which I need here say no more of; but that how I myself, and that city of Londonderry, for all its services and sufferings, that were of such high consequence to these kingdoms, and so amply confessed by their parliaments both of England and Ireland, come to be so strangely overlooked and neglected as they are and have been, reflects not a little shame on the honour of these nations, so that all these assurances which I had, should be buried in utter oblivion. And lastly, I do hereby earnestly charge and exhort all my offspring, as if by their parent's last dying words, that they love and walk in the fear and love of God, and in the steadfast observance of his commands, worship and ordinances, while they breathe upon his earth here, that they may be serious and constant in humble prayer to him and in reading the holy scriptures daily, that God may own and bless them in all that they do or set about, that they carefully and watchfully abstain from and avoid, so far as they reasonably can, the society and intimate converse with all notorious, lewd and dissolute persons and company, being of much contagious and pernicious consequence—that they associate themselves and converse as far as they well can, with sober, pious, and prudent persons, and crave from such, and expect them, that if they, or any of them, come to dispose of themselves in marriage, they do it with much seriousness and earnest prayers to God for his directions and blessings therein, and with the advice of their best and most faithful friends, with particular regard in their choice to such as fear God and are brought up and live virtuously, and beware of rash and foolish engage-

ments lest they repent it all their lives after, when it is too late; that they learn and study patience and submission to the good will of him in all his providences towards them, and dealings with them; and to affectionate and assistant to one another, and to their other relations as their condition may afford, and as by nature, they ought; and be also charitable to the poor according as their abilities may allow them, and grow not proud nor haughty, nor set their hearts immoderately on any thing it may please God to bestow on them, lest he blast both them and it; and I beseech the Lord God my precious heavenly Father, to have them in his merciful care and keeping, and to bless them with his best blessings from above, both for time and for eternity, and keep them from all evil of every kind, and that they may be forever his own in a particular manner, and that I may at length see and rejoice with them and all the redeemed of the Lord, in these happy mansions above, when we have finished our course and time of trial here below. I do also heartily forgive all that have any way injured or offended me, as indeed, I know but few, if any at all, that have done so, and I desire most earnestly that all may forgive me, if I have injured or given offence to any, which I should be very sorry to do, and I hope they are few if any at all. And I do hereby revoke and disannul all former wills by me at any time heretofore made, and this is my last will and testament. In witness whereof, I set my hand and seal, &c., &c.

"Octr. 19th, 1721.

"DAVID CAIRNES."

He died according to the registration of his will, in 1722, and was buried in the Cathedral church-yard of Derry.

He married twice, and by one of his wives (Margaret Edwards) he had one son, captain John Cairnes, who died before his father, and two daughters, through whom his estates have descended to the present representative of the family, Colonel Cairnes of Portstewart, whose ancestor adopted the family name.*

Sir W. Stewart, First Viscount Mountjoy.

BORN A. D. 1653—KILLED A. D. 1692.

SIR W. STEWART was the grandson of Sir William Stewart, one of the two brothers who came into Ireland in the reign of James I., and who have been already noticed in these pages. After the death of his father Sir Alexander, his mother married Sir Arthur Forbes, to whom he was granted in ward. He early entered into political life as a commissioner of the officers, and in 1682 was advanced to the titles of Baron Stewart and Viscount Mountjoy.

We here introduce his memoir as supplying a convenient link in the chain of incidents connected with the memorable siege of London-

* We think it right to apprise the reader, that the chief incidents of the above life were drawn from a memoir of the Cairnes family, by the Rev. J. Graham, and kindly communicated by the author to our publishers.—ED.

to la. We may therefore briefly mention, that in 1682 lord Mountdoes became a colonel in the foot service; in 1686 he served in Hungary and received two dangerous wounds in the siege of Buda; and on his return to Ireland obtained the rank of general of brigade.

¹ In 1688 he was stationed in the county of Derry, and at the breaking out of the contests of that period, the citizens of Derry and the protestants of the north, looked with great and declared satisfaction on the protection which they anticipated in the presence of a protestant commander, many of whose soldiers were also protestants. The fact was also an object of anxious consideration to Tyrconnel, who was fully sensible of the danger to be feared from the temper of the north, and who had also received some intimations of the kindly sentiments which existed between the city of Derry and this commander. He was also anxious under existing circumstances to strengthen the metropolis, as there was a small armament under preparation to be sent to England. Under these considerations he sent orders to Mountjoy to march to Dublin. Commissions were at the same time issued for the levy of four Irish regiments, of which one under the earl of Antrim was ordered to march to Londonderry. They were refused admittance; and that memorable scene took place already mentioned in the previous memoir.

Tyrconnel was alarmed, and sent Mountjoy back accompanied by lieutenant-colonel Lundy with six companies, and with orders to reduce the city. At Omagh lord Mountjoy halted, and sent a message desiring that some of the citizens should meet him at Raphoe; he was attended by captain Norman and Mr Mogredge. On their return to Londonderry they assured the citizens that his lordship came with full power to treat; and that on their full surrender he would ensure a general pardon. By his lordship's desire commissioners were to meet him at Mount Gravelin; and Mr George Philips of Newtownlimavaddy then governor of the city, with four citizens, accordingly attended at the appointed place.

The terms demanded by the citizens were, a protestant garrison, liberty to retain their arms, and keep the guards, together with a full pardon under the great seal. Their demands created a demur on his lordship's part as they exceeded his powers.

On the following day he approached the gates of Londonderry and demanded admittance; and as he was generally looked upon with a feeling of regard and confidence, there was an anxious discussion among the citizens, as to the course they should pursue. After much debate it was agreed to admit lord Mountjoy himself. He was accordingly admitted, and strongly represented that it was important to come to some immediate accommodation for the purpose of preventing the inevitable consequences which must follow a refusal, as a more formidable force would be sent against the city. The citizens could not however be induced to a surrender of their present security, and at last lord Mountjoy came to an agreement to accept of the terms which they proposed, and that his two sons should remain as pledges in the city.

On this Lundy was sent to Strabane, with orders to turn all the papists out of the six companies and keep them there till protestants were

enlisted in their place, and some of the citizens were sent to see that this was faithfully done. In the mean time the two protestant companies were admitted. The orders of Tyrconnel were thus turned to the advantage of the city. Governor Philips freely resigned his powers to lord Mountjoy, who entered with spirit into the wishes of the citizens and exerted all his talent and skill to repair the fortifications, and strengthen every resource of the city.

These proceedings could not fail to attract the zealous attention of Tyrconnel. But the more dangerous attitude of the protestant party, then alarmed both by the rumour of an intended massacre, and excited by the recent turn of events in their favour in England, made it imperative to proceed with some caution. Tyrconnel's dexterity suggested a plan, by which he might at the same time deceive the protestants and dispose of one whom he could not trust. He projected a double-tongued embassy to king James; one ambassador was to warn the king of the danger and vanity of any further effort to recover possession of Ireland, and to assure him of the necessity of submitting to the power of England: this crafty lie was committed to Mountjoy, who considering such actually to be the state of facts, easily believed the sincerity of the message; but Rice baron of the Exchequer was to accompany him with a different tale, more sincerely meant though not so true.

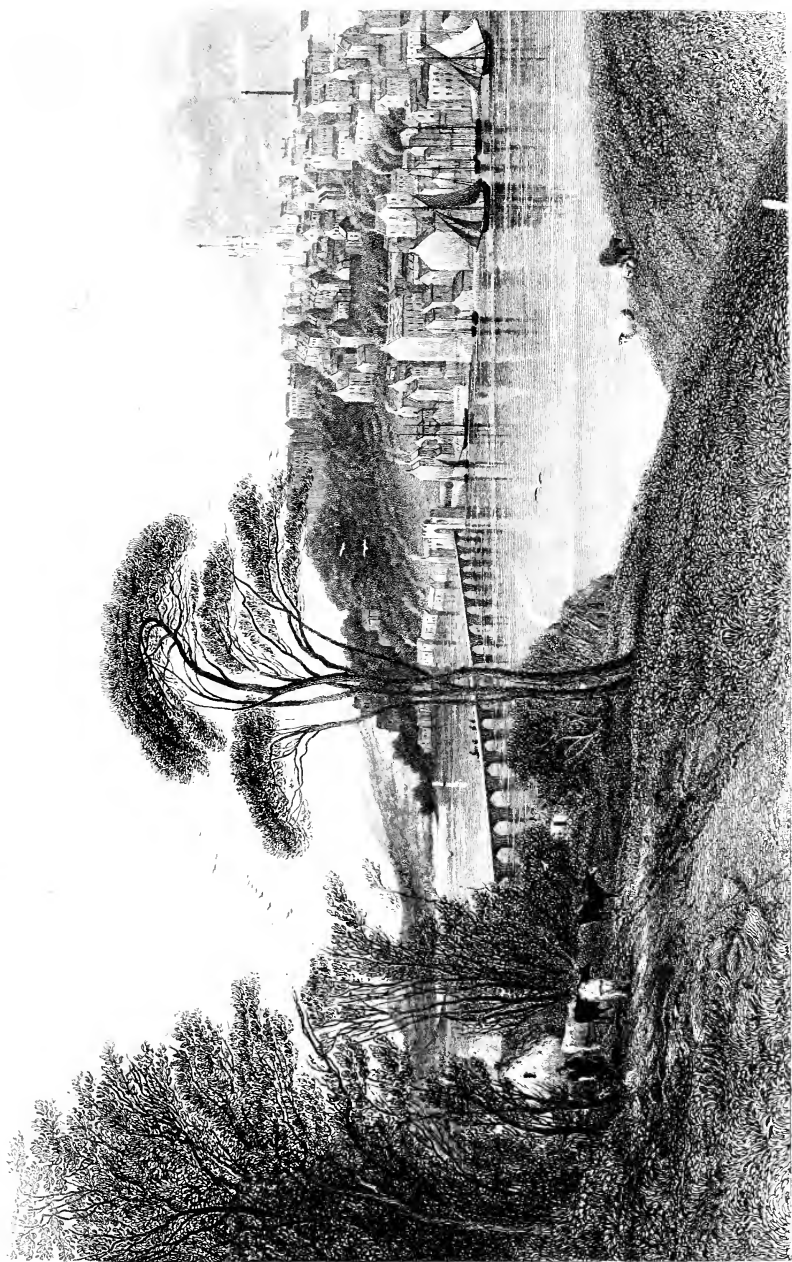
With this purpose lord Mountjoy was summoned to Dublin, and he left Lundy in command of Derry. The friends of Mountjoy urged that he was to be sent to France, for the sole purpose of removing him out of the way as one most likely to take the lead in the defence of the protestants. He however considered that he was placed under a necessary alternative, either to obey the lord-deputy, or at once declare a premature resistance, while he was urged from England to keep up appearances. These with other reasons urged him to submit. He took several precautions in behalf of the protestants, and made strong stipulations in their favour. Tyrconnel was very compliant in promises which he did not intend to observe, and it seconded his own immediate purpose of endeavouring to lull the protestants into security. He therefore readily agreed that no more levies should be made in Ireland; that the recent levies should be kept in their present quarters; that no more troops should be sent to Ulster; that none should be arrested for meetings, arming troops, &c., at any date before that then present; and that no private gentleman's house should have soldiers quartered in it. We here subjoin the circular letter which Mountjoy on this occasion sent into the north after he had been thus duped.

"You had an account how long I staid on the way after I left you, and the reasons that made me since go forwards; and whatever my jealousies were at my first arrival, I am now satisfied at my coming, and by God's blessing, I hope it will come to good to us all. As soon as I saw my lord-deputy, he told me, he designed to send me to the king, jointly with my lord chief baron Rice, to lay before him the state of the kingdom, and to tell him that if he pleased, he could ruin it for him and make it a heap of rubbish, but it was impossible to preserve it and make it of use to him, and therefore to desire leave to treat for it. The objections I made to this were two; my being not so well

qualified as a northern Roman catholick, whom in all likelihood the king would sooner give credit to; and the improbability of being able to persuade the king, who is now in the French hands, to a thing so plainly against their interest. To the first of these I was answered, what it is not fit for me to repeat; and the other is so well answered, that all the most knowing Englishmen are so satisfied with me, and have desired me to undertake this matter which I have done this afternoon; my lord-deputy having first promised me on his word and honour to perform the four particulars in the within paper. Now because a thing of this nature cannot be done without being censured by some, who perhaps would be sorry to have their wishes in quiet means; and by others, who think all that statesmen do are tricks, and that there is no sincerity amongst them; I would have such to consider that it is more probable I, and the most intelligent in this place, without whose advice I do nothing, should judge right of this than they who are at a greater distance, and it is not likely we should be fooled; so I hope they will not believe we design to betray them, ourselves, and the nation. I am morally assured this must do our work without blood or the misery of the kingdom. I am sure it is the way proposed in England, who depend so on it that no forces are appointed to come hither; and I am sure what I do is not only what will be approved of in England, but what had its beginning from thence. I do therefore conjure you to give your friends and mine this account, and for love of God, keep them from any disorder or mischief (if any had such design, which I hope they had not) and I am fully satisfied every man will have his own heart's desire. I will write to this effect to some other places, and I desire you will let such in the country as you think fit see this. Let people fall to their labour, and think themselves in less danger than they believed."

This letter which explains the entire of the intent and spirit of Mountjoy's conduct, was in a high degree satisfactory to the crafty Tyrconnel without directly committing him; it had the desired effect of lulling the fear, suspicion, or resentment, of great numbers among the protestant body. But the delusion was not long unrevealed; Tyrconnel's operations never slackened for an hour. The first remonstrance of the protestants drew forth a denial of the articles mentioned, and great indignation at the letter. He raised several regiments and seized on Drogheda, Dundalk, and Newry, with all the passes upon the march to Ulster. To crown the whole of this most infamous proceeding, lord Mountjoy was seized immediately on his arrival in Paris, directly accused of having shown a zeal for the protestants and shut up in the Bastile. The advantage which Tyrconnel gained by all this hollow deception was but transient. He undoubtedly removed a dangerous leader in whom the protestants confided; but the exasperation universally awakened was perhaps more than equivalent to the advantage of his ill faith. It is dangerous in the movements of party to substitute resentment for fear. Such impulses as surely impart strength and resolution, as the influence of panic is known to render the largest bodies powerless. And the protestants were ever after on their guard; a fatal effect to one whose weapon was fraud.

We have now done with the career of this nobleman, which was



after this, short, but honourable to the last. He was released from his confinement in 1692; and joining king William in Flanders, was slain fighting bravely in the battle of Steinkirk.

He left successors, but the title became extinct in the fourth generation.

Rev. George Walker, Governor of Londonderry.

BORN ABOUT A.D. 1617—KILLED A.D. 1691.

FROM a small but compendious account written by the Rev. John Graham, we learn the few following particulars respecting the family history of the Hero of Londonderry. His father was appointed to a benefice in Derry in 1630, and in a few years after, obtained the rectory of Cappagh in the county of Tyrone; from which he was further preferred to the chancellorship of Armagh. He had a son and a daughter; the son George Walker was "instituted to the rectories of Donaghmore and Erigal Keerogal, in the county of Tyrone," in March, 1662.* He was educated in the college of Glasgow.

Of this brave man the history is wrapped in comparative obscurity, until we arrive at the last few glorious and eventful years of his long life, spent, we have every reason to believe, in the strenuous practice of the less ambitious but not less exalted and elevating duties of a christian pastor. Thus presenting an eminent instance of the truth, that those divine precepts and that holy spirit which inculcates and imparts humility and charity, can, when the cause of God, and the call of the country demand, send the hero to stand in the breach, and lead soldiers and patriots to their desperate and devoted duty. If it be said in abatement of these reflections, that George Walker was naturally of a busy and ambitious temper, and however noble was his service on that emergent hour of national peril, yet that it was his military taste which spurred him to the honourable post he filled; we must deny the inference: in the following memoir there will be amply found the evidence of a nobler spirit. But there is one preliminary observation which must to all reflecting minds, render superfluous all further evidence on this question: when George Walker left his ministerial duties, to take the lead in that dreadful and trying scene of danger and privation, of heroic patience and daring, he was seventy-one years of age. For nearly half a century he had pursued the homely and retired path of a minister of God's word, in a country resounding on every side with the din of arms. In the strength and energy of his four-and-twentieth year he saw the troubles of the great rebellion, when there was every temptation for the enterprising, and when the safest refuge was in arms. But Walker's bold and leading spirit was not either tempted or driven to the field. It was when the sacred ramparts of the protestant church were assailed, that the soldier of Christ stood up in the very path of his duty to lay down his life, if so required, in its defence. It may perhaps be alleged by many a pious christian

* Memoir of Walker by the Rev. J. Graham,—1832.

reader, that even in such a case the consecrated teacher of the word of charity should have taken a different course; we are not here concerned to deny the affirmation; Walker may have erred,—we think not; but all that is here required is the inference that his error, if such, had origin in a sense of duty, in a moment so critical and appalling, that it may well have been permitted to the christian, like Peter, to draw the sword of the flesh, when the enemies of the Lord were come up with swords and staves to do him violence. Rather let the pious christian believe that the minister of Donaghmore was the approved soldier of him, to whom victory must be ascribed.

We have already given a summary account of the circumstances under which, on the 7th December, 1688, the gates of Derry were shut against lord Antrim's regiment. On the 6th December, 1688, a party of Tyrconnel's soldiers arrived at Limavaddy: Mr Philips immediately sent off a despatch to Londonderry, by which among other important intelligence he apprized them of the guests they were on the morrow to expect. On the next day early he sent another letter, in which he advised them to shut their gates, and assured them that he would be himself with them on the following day, and serve them to the hazard of life and fortune. These letters excited considerable terror and confusion of council among the citizens; and the streets were filled with numerous groups, who as usual on such occasions alarmed each other with rumours and conjectures. In this agitation Alderman Tomkins consulted Mr Gordon a nonconformist minister: Gordon concurred with the counsel of Philips, and advised that the gates should be shut; he also wrote immediately to the several surrounding parishes for assistance. The citizens were at first averse from so bold a step, and Tomkins privately encouraged this reluctance. But there was at the same time a strong party in its favour, and they were strongly encouraged by the strenuous exhortations of Gordon. Fortunately one of the sheriffs, Horatio Kennedy, had adopted the bolder counsel: already three companies of the enemy had arrived at the water side, and it was his duty to assign them quarters for the night. In conformity with his own view of the matter, he quartered them on the other side of the water, and gave notice to the young men who appeared most resolute, that they should be prepared against morning, if they seriously intended resistance. The hostile soldiery on the other side, soon received a hint of what was designed; for there were yet some traitors in the city, and many of the opposite party. On receiving this intimation they began to make their way over the water—they had landed, and were drawn up within three hundred yards of the Ferry gate, when thirteen young men drew their swords, seized the keys, and, followed by an applauding crowd, drew up the bridge and locked the gate. They next, in like manner, secured, and placed guards upon the other three gates. The civic authorities, chiefly persons in the interests of Tyrconnel, endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose, and failing in this, made an effort to secure the magazine. The Derry youths sent a party to seize it, and succeeded after a short fray, in which one of them, Campsie, was wounded by a shot from one of the sentinels. To this period, the resistance party had received no open encouragement from any of the civic authorities; and with the excep-

tion of Mr Philip's letter of the 7th, no countenance from any person of rank. It was now, that Cairnes came forward; having arrived in the afternoon of the same day, he publicly approved of all that had been done, and pledged himself to give his assistance; he then applied himself successfully to bring over others, and succeeded in convincing many; of whom Harris enumerates Messrs Norman, Jemmet, Moncrief and Lennox, who joined in writing letters to the surrounding gentry, of whom many promised their aid. The example flew from town to town. Coleraine made a gallant stand; the protestants, driven from all the northern counties, and joined by a formidable body from the west, collected in Enniskillen: and gallant leaders were not wanting to give direction to the noble spirit which was thus diffused. The confidence of the brave citizens of Derry was increased, and their exertions stimulated by favourable accounts of the prince of Orange, who, they learned, was joined by the princess Anne, prince George of Denmark, the earls of Ormonde, Marlborough, and every one of highest fame and influence in England; while the army, navy and people, had everywhere gone over to his ranks, or given clear manifestations of the national decision in his favour. They felt at once that with England at their back, they could not ultimately fail to make good their defence. They elected as their governor Mr Philips of Limavaddy, who was the first to give them warning of the impending danger, and had already held that office in the reign of Charles II., and proceeded with alacrity to prepare for a siege. They examined the fortifications; they distributed the citizens into companies; and in these inspiring arrangements they were strengthened and encouraged, by the addition of numerous companies of armed protestants from the surrounding country and villages.

In this interval they considered it an expedient precaution to communicate with lord Mountjoy, in whose known principles and friendly disposition they felt a justifiable confidence. They informed this nobleman of the steps they had taken for their defence, of their fears and the circumstances under which they had acted; denied any rebellious intent, and desired his good offices and friendly interposition with the government.

Among other steps of wise and provident precaution, David Cairnes was sent to London, to rouse by suitable representations the London corporation to exertions for the relief of their city. The letter which he carried is yet extant in a work now become scarce, from which it has been printed by the Rev. John Graham, rector of Newtown Limavaddy, in a memoir of David Cairnes, now before us. This letter (which avouches several of the interesting particulars attendant upon the first shutting of the gates,) may be found in our memoir of Cairnes.* Cairnes having, as already mentioned, made the most strenuous efforts to inspire the city authorities and leading men to the due performance of their duties for the next three days after, on the 11th December went on his way to London, where he was detained for three months, until about the 11th of March, 1689, when he returned in time to take a valiant part in the defence of the city.

* Life of Cairnes, p. 326.

After the departure of Cairnes, Philips, who had prepared and signed the despatches which he bore, returned to Newtown Limavaddy of which he was the proprietor, to raise men, and soon returned with four hundred horse. In the mean time, many lesser negotiations and changes which occurred in the interval between the mission of Cairnes and the commencement of the siege may be summarily told. The citizens of Derry, yet doubtful of the event of the anxious struggle now commenced, made representations to Tyrconnel of the necessity under which they had acted, of the danger, unanimity, and resolution of the protestants, and of their design to limit their exertions to self-defence. Mountjoy, with lieutenant-colonel Lundy, were sent with six companies to reduce them.

While this small force was on its way, the resolution of the citizens of Derry was not on the decrease. They refused to admit their enemies; but, to prevent any misrepresentation of their actions, they published a declaration in which they detailed the grounds of their whole conduct and expressed their firm resolution to defend their lives, but without mutiny or "seditious opposition to the king's authority."* It may in passing be here observed, that in the very terms of this declaration there is evidence, that there entered no party opposition at this period to the resistance of the protestants; and that the commencement of their resistance was simply an effort of defence against imminent and pressing dangers. They permitted Mountjoy, a protestant nobleman, in whom they had the fullest confidence, to enter, stipulating that they should receive a free pardon within fifteen days; that only two companies should be introduced into the town; that half of these should be protestants; and that the citizens themselves should be left in possession of the posts, and keep the guards, until the stipulated pardon should arrive. Mountjoy having been admitted, took the command and entered fully into the views of the city. The protestants in his companies were retained, the rest dismissed, and fresh ardour given to all their proceedings.

Startled by these spirited operations, Tyrconnel seems to have at this time wavered. But colonel Richard Hamilton presently appeared on the scene: he was an officer of respectable connexion, and some reputation, acquired by his conduct in the French service; but had been dismissed in consequence of a suspected intrigue with the king's daughter. He had entered into the service of James, and was, at the time we speak of, a prisoner in the Isle of Wight. This gentleman offered William, to induce Tyrconnel to resign; and as he was known to possess great influence with him, his offer was accepted. He was sent over, and, arriving in Dublin just when Tyrconnel was in the utmost doubt as to the possibility of a continuance of the contest, with the most entire disregard to his solemn pledge, he advised the hesitating Deputy to "stand out," assuring him, that in England, things were changing fast in favour of James, "and that if he stood firm all would come round again."† It was however evidently expedient for Tyrconnel to temporize, and to endeavour by a seeming relaxation to allay the spirit of opposition, until some advantage

* Walker.

† Harris.

might be secured: with this view he sent over his double-tongued embassy to Paris. On this occasion Mountjoy was sent over with Rice, and on his arrival shut up in the Bastile. An immediate consequence was the transfer of the command of Derry to Lundy. This officer assured the citizens of his faithful attachment to the protestant cause, and his fixed resolution to defend them to the last extremity against Tyrconnel.

In the mean time their cause was making no very great progress in London. The king was as yet too unsettled in his affairs to be very attentive to the concerns of this kingdom. The earl of Clarendon, through whose interest the Irish protestants had been endeavouring to obtain redress, was not liked by the king. When at last, after much delay, their address was permitted to reach the throne, the king received them with a coldness which has been not without reason explained into politic circumspection and concisely answered, "I thank you, I will take care of you."

The movements of the Irish army were fortunately not more forward during this interval; they were divided by the necessity of strengthening many posts and attacking others, among which Enniskillen, which, next to Derry, was the main refuge of the protestants, divided their force and depressed their spirit by a gallant resistance. It was advanced in the month of March, when the scanty preparations for the relief of Derry were in a state of forwardness, and Cairnes was sent back to ascertain their condition and their wants.

We shall now proceed directly with the train of circumstances more immediately belonging to the siege of Derry. The northern protestants having generally agreed in the determination to stand up in their own defence, directions were circulated among the most influential or competent persons for the steps which appeared most immediately desirable for such a purpose. Among others, Walker received at his rectory of Donaghmore some communications urging the necessity of securing Dungannon. He acted promptly upon the suggestion, and at once raised a regiment for the purpose. He considered the necessity of preserving this communication between that town and Londonderry, to which city he repaired, for the purpose of consulting with Lundy who then commanded there. Lundy seemed at first to enter into the spirit of the country, and without any hesitation agreed with the brave rector of Donaghmore, and sent some companies to strengthen Dungannon. Two days after, however, orders were sent from Lundy to break up the garrison at Dungannon. We only mention these incidents as plainly manifesting the temper and spirit which governed Lundy's actions, and appeared more decidedly in the course of events.

On the 20th March, captain James Hamilton arrived from England with 680 barrels of powder, and arms for 2000 men. He brought to Lundy the king's and queen's commission as governor of the town, with instructions for swearing into office the different civil and military officers, and promises of speedy assistance. The king and queen were then proclaimed in the city. The remainder of the month and the beginning of April were spent in active preparations for an expected siege. It was on the 13th of April that Mr Walker received accounts

of the approach of the enemy, and immediately rode to Londonderry to apprise Lundy of the information. Lundy received the intelligence with slight, and pretended to treat it as a false alarm. Walker returned to Lifford, and the same evening the Irish army came in sight at Clodyford.* On their presence being ascertained, several persons, among whom David Cairnes is chiefly mentioned, urged Lundy to secure the passes of Fin water, that the enemy might not get over before the city should be ready for its defence. Lundy replied that his orders were already given. Having already betrayed every post over which he possessed either authority or influence, he now exercised his authority for the betrayal of the last trust committed to him, and having, as he hoped, by treacherous dispositions of the resources of the garrison, provided for the betrayal of the city, he had in this also, taken the most efficient means in his power to prevent any interruption to the approach of its enemy. But the firmness of its defenders, in some measure, baffled this treachery. King James' troops under Hamilton and Pasignan, were directed immediately to ford the river at Clodyford. Here they should have been stopped by Lundy, who on the 14th took the command of the troops destined to oppose their passage: as they approached he pretended to distrust the courage of his men, and made a precipitate retreat to Derry. The enemy advanced to Lifford, where they met a spirited and efficient resistance through the whole night, from colonel Crofton and captain Hamilton. In the morning they were joined by Walker, who then according to his orders from Lundy, proceeded to take his post at the long causeway, and colonel Crofton remained to maintain the advanced post against the enemy. Their ammunition being spent, the soldiers under Crofton were compelled to retreat: they were necessarily joined by Walker's companies, and both effected an orderly retreat into Derry, to the number of 10,000 men. Walker immediately waited on governor Lundy, and strongly urged that he should lead out the whole garrison with the troops, on this occasion, added to their force, and take the field against the advancing enemy. Lundy objected that the conduct of the troops on the previous day had not been such as to warrant much confidence in their efficiency, and refused. Walker was of a very different opinion as to the conduct and efficiency of the troops, and of the expediency of a forward movement.† On the 15th, colonels Cunningham and Richards arrived from England, with two regiments, and a supply of ammunition. Many of those who had come from Coleraine and Dromore, were so discouraged by the great apparent weakness of the town, and the deficiency of most of the essential means and materials of defence, that they refused to remain, and thus for a time caused great depression in the garrison, as well as among the citizens. There was a want of horse for sallies; no engineers to direct their work; no fire-works to annoy the besiegers; not a gun rightly mounted on the walls; while the crowd of useless persons assembled on the walls was very numerous, and materially tended to aggravate and hasten the subsequent calamitous effects of scarcity, by the increased consumption of a

* Walker's Diary.

† Ibid.

supply already insufficient. On the 17th, news of the approach of king James' army having reached the town, a council of war was called by Lundy: it was mainly composed of those over whom he had maintained an influence, and those upon whom he was enabled to impose a false statement of circumstances: it came to the following resolution—"Upon inquiry it appears, that there is not provision in Londonderry, for the present garrison, and the two regiments on board, for above a week, or ten days at most, and it appearing that the place is not tenable against a well appointed army: therefore it is concluded upon, and resolved, that it is not convenient for his majesty's service, but the contrary, to land the two regiments commanded by colonels Cunningham and Richards, now on board in the river Lough Foyle. That considering the present circumstances of affairs, and the likelihood the enemy will soon possess themselves of this place, it is thought most convenient, that the principal officers shall privately withdraw themselves, as well for their own preservation, as in hopes that the inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, may make terms the better with the enemy; and that this we judge most convenient for his majesty's service, as the present state of affairs now is."

It seems from this, as from the statements of Mr Walker, that while the citizens of Derry were still resolutely bent on resistance, there was yet a secret influence in the councils of these authorities, which devoted them to the disgrace of a surrender. Treachery and terror were both at work, and while governor Lundy meditated his own interest in the contrivance of a tame capitulation, and many whose age and caution led them to a keen view of the difficulties and dangers of their position, and to despair of the result of resistance, the people, and their patriotic leaders, watched their conduct with distrust. There was, as yet, however, a general indecision as to the course expedient to be pursued, and while those in authority wished to enter upon a negotiation with James, a habitual sense of subordination prevented any decided indication among the numerous lookers on, of their strong repugnance to such a course. Yet in this uncertain state of the authorities, some deference to the well-known feeling of the city was yet felt to be necessary: and when captain White was sent out to meet the king, for the purpose of receiving his proposals, it was made a condition, that the army which he commanded should not approach the city nearer than within four miles of its walls. The reader, who has justly appreciated the arrogant and inconsiderate disposition of James, will easily apprehend, that he received so much of these overtures as suited his own wishes, and dismissed the remainder without notice. Confident in the expectation of a surrender, and imagining that this object would be the more readily gained by a show of force, the next morning he marched his army and appeared with flying colours before the walls: his reception was such as to startle the credulous arrogance of his expectations, and to abate something of his absurd confidence. Though the governor, true to his own purpose, gave orders that not a shot should be fired until farther communications had taken place; the citizens considering themselves betrayed, rushed to the walls and fired upon the hostile troops. This act disclosed to James the unwelcome truth that his own troops were

hardly to be relied on, for they ran panic-struck and disordered from the fire. It was with some difficulty that the spirit of the citizens could be quieted, so far as to allow of further negotiation: it was however evident that no hostility was offered by James, and they were strongly assured that he only came to treat. Having thus obtained a temporary calm, the governors once more sent out archdeacon Hamilton, and Mr Neville, to beg pardon in their name for having drawn him into such dangers, and to represent the great difficulty of bridling the fury and disaffection of the unruly multitude. The ex-king, on their request, drew off his troops that same evening to Jamestown, to await the event of their promised efforts to bring the people to submission.

But in the interim, the whole proceedings of the council had been disclosed by Mr Moggredge, the town clerk: their design was, indeed, such as to rouse the utmost indignation, as it was nothing less than a desertion of the citizens to the vengeance of their inveterate enemy, by a secret flight from the city. The resolution of the council was, "that colonel Cunningham, his ships, men, and provision, should return to England, and all gentlemen and others in arms should quit the garrison and go along with him." This arrangement, which contains pretty nearly an equal proportion of cowardice, treachery, and cruelty, at once roused a spirit among the citizens, which set all further temporizing at defiance. The faint-hearted and the false saw that it was time to save themselves, and great numbers made their escape, not without much danger, from the angry soldiers, who were with difficulty restrained from firing upon them. Lundy, who was of all these, the most an object of dislike, was compelled to have recourse to contrivance for his escape; disguised as a labourer, and loaded with a bundle of matches, he accompanied a party of soldiers, who were sent out on the pretence of a sally to relieve Culmore, and thus reached the shipping in safety.

On this, the garrison, fully resolved on holding out against the army of James, thought it expedient to choose governors. The duties of the government were committed to George Walker, and Major Baker. On accepting this trust, they immediately entered upon the arrangements essential to their devoted purpose. Their first step was, the convenient distribution of their forces. The following are the particulars of this arrangement, as given by Walker in his account of these proceedings, colonel Walker, 15 companies; colonel Baker, 25; colonel Crofton, 12; colonel Mitchelburn, 17; colonel Lance, 13; colonel Mount-ro, 13; colonel Hamilton, 14; colonel Murray, 8. Each company consisted of 60 men; the whole amount of force was 7020, with 341 officers. That the reader may the more clearly understand the details of the celebrated siege of this most illustrious city, it may be useful to lay before him a brief description of its fortifications and chief localities, and for this we cannot find any thing more adapted to our purpose than the following description prefixed to Walker's diary. "The form of the town comes somewhat near an oblong square; and its situation lengthways, is north-west and south-east, or on a diagonal drawn from the church through the market-house, to the magazine, is near upon a north and south line.

"The length of the town through the middle, from Ship-quay gate

to Bishop's-gate, is about 300 paces, or 1500 foot. The wall on the west side the town 320 paces; the wall on the east side about 380.

"The breadth at north-west end 140; at the south-east end 120; from Butchers-gate to Ferry-gate, where the town is broadest, 180 paces.

"The wall is generally seven or eight foot thick; but the outside wall of stone or battlements above the Terra-plene, is not more than two foot in thickness.

"The four corners have each of them a bastion; on the long side to the west-ward are two other bastions; and on the side to east-ward one bastion, one demi-bastion, and two other works which are commonly called platforms.

"There are four gates—Bishop's gate at the south-east end, Ship-quay gate at the end opposite to it, Butcher's gate at the north-east side, and Ferry-quay gate over against it.

"In the middle of the town is a square, called the Diamond, where the market-house stands (during the siege turned into a guard-house).

"Near the south-west end of the town stands the church, on the top whereof, being a flat roof, were placed two of our guns, which were of great use in annoying the enemy. In the south-east angle of the town was the principal magazine. Within the town also were several wells; and before Bishop's gate was a ravelin built by colonel Lundy; and the ground on forwards to the Wind-mill hill, was taken in by the besieged to the distance of 260 paces from the town, and about the same distance across the river, and for fear this ground should be taken from the besieged by the enemy, another line was industriously drawn from the south-west quarter of the town to the river to secure their retreat.

"The number of guns placed on the bastions and line, was eight sakers, and twelve demi-culverins.

"The whole town stands upon an easy ascent, and exposed most of the houses to the enemy's guns."* This description of the city and fortifications of Derry as it then stood, needs no addition to impress the reader with a sufficient sense of the bravery of the gallant and devoted men who now united to defend it to extremity. But in addition to all the disadvantages of situation under which they laboured, they were encumbered with a large and helpless crowd of women, children, and aged people, most of whom were fugitives, who had gathered in from the surrounding districts, and served no end but to consume their provisions, and dishearten them with complaints and sufferings. Under such trying circumstances, the brave defenders of Londonderry entered on their task; to the companies, divided as we have said, were allotted their several posts, and each was taught to man its own bastion at the moment of necessity. The duty of maintaining the spirit of the garrison was divided between the eighteen clergymen of the English church, and seven presbyterian ministers, who each in rotation addressed their respective congregations; and while they animated their zeal and fired their valour by strong representations of the justice and emergency of their cause, at the same time directed their thoughts to the only true source of strength and hope of success.

* Description prefixed to Walker's History of the Siege.

On the 20th April, the besiegers marched towards Pennyburn hill, and took up a position which separated the city from the fort of Culmore. On the same day Mr Bennet was sent from the garrison to England, to give an account of their condition, and assurances of their resolution to hold out to the last. The soldiers were ordered to fire after him as he went, that he might be supposed to be a deserter from the city. This day also, many messages were sent in to induce a surrender, but all were in vain; and on the following day, a demi-culverin began to fire on the city at the distance of about 1260 yards, but without any material effect. This ineffective demonstration was answered by a vigorous sally, which seems to have taken the besiegers by surprise, as they lost two hundred of their men, with the French general Mammont, and six other officers of rank. They rallied, and the sallying party made good their retreat with the loss of four soldiers and one lieutenant. On this occasion, the horse led by Colonel Murray, about fifty in number, were so closely pressed in their retreat, that Mr Walker was under the necessity of mounting one of the horses, and riding out to rally them, as their brave leader was surrounded by the enemy. The whole were thus brought off, and three pair of colours were the honourable trophy of this first trial of their valour.

The enemy, dissatisfied with such results, soon contrived to bring their artillery within a closer range; and at the distance of about 650 yards, opened a fire which told severely upon the houses, which by the elevation of the city were exposed to their range. The besieged, in no way disheartened, returned their fire with no less spirit, and many fell on both sides. Among the numerous casualties on record, Mr Walker mentions one which is curious enough for repetition. A bomb thrown by the besiegers from Mr Strong's orchard, fell into a room where several officers were at dinner; it lighted upon a bed, bursting its way into the room underneath, exploded and killed the owner of the house, and struck down the wall, so that the officers, all untouched, came out of the opening thus made.

After suffering a loss of several men from another sally, the besiegers found reason to be dissatisfied with their progress, and drew a new line across Windmill hill "from the bog to the river," and planted a new battery. But the effect was trifling, and only drew forth from the gallant men within, a contemptuous exhortation to spare the labour and expense, reminding them that the breach which they toiled so vainly to effect was needless, as they kept their gates open, which they might find wide enough if they had the courage to try.

The danger was however more truly appreciated by the commanders, and it was felt to be necessary to take immediate and decisive steps. Having consulted with Baker and the other principal officers of the garrison, Walker resolved on a sally; he selected ten men out of each company, and having put them in "the best order their impatience would allow," he led them out at the Ferry gate, at four in the morning. They advanced with silent rapidity, and dividing, one part of them dislodged the enemy's dragoons from the hedge behind which they were posted, and the remainder seized possession of the trenches. There was but slight resistance, as the enemy were borne down at

every point by the impetuosity of the assault, and soon began to save themselves in great confusion; they left two hundred dead on the field, and had five hundred wounded so severely that above three hundred died within a few days. Among the killed there was a general officer, with seven of inferior rank, and four taken prisoners, with five pair of colours.

The immediate result of this well-conducted and successful sally, was a considerable abatement of the enemy's courage, and for the following fortnight they kept very much in the back ground. The want of horse restrained the besieged, who were of the two the more willing to assume the offensive. Some time thus passed, without any material change in the position of either side. The interval was not however without adventure. Several officers, among whom captain Noble is especially mentioned by Walker, made occasional sallies at the head of small detachments mostly not exceeding ten or twelve, whenever any party of the enemy were seen to approach; and these, sometimes becoming entangled with superior numbers, were relieved by fresh assistance from the walls. On all these occasions the enemy were compelled to retire with loss, while that of the city detachments was very slight. The difference in the composition of the force on either side, seems to have been very much to the disadvantage of the besiegers; and, as most commonly will be found, the moral inferiority was not less than the physical. Many were discouraged by the consciousness of a bad cause, and the conduct of the besiegers was itself not unworthy of it. Their attempts at negotiation were so marked by treachery, that no reliance could in the slightest matter be placed on their most solemn pledge; of this there are many instances. Among them, it is mentioned by Walker, that "having hung out a white flag to invite to a treaty, Mr Walker ventured out to come within hearing of my lord Lowth, and Colonel O'Neile, and in his passage had a hundred shots fired at him; he got the shelter of a house, and upbraided them with this perfidious dealing, and bid them order their men to be quiet, or he would order all the guns on the walls to fire on them; they denied they were concerned or knew any thing of it, and this was all the satisfaction to be expected from persons of such principles."* Besides many similar acts of the most atrocious falsehood and treachery, it was ascertained by the confessions of several prisoners that there was an avowed and distinct understanding among the besiegers that no faith was to be kept with the besieged.

The besieging army was removed from Johnstown to Ballyagry hill, about two miles from the town; but sentries were posted at such stations as made it a matter of great danger for any one to approach the wells outside the town, and the want of water within having become extreme, this danger was constantly braved by the citizens. Many were thus slain; and a gentleman is mentioned by Walker, who had the bottle shot from his mouth at one of these wells.

On the fourth of June, the enemy made an assault in considerable force on the works at Windmill hill, then in possession of the citizens. They were repulsed with great loss. Among the incidents of this

* Walker's History of the Siege.

conflict, there are some which indicate plainly that the advantages of courage and discipline lay with the citizens. The assailants exhibited great surprise when they found that their antagonists, instead of firing a volley and running away, reserved two-thirds of their discharge, and stood firing in successive volleys as they came on. Colonel Butler, son to lord Mountgarret, and thirty horsemen, having forced their way to the top of the works, the city party were astonished to find that their bullets took no effect upon them; but captain Crooke remarked that they were cased in armour, and ordered that the horses should be aimed at, which was so effectually obeyed, that of the thirty but three succeeded in getting off. "We wondered," writes Walker, "that the foot did not run faster, till we took notice that in their retreat they took the dead on their backs, and so preserved their own bodies from the remainder of our shot, which was more service than they did while they were alive." On this occasion, the enemy's loss was four hundred, with nine officers slain and seven taken; while the city lost but six privates and one officer—a plain proof of the superior character of their force. This disastrous repulse appears to have animated the councils of the besiegers with an impatient wish to retaliate. On the same night they opened a severe and destructive bombardment on the city, the effects of which were terrific: "they plowed up our streets, and broke down our houses, so that there was no passing the streets nor staying within doors, but all flock to the walls, and the remotest parts of the town, &c."* This new mode of attack was attended with more serious results than any to be apprehended from their prowess in the field. Mr Walker gives a lively description of it. "They plied the besieged so close with great guns in the day-time, and with bombs in the night and sometimes in the day, that they could not enjoy their rest, but were hurried from place to place and tired into faintness and diseases, which destroyed many of the garrison, which was reduced to 6185 men on the 15th of this month; these bombs were some advantage to us on one account; for being under great want of fuel, they supplied us plentifully from the houses they threw down, and the timber they broke for us."† There cannot indeed easily be found a more striking illustration of the heroism that can gather "resolution from despair."

In the course of these proceedings, the spring had passed without any progress on the side of the besiegers, while the brave defenders of the city, unimpressed by the arms of their enemy, were beginning to feel the severest extremities of toil, exposure and privation. In the beginning of June, the allowance of food for the several companies had sunk to the lowest amount consistent with the bare support of life; the garrison dragged on a sickly existence of prolonged starvation, and though the noble spirit of resistance was still unshaken, yet the animal energy which had so often repelled the assault from their gates, and which stood unmoved amidst the daily cannonade which had already laid their city in the dust under their feet, was sadly broken; the brave soldiers and citizens of Londonderry were become so enfeebled, that the summer heats, now setting in, were scarcely to be

* Walker's Hist.

† Walker's Hist.

endured by their attenuated frames; and, already more thinned in their force by famine and unwholesome living, than by the enemy, exhausted nature now began to give way with accelerated rapidity. On the 7th of June, three distant ships were seen to approach the river, which awakened a momentary hope of relief; but unhappily they were soon deterred by the apparent dangers of the entrance, and after some vain hesitation sailed away.

On the 15th June, a fleet of thirty sail appeared in Lough Foyle, and once more excited anxious expectation in the fainting garrison. The obstacles were nevertheless of the most formidable character; the besiegers, well supplied with artillery and ammunition, raised strong batteries on Charles fort, at the narrow part of the river, where the ships must pass before they could reach the town; they also lined the bank on both sides with musquetry. In addition to these preparations, they contrived to fasten a strong boom across the water, which, by arresting the entrance of the ships just under their guns, would have exposed them to the fullest effect of their fire. Such obstacles demanded the spirit of a Rodney, or a Nelson, and were far too discouraging for Kirke. Signals not very intelligible to either were exchanged from the steeple of the cathedral and the masts of the fleet; and at last a messenger sent from the ships contrived by swimming to reach the city, and convey information. From him they learned the amount of relief intended for them and contained in the ships. Another messenger despatched at the same time had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and was suborned to make delusive statements to the garrison; for which purpose they hung out a white flag, and offered to permit the garrison to communicate with their prisoner. The trick was however ineffectual.

Kirke retired, but employed a little boy who twice succeeded in making his way into the city, baffling the search of the enemy by the dexterity with which his letters were secreted. One letter he carried in his garter; the second was sewed in a cloth button. Kirke's letter will here convey the immediate position of affairs,—it is addressed to governor Walker.

“Sir,—I have received yours by the way of Inch. I writ to you Sunday last, that I would endeavour all means imaginable for your relief, and find it impossible by the river, which made me send a party to Inch, where I am going myself to try if I can beat off their camp, or divert them, so that they shall not press you. I have sent officers, ammunition, arms, great guns, &c., to Inniskillin, who have three thousand foot, one thousand five hundred horse, and a regiment of dragoons that has promised to come to their relief, and at the same time, I will attack the enemy by Inch. I expect six thousand men from England every minute, they having been shipt these eight days. I have stores and victuals for you, and am resolved to relieve you. England and Scotland are in a good posture, and all things are very well settled; be good husbands of your victuals, and by God's help we shall overcome these barbarous people. Let me hear from you as often as you can, and the messenger shall have what reward he will. I have several of the enemy has deserted to me, who all assure me they cannot stay long. I hear from Inniskillin the Duke of Berwick

is beaten, I pray God it be true, for then nothing can hinder them joining you or me.

“Sir, your faithful servant,

“J. KIRKE.”

“*To Mr George Walker.*”

About the middle of June, Baker was become too seriously ill to take any part in the further conduct of the defences, and by his own desire colonel Mitchelburn was appointed in his place, as governor in commission together with Walker. The object of this provision as explained by Walker, being in order that one might be always present in the town when the other commanded the sallies, and also, in case of death to avoid the danger of new elections.

About six days after, the besiegers were joined by field Marshal Conrade De Rosen, a French officer whom James had made commander in chief of the Irish armies. De Rosen, as often occurs to those who come fresh and untried to scenes of difficulty, despised the enemy, and conducted himself much as if he thought the defenders of the city might be intimidated into a surrender by oaths, imprecations and menaces, which only excited their contempt; he also had recourse to persuasion and promises, which had no greater effect,—“God having under all our difficulties,” writes Walker, “established us with a spirit and resolution above all fear or temptation to any mean compliances, we having devoted our lives to the defence of our city, our religion, &c.” So great indeed was that devotion, that feeling themselves tottering upon the very verge of visible destruction, and considering the temptation to save themselves in their emergency so great by a surrender which they thought infamous, the governors thought fit at this period to forbid the mere mention of surrender, on pain of death. The desertions began to be numerous, as among the crowd there were necessarily many who were more awake to safety and the wants of animal nature, than to honour and the dictates of conscience. The balls were spent, and for their cannon they were necessitated to use bricks coated with lead, yet with these clumsy substitutes they seldom fired without execution. De Rosen on his part was not deficient in the active employment of the various resources of war to distress the city and shorten its defences: he planted new batteries, formed new lines and began a mine to destroy the half bastion near the gate at Bog-street. All these elaborate preparations were frustrated by the commanders of the garrison, by whom his mine was countermined, and his foremost and bravest men killed by well directed discharges from the walls. One evening late, a regiment under the command of lord Clancarty contrived to enter the works of the city, and even lodged several men in a cellar under the bastion. Captains Noble, Dunbar and others, were ordered to steal out at the Bishop’s gate and creep silently round by the wall until they came unexpectedly upon the enemy, who as yet thought that they had the whole matter to themselves; precisely following the direction of the governor, the sallying party came round until they were very near the assailants, who immediately saluted them with a hurried and ineffectual fire; they received the discharge with the most thorough composure, and advanced without returning it until they

came "to a right distance," and then opened a deadly fire. Almost at same instant a discharge from the walls followed up their fire, and lord Clancarty with his men were compelled to fly, abandoning the mines, and leaving a hundred soldiers dead on the spot.

On the 30th June the gallant Baker died, and was interred in the Cathedral, with the sorrow and the state due to his merit.

The garrison was by this time reduced to the necessity of eating horse flesh, dogs, cats, rats and mice, greaves of a year old, tallow, starch, dried hides, &c. A statement of Walker's, giving the prices at which these articles were sold in the markets, will convey some idea of the condition to which they were reduced.

Horse flesh sold for, per pound,	£0	1	8
A quarter of a Dog, fattened by eating the bodies of the slain Irish,	0	5	6
A Dog's head,	0	2	6
A Cat,	0	4	6
A Rat,	0	1	0
A Mouse,	0	0	6
A small Flock taken in the river, not to be bought for money, or purchased under the rate of a quantity of meal.			
A pound of Greave,	0	1	0
A pound of Tallow,	0	4	0
A pound of salted Hides,	0	1	0
A quart of Horse blood,	0	1	0
A Horse pudding,	0	0	6
A handful of sea Wreck,	0	0	2
Do. of Chicken weed,	0	0	1
A quart of Meal when found,	0	1	0

A fact mentioned by Walker somewhat amusingly illustrates this state of want. A fat gentleman, conceiving himself in so much danger of being eaten, by those whose grim and famished looks seemed to his frightened apprehension, to indicate a strong disposition to such a meal, hid himself for three days and endeavoured by abstinence to disencumber himself of an obesity so dangerously attractive to the eye of starvation. Yet in the midst of all this trying distress, the spirit of the soldiers never flagged, and their conversation was full of hope and resolution.

The enemy who failed to conquer their spirit, made some attempts to sow division in the garrison, and contrived to propagate a report which caused some excitement, that Walker had a large store of provisions secreted in his own house. The governor contrived to have a search proposed, by which such suspicions were turned aside and he was fully restored to the confidence of the army. Negotiations of a fraudulent nature, and illusory representations, were at the same time had recourse to. Lieutenant-general Hamilton whom the reader may recollect as having made king William the dupe of a mistaken confidence in his honour, sent to offer conditions, and received from Walker and his heroic companions for answer, that they much wondered that he could expect their confidence, having already so unworthily broken faith with the king; that though an enemy, he had

once been generously trusted, yet betrayed the trust; and it was not to be believed that he would learn more sincerity in an Irish camp.*

General De Rosen sent a letter to demand an immediate surrender, threatening in case of refusal to take revenge upon the surrounding districts as far as Ballishanny, Claremont, Belfast, and the barony of Inishowen, and to order the robbery of the protected, as well as unprotected protestants, and have all driven to perish under the walls of their city. The proposal and menace were alike disregarded; but De Rosen was not slow in executing the threat so far as lay in his power. This officer, not without grounds in probability, but contrary to the fact, conceived the notion that none but the superior officers in the garrison could have the desperate resolution under these circumstances, thus to spurn at all conditions; and that it was impossible the soldiers could have been made aware of his offers. Thus ignorant of the spirit of the soldiers and citizens of Derry, he contrived to disperse among them, proposals and copies of his letters to their governors. Among other expedients for this purpose, a "dead shell," containing copies of the whole correspondence, was thrown into the city. He little knew the single and resolute spirit which made the garrison as one man, prefer death in any honourable form to a life of dishonourable submission to a perfidious, unscrupulous, and cruel despotism: he was not perhaps fully aware of the dreadful lesson which had been taught by Tyrconnel, who had already made it obvious to every Irish protestant, that pardon and protection were but delusions to gain some immediate purpose, and that the dupe was only let live to be hunted down as convenience might offer, by an untiring persecution from which there was no earthly refuge but in arms, or the barter of conscience and truth.

On the 2d July the menace of the French general was fulfilled, and a crowd of poor protestants was seen approaching from a distance, driven on like a herd of cattle by the troopers of De Rosen. For a short time the garrison was completely at a loss to understand the strange approach of a vast crowd of at least 30,000 persons approaching their walls; and mistaking them for the enemy, fired upon them from the walls. It was not long however before they perceived the truth, and by singular and providential accident their fire had not harmed a single person among the crowd, but passing over their heads, slew several of those drivers who were mingled in the further verge of the crowd. The governors of the city were filled with indignation by a sight so full of shame and horror: they ordered a gallows to be raised in sight of the Irish camp, and apprized De Rosen and his army that they would hang their prisoners if the poor protestants were not suffered to return to their homes. These prisoners themselves admitted that they could not complain of such a decision, and entreated to be allowed to write to Hamilton: the permission was granted, and we give the correspondence as illustrative of the miscreant spirit of those who commanded the besieging army. The following was the letter written by the prisoners:—

“ My Lord,—Upon the hard dealing the protected, as well as other protestants have met withal, in being sent under the walls, you have so incensed the governor and others of this garrison, that we are all condemned by a court-martial to dye to-morrow, unless these poor people be withdrawn. We have made application to marshal-general De Rosen, and having received no answer, we make it our request to you, (as knowing you are a person that does not delight in shedding innocent blood) that you will represent our condition to the marshall-general. The lives of twenty prisoners lye at stake, and therefore require your diligence and care. We are all willing to die (with our swords in our hands) for his majesty; but to suffer like malefactors is hard, nor can we lay our blood to the charge of the garrison, the governor and the rest having used and treated us with all civility imaginable.—Your most dutiful and dying friends,

“ NETERVILLE,

“ E. BUTLER,

“ G. AYLMEY,

“ — MACDONNELL,

“ — DARCY, &c., in the name of all the rest.

“ Writ by another hand, he himself has lost the fingers of his right hand.

“ *To Lieutenant-general Hamilton.*”

To this, Hamilton returned the following answer:—

“ Gentlemen,—In answer to yours, what these poor people are like to suffer, they may thank themselves for, being their own fault; which they may prevent by accepting the conditions (which) have been offered them. And if *you* suffer in this, it cannot be helped, but shall be revenged on many thousands of those people, as well innocent as others, within or without that city !”

An epistle of which the brutality cannot easily be exceeded in so few words.

Still, the lieutenant-general took two days to consider the danger of his own disgraceful position, and the real consequences which should be the result of persisting in the cruel expedient he had adopted; and feeling that if the garrison fulfilled their menace, he should stand committed to outrages too shameful even for him, resolved to comply and purchase the safety of the prisoners by suffering the protestants to disperse to their homes. The commanders of the garrison on their part, obtained some advantage from this barbarous proceeding, as they thus contrived to get rid of 500 useless persons. This the enemy endeavoured in vain to prevent, and even pretended that they could distinguish by smelling, those who had been in the city,—and the assertion is not quite improbable. Some able men were also thus obtained for the service of the garrison.

By many conversations from the walls, they ascertained the edifying fact which should not be omitted in this history, that the native portion of the force under De Rosen, was treated with contempt and neglect. The Irish soldiers expressed “great prejudice and hatred of the French, cursing those damned fellows that walked in trunks,

(meaning their jack-boots,) *that had all preferments in the army that fell*, and took the bread out of their mouths, and they believed would have all the kingdom to themselves at last." A belief quite warranted by reason and experience, however the rude Irish soldier may have reached it.

The effects of disease and famine may be clearly estimated at this period of the siege, from the statement of Walker: considering that the losses occasioned by any other means were but trifling.

July 8,	the garrison is reduced to 5520,				
— 13,	do.	do.	5313,	loss in 5 days,	207
— 17,	do.	do.	5114,	4	— 299
— 22,	do.	do.	4973,	5	— 141
— 25,	do.	do.	4892,	3	— 81
Total in 17 days,					728*

Giving thus an average loss of near forty-three a day, from the mere effects of exposure and starvation. A state of suffering which is strikingly exemplified by the fact, that in a sally which they made on the 25th of July, in the hope of carrying off some of the besiegers' cattle, though they slew 300, yet it was remarked that many of the sallying party fell by the force of their own blows. A remarkable illustration also of the superiority of moral power over the mere animal strength of a rude multitude.

Under these circumstances Walker began to fear for the constancy of the garrison, of whom more than four hundred perished within the next two days, making upwards of 2000 per month. He felt in himself an unshaken confidence that they could not be entirely deserted by overruling Providence, and endeavoured to impart his own faith and spirit to the garrison on the 30th in a discourse delivered in the cathedral, in which he reminded them of the many signal deliverances they had received, of the importance of their defence to the protestant religion, and enforced from these considerations the inference that when at the worst they would obtain deliverance.

About an hour after, they espied from the wall three large vessels approaching the harbour, which they rightly conjectured to be sent by Kirke for their relief. The anxious suspense of the famine-struck defenders of Londonderry needs no description: they hung out a red flag from the steeple of the cathedral, and fired several guns to express their extremity of distress: a loud and simultaneous cry, "now or never," broke from a thousand voices, as the ships approached the point of danger, under the guns of the enemy; and a furious cannonade for some minutes arrested their entrance. The ships returned the fire with spirit, and still proceeded without wavering a moment, until the *Mountjoy*, commanded by captain Browning, having struck the boom and broken it, was thrown upon the sands by the recoil. The enemy set up a tremendous shout, and rushed forward to board the vessel: but fring her broadside among them, she was carried back by the shock of her own guns, and floated again. The contest after this was quickly at an end: the three vessels entered without any further impediment:

they were the Phoenix and the Mountjoy transports, commanded by captains Douglas and Browning, and convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate, captain Leake: they contained a large and needful supply of beef, meal, and other provisions— and the Heroes of Derry were saved, just when their entire provision was barely enough to keep them two days more alive. At this moment there remained alive 4300 men, of 7300 originally numbered within the garrison. Their provision consisted of nine lean horses, and one pint of meal per man. It remains to be added, that the gallant captain Browning, with four of his men, were slain by the enemy's fire, while the Mountjoy was aground.

We need not dwell further upon the particulars of this most interesting event. The siege was at an end; the enemy had been taught to appreciate the spirit of Derry too well at its last ebb, to risk any further encounter. They drew off to Strabane. They had scarcely completed their encampment, when they heard of the bloody defeat of general Macarthy by the Enniskillen men; and wisely reflected that their safest course was furthest from the scope of such rude encounters. They broke four guns, and threw twelve cart-loads of military store into the river, and marched with discreet precipitation to safer quarters. Thus writes Walker, "after 105 days being closely besieged by near 20,000 men constantly supplied from Dublin, God Almighty was pleased in our utmost extremity to send relief." Nearly 9000 of the besieging army had fallen before the walls.

A few days after, a meeting of the council and chief inhabitants of Londonderry met and agreed upon an address to king William, which they committed to the care of their governor to present. Walker proceeded on his way by Scotland. He was received with every mark of respect in Glasgow, which claimed the honour of his education. At Edinburgh he met a no less honourable reception: there he was waited on by a body of presbyterian ministers, who applied to him for some information respecting the condition of their Irish brethren, and received from him an affecting narrative of their distresses and sufferings. By this city he was admitted as a burgess and guild brother, and received from the town clerk, Æneas M'Cleod, a formal certificate of his admission to this honour. Pursuing his route to London, he was met at Barnet by Sir R. Cotton, who came to meet him, and conveyed him from thence in his coach to London. During his journey, a letter from the king addressed to him and to Michelburn, had reached Londonderry, in which his majesty expressed in strong terms his sense of what was due to them for their efforts in preserving that city, and acknowledging that he looked upon it as his duty to reward their services as commanders in that heroic and unequalled defence. The university of Cambridge showed a sense worthy of itself, of the importance of these services by a degree of doctor. Soon after his arrival, Walker attended a meeting of the Irish Society, to which he detailed the effects of the siege in destroying the greater part of the town, and suggested the necessity of assistance for the purpose of its being fitted for the re-occupation of the citizens. The society acted at once upon the suggestion, and on its application the corporate authorities of London set on foot an effective contribution to the required end of relieving the sufferers and repairing the town. At the same time abate-

ments were made in the rents, and timber gratuitously supplied for the work of repair.*

At this time Walker prepared his diary of the siege, from which the chief part of this memoir is drawn. It was received with great applause; but was not long unattacked by a pamphlet, written by Mr Mackenzie, the presbyterian minister of Cookestown, whose account of the same transactions, more in detail and substantially correct, is generally allowed to be written with a feeling invidious towards Walker, and not to be trusted so far as it may be construed to affect his account. This was followed by a succession of pamphlets by the friends and partisans on either side; the controversy was closed by Walker's vindication of his diary, which a recent writer of considerable authority has justly called unanswerable: we transcribe the conclusion of this document, of which the learned writer just cited, very truly observes, that it "will be sufficient to excite a wish that more of his writings had been preserved."

"Mr Walker has not taken pains to satisfy those who do him the honour to confess that God has been pleased to make him an instrument of some good to them, and yet seem angry with him without reason. He has not taken those pains to satisfy them, or establish himself in their esteem, as if it were a discouragement to want their good opinion. He does not know whether it would be for his credit to have it, for there is 'woe against him of whom all men speak well,' and he is well pleased to want that mark, and he knows that no man can be so innocent, but he must endure reflections and abuses, and that therefore the slanderer's throat is called an open sepulchre like death, that all men must submit to, and in such cases Mr Walker is not so unreasonable as to desire to be singular only as he could not propose to get any reputation by writing, so he had some hopes he should not lose any by it. He has written this vindication of his account of the siege of Derry, not that he thinks he has so great an occasion to satisfy himself as to satisfy others, and that he thinks that he ought, in justice to all those poor gentlemen and people who were concerned with him in Derry, to keep up the reputation of their service, that they may never receive any stain from the dirt or scandals any envious persons can throw upon them, to prejudice them in the king's favour, or the sense he has so often been pleased to express of their fidelity and courage.

"He has been upbraided with having given a very imperfect account of the siege of Derry, and that matter he will not dispute with his enemies; for it is impossible it could be otherwise, or that the little time and convenience he had to be exact in such a thing could prevent it. He is the more willing to allow this, because two very extraordinary things occur to him, which at the time of writing the book he had forgotten, and they being so considerable in demonstrating that providence which attended the defence of the town, and that was so remarkable in its deliverance, he begs to insert them in this paper.

"In the account of the siege you may find that people were every day

* Ordnance survey, County History.—Rev. John Graham.

going out of Derry; the enemy by that means had constant intelligence, and we had reason to be under great apprehension and concern, more especially for our ammunition; we therefore considered how to prevent that, and having a great quantity in Mr Campsie's cellar we removed it to another place. The very next day after we had removed it, a bomb broke into the cellar, and if our gunpowder had been there we should certainly have been destroyed.

"Another thing of as great moment was omitted, and that was, a bomb from the enemy broke into a cellar near Butcher's Gate. Some had the curiosity to examine what mischief it had done, and there they saw seven men dead, that had been working at a mine unknown to us, and that if it had not been for so miraculous a counter-mine, they might have gone on with their work and ruined us. Mr Walker will not say but there may be other as considerable things omitted, but they too nearly concern himself, and it would not become him to sound his own praises, more than it would to reproach others."

On the differences between Walker and Mackenzie, Harris observes, "There are some variances between the account of the siege of Derry published by Dr Walker, and the narrative of it drawn up by Mr John Mackenzie, who were both present and in action during the siege—the former a clergyman of the church of Ireland, and the other a dissenting minister, and chaplain of a regiment there in that busy time; and these variances are to be accounted of only from the consideration of the different tempers and interests of parties, which often lead good men astray. Mr Mackenzie is much more circumstantial than Dr Walker, who gives only a diary of the circumstances just as they happened; a method which naturally engages our belief. I have extracted from them both, where they do not clash; and sometimes show where they do. In his account of the election of governors after the escape of Lundy, Dr Walker alleges, that himself and major Baker were chosen to that office; on the other hand Mr Mackenzie gives the election to major Baker alone, who named Dr Walker to be his assistant in the siege, and he was properly only governor or commissary of the stores. It is unaccountable that Dr Walker, who published his diary in London immediately after the raising of the siege, should assume to himself an office by election, to which he was not elected. This would be a strain of falsity of which thousands could contradict him. But the truth of Dr Walker's assertion is evinced by this, that he signs first in all the public instruments and orders passed during the siege; and his memory is vindicated against Mr Mackenzie's insinuations by a pamphlet published in 1690, entitled, 'Mr Mackenzie's narrative, a false libel,' to which the reader is referred; wherein not only this point, but many others are set right."*

From the House of Commons Walker received a vote of thanks and a grant of £5000—a stinted and insignificant return for the services he had performed; nor was its inadequacy redeemed by the bishopric of Londonderry, which the king is generally asserted to have bestowed upon him, but of which he never took possession. From the public,

* Harris' life of William III.

the Irish society, and the House of Commons, he received however a full allowance of all the empty honour which he had so richly earned: he probably found more real satisfaction in the opportunity allowed him of serving the city, for which he had already risked his life and spent his substance, by means of the weighty influence which his statements had acquired. On his advice the house addressed the king in behalf of the sufferers of Londonderry. They also instituted an inquiry into the circumstances of the mismanagement of Irish affairs, and into the causes of the misfortunes of the army. On these subjects Walker's testimony was important, and received as decisive. The misconduct of Lundy in abandoning the passes, and in various ways opposing and preventing the defence of the city entrusted to his care, and the no less detrimental treachery of Sheils (or Shales) the purveyor, were clearly exposed by his testimony.

He received an invitation from the Oxford University, and the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and a Diploma, in which he is described in these terms, "*Reverendus vir Georgius Walker, strenuus ipse ac invictus Civitatis Derensis propugnator, atque eodem facto totius Hiberniæ, uti speramus, conservator atque vindex. Die Mar. 2, 1689.*"

Before his departure from London, Walker was entertained by the city, and nothing appears to have been wanting to mark the sense of his merits on the part of the English public. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm, and whenever he chanced to be recognised in the streets, the populace showed their admiration, and the public feeling of England, by following him in crowds.

When he was on his way to present the address of the citizens of Londonderry, he was advised to appear in the uniform of a lieutenant-general before the king; but, with better taste and sounder sense of principle, Walker rejected this absurd counsel, and presented himself in his canonical attire. By the king he was received with the kindness and favour so justly his due; and in addition to other marks of respect, Sir Godfrey Kneller was commanded to paint a portrait of him for the king.*

On William's arrival in Ireland, Walker was among those who received him on the quay of Carrickfergus, and accompanied him to the battle of the Boyne, where he received a mortal wound, as he was crossing the river with Schomberg. He was interred at his own church at Castle Caulfield. "In the year 1703," writes Mr Graham, "a very handsome monument was erected in the wall over them [his remains] by his widow. He had put the church, which is a very fine one, in complete order, a short time before the revolution, as is recorded on an inscription over the door of it. It seemed when the writer of these memoirs saw it in 1829, to have undergone no material change since Walker's day, but was then in good repair. The following is a copy of the inscription under the monument of this heroic man. It is surmounted by his family arms, finely represented on a marble slab:—

* Graham.

P. M. S.
 Hic Juxt. lector,
 Reverendi Georgii Walker, S.T.D.
 Hujus Parochiæ olim Rectoris,
 Ossa reconduntur.
 Ille cujus vigilantia et virtute
 Londini Deriensis Civitas
 Anno MDCLXXXIX,
 A Gulielmi III. et fidei hostibus
 Liberata Stetit,
 Ad Boandi fluminis ripam
 Pro eadem causa adversus eosdem
 Hostes,
 Anno MDCXC.
 Occisus cecidit.
 Cujus reliquiis et memoriæ
 Mæstissima adhuc illius vidua
 Isabella Walker
 Hoc monumentum posuit
 Anno MDCCIII.

 Saxo autem erit Fama perennior,
 Nec futura minus quam præsentia secula
 Tam purum Militem, tam fortem Sacerdotem,
 Mirabuntur.*

Robert, Second Earl of Kingston.

DIED A. D. 1693.

WE have already had occasion to notice the origin of the family of King. The nobleman, to be here noticed, took an active part in the Irish wars attendant on the revolution. In the beginning of the year 1689, he was, with Sir Chidly Coote, chosen by the protestant inhabitants of the county of Sligo to command them. He had not been many days in this command when he received a letter, written by governor Lundy, from Londonderry, in which he was earnestly entreated to come to the assistance of that city. But lord Kingston had not proceeded beyond Ballyshannon, when he received a letter from the committee in Londonderry, to apprise him that his men could not be received into that city, where they said there was no room for their accommodation. In the mean time, Sarsfield profiting, as was undoubtedly designed by the treacherous Lundy, by the absence of its defenders, took possession of Sligo. Lord Kingston was in the same letter directed to advance to join the protestants in the Lagan, and to be at Clady, Lifford, and Long Causeway next morning. At a very early hour Kingston rode out with a small party towards Derry, to "understand the meaning of these things." As he approached Raphoe, he met a party of fugitives who informed him that Lundy had abandoned the places to which he had ordered him, and that the approaches to Derry were all cut off by the enemy. Returning late at night to Ballyshannon, he received the mortifying intelligence of the

* Graham.

disaster in Sligo. His officers on this entreated of him to go to seek aid in England; and took refuge themselves in Enniskillen, Donegal, &c. Lord Kingston, with a few of his officers, made their way to Killibegs, where they seized a French vessel, and putting out to sea, landed in Scotland, whence he repaired to king William.

During his absence he was attainted in the parliament called by James in Dublin, and his estates sequestrated. Returning, he commanded a regiment at the siege of Carrickfergus by Schomberg. He was on the settlement of the kingdom restored to his estates, and took his seat in parliament. With this, his historical existence properly terminated: and we should leave him here with the simple record of his death. But he is honourably distinguished for an act of great public benevolence and humanity, which cannot be omitted even in this brief notice. We cannot present it to the reader more advantageously than in the words of our authority:—"By deeds dated 19th and 20th December, 1693, he demised to Henry, lord Capel, lord-justice, Sir Robert King and others, the castle, manor, and lands of Newcastle, and part of the manor of Mitchelston, in the counties of Tipperary and Cork, for building, endowing, and establishing for ever, a college in or near the borough of Boyle, to be called by the name of Kingston college: the trustees to stand seised of the premises after they were secured by act of parliament, or other legal ways, for the erecting of the said college, for one master and usher, a chaplain, a free school, a chapel, with apartments for the master, usher, and chaplain, and the reception of twenty poor widows; the school to be for the educating of boys in the English, Latin, and Greek tongues, so as such boys be born of parents living in the town or barony of Boyle, and receive their approbation for admittance, first from the trustees, their heirs and successors, or the major part of them, by writing under their hands and seals, (Sir Robert King and his heirs, to be always one,) and after the building of the college, the trustees to stand seised of so much of the premises as amounted to £140 a-year; £120 thereof to be for the yearly maintenance of the master and usher, and the remaining £20 to the chaplain, for performing divine service twice a day in the chapel; and the trustees to stand seised of all the rents amounting to £400 for the support and maintenance of twenty poor widows of the deceased ministers or curates within the dioceses of Elphin, Killala, and Achonry, Tuam, &c., where the lands lay in Munster,—viz. £20 a-piece during their widowhood and residence in the town of Boyle; those of the diocese of Elphin to be first provided for, and the rest as before set down, at the discretion and choice of the trustees, by their writing under their respective hands and seals, attested by two credible witnesses."

Gustavus Hamilton, Viscount Boyne.

BORN A. D. 1639—DIED A. D. 1723.

AT the same time with the events related in the preceding memoir, other incidents of little less historical interest were occurring in

the neighbouring territories. Of these we shall now have occasion to relate the most memorable, as the illustrious soldier whose name and title stand at the head of the present memoir, was among the few Irishmen who bore a principal part in the wars of the revolution in Ireland.

In the latter end of the reign of James I., Sir Frederick Hamilton, a descendant of the Scottish Hamiltons, who stood high among the most noble and ancient families of Europe, having obtained great distinction under the standard of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, came over and served in Ireland, where he obtained considerable grants. His youngest son Gustavus, so called after the Swedish king, was a captain in the Irish army toward the end of the reign of Charles II. In 1667, he was among those who attended on the duke of Ormonde at the university of Oxford, and obtained on that occasion its degree of doctor of laws.

On the accession of James II., he was sworn of his privy council; but when it became evident that this feeble monarch was engaged in an attempt to overthrow the constitution and church of England, and to break up those institutions under which Ireland had been advancing into civilization and freedom, for the purpose of more surely effecting his purposes in England, Hamilton decided that his first duty belonged to the church and constitution.

After the Irish army, under general Richard Hamilton, and general Sheldon, had plundered Lisburn, Belfast and Antrim, they advanced to lay siege to Coleraine. Thither numerous gentlemen and soldiers, who had been compelled to retreat from before them at Dromore and Hillsborough, crowded for refuge, and with a resolution to defend themselves to the last. Having sent notice of their misfortunes to Lundy, the governor of Derry, he came attended by Gustavus Hamilton; and in conformity with the double and treacherous part he was then acting, said all he could to dishearten and to dissuade these brave men from resistance. As matters stood, discouragement had unquestionably much foundation; the ramparts of Coleraine were everywhere dilapidated, and the broken walls were hastily built up with sods; yet the spirit of the inhabitants, and of the gentlemen now assembled there, was buoyant and fearless. Lundy told them that his stores were insufficient for the defence of Londonderry, and advised them to quit the town as soon as an attack should be made. But the uniform tenor of Lundy's conduct had been such as to awaken a general distrust, his entire activity had been employed for the surrender or desertion of the most important parts, and his counsel had been but offered to betray; from him such advice naturally excited suspicion: and such on that occasion was his entire deportment, that when he went out of the gate, for the purpose of taking a view of the town, the guard, thinking he was leaving them, drew up the bridge, and levelled their musquets and pikes at him. They then called a council, and resolved to commit the command of the town and force there collected to Hamilton, who had been previously appointed governor of Donegal.

At Derry the council had taken into consideration the report which had been mischievously circulated, to the effect, that if the people of

Coleraine should be driven out, they should not be received at that city. They not only drew up a paper giving a direct contradiction to this report, but declaring their common cause and their determination to stand or fall with their friends at Coleraine.

Meanwhile a council at Coleraine, taking into account the nearly desperate state of their defences, had almost resolved to retire to Londonderry, when the appearance of the enemy cut short all further consideration as to the course they should pursue.

At first a few troops of horse made their appearance, and were forced to retire by some straggling shots from the walls. But in the morning the whole Irish army were seen approaching, and made their way to a very short distance from the walls by means of hedges and fences, which were prevented from being levelled by the private influence of proprietors. Owing to this ill-advised neglect, they approached by the side of the "Blindgate," within fifty yards of the ramparts, and obtained a position covered by a mill close to a bastion. Thus advantageously posted, they erected two batteries, from which they opened a warm fire upon the bridge and the Blindgate. From the gate they broke the upper beam, and loosened the chain, which captain Maculogh fastened at great risk, amid a shower of bullets. The other battery did little mischief, and was silenced by a musquet ball which killed one of the artillerymen. About five in the evening the enemy began to retreat in great confusion; but the garrison were prevented from pursuit by the obstacles they had themselves raised, having blocked their gates with timber, earth, and rubbish; yet several made their way over the ramparts, and took many prisoners with some arms, ammunition, clothing, and tents. The garrison lost but three men, the besiegers many; but they carried away their dead; and according to the report of the country people, burned them in a house.*

Immediately after, the troops in Coleraine, with some other regiments, were sent in several detachments, to guard the passes at Morrimore, Dawson's Bridge, &c., as it was ascertained that a considerable force under Gordon O'Neile, were marching towards Coleraine. Nothing very remarkable occurred till the beginning of April, when a desperate affair took place at the pass of Port-glenon, in which the Irish appeared in such force, and the protestants sustained such losses, that they saw fit to join this small and ill-armed force to the garrison of Londonderry: to which, by the store of provisions which they brought with them, and by the addition of many brave men, they afforded great additional strength in the siege which immediately followed. Of this we have given a narrative as ample as the limits of these pages afford. We now proceed to relate the history, and pursue the fortunes of the brave Enniskilleners, than whom history never has commemorated a more gallant body of men.

In the early progress of the revolution, the protestants of Ireland, persecuted on every side, and driven from their homes, began quickly to collect resolution from the desperation of their state, and to become sensible of the advantages to be derived from resistance to any enemy so

far inferior to themselves in the moral and physical requisites in the field, as their opponents then were. But above all, this many spirit became irrepressibly diffused in Ulster: there the protestant managh were joined by those who were destitute of ^{from in Ulster} Donegal, Leitrim and Monaghan, augmented, too, by whom the perfidious Lundy had by a most infamous deception ^{escaped when taken} gled from Sligo. These various bands of brave men drew together their common defence in Fermanagh, and retired to Enniskillen, its only borough town. Such was the origin and composition of this most renowned and heroic corps, generally known under the designation of Enniskilleners.

Enniskillen is built on a small island in Lough-erne, and owed its strength more to its insulation than to any construction of art, as it had neither wall nor trench. The island is about half a mile in length, and a quarter in breadth, and is joined to the mainland at each end by a stone bridge, the western end having a tower with a guarded gate. On the other extremity there was a drawbridge. The town consisted of one broad street running the length of the island, from bridge to bridge. Its main building was a large castle, the seat of the Cole family, but long since in ruins. Its unaptness for military purposes was increased by the circumstance of its being commanded from several heights, especially by a conical hill which rises from the very shore of the lough, over the eastern extremity of the island. This was indifferently protected by a small fort built with sods, and connected with the bridge by a covered way. Such, according to the description of Harris, was the state of Enniskillen at the period of our narrative. Here the Enniskilleners took up the position, from which, as a centre, they issued on every side, as the occasion for enterprise presented itself; and having chosen colonel Gustavus Hamilton their governor, they were formed into companies, and received all the organization that time and their previous ignorance of military habits permitted. They had few musquets, but they soon armed themselves with pikes and scythe blades, rudely adapted to their new destination. Gustavus Hamilton took the command as colonel, and Thomas Lloyd was chosen as lieutenant-colonel of the body, which was divided into twelve companies. They sent an address to the prince of Orange by Hugh Hamilton and Allen Cathcart, soliciting for arms, commissions, ammunition, and a supply of money. At the time of these proceedings Lundy had not yet been detected; and the plan was to effect a similar organization in the several counties, for the same purpose, and concentrate their entire movements under his command. But, from a variety of incidental causes, the plan failed in most of its details.

Lundy appears to have planned the wreck of the protestant cause with very considerable ability, but to have proceeded too incautiously in the details of its execution. His contrivance can easily be traced on the historic page by its uniformity: in any one instance, it might have been the part of prudence to abandon a position which was only to be held under many disadvantages, and against perilous odds: but it too quickly became apparent that Lundy had adopted one sole expedient for every case; to desert the pass without any contest, and to send a general recommendation to the people to fly their homes and

Coleraine sh^r fortresses; a course which was disagreeable to the resolute city. The afloat in the north, and which awakened and confirmed this report, y its uniformity. The Enniskilleners were scarcely organ- to stand or they were joined by the protestants of Cavan under a strong M^r; who informed their colonel and his officers that they had abandoned their town by the advice of Lundy. Their motions had been quickened by the approach of lord Galmoy, who was then on his way to reduce Enniskillen.

Galmoy was much encouraged by their flight, and thought to drive the whole country before him in a state of disorderly panic; nor was the notion without strong grounds in human nature: such terrors once set in motion are usually propagated in a ratio of prodigious acceleration; and such is their law of increase, that growing numbers (commonly the source of strength) but operate to the increase of weakness sprung from terror. But there was a moral energy at work which resisted all such unsound influences, and if the retiring crowd had been infected with fear, they would have been restored by the manly tone of the Enniskilleners. As Galmoy approached Enniskillen, his progress was checked by Cromcastle, which he stopped to take. The ground in that vicinity, not being such as to admit of the approach of his cannon, he thought to terrify the garrison into a surrender by contriving an imitation of those formidable engines: two tin-cannons covered in buckram, painted to resemble cannon, were drawn each by eight horses, and with a prodigious clatter. On the strength of these great guns in buckram, Galmoy summoned the garrison. To Enniskillen he sent a message, informing them of the arrival of James, of his own commission to reduce the country to obedience, and of his power to grant them favourable terms: to which the Enniskilleners replied, they owed allegiance to none but king William and queen Mary, and would submit to none but those who should bear their commission. They then prepared for their defence, expecting the approach of Galmoy: Hamilton drew out to the main land, having resolved rather to meet the enemy in the field than to stand a siege; but Galmoy, who had advanced to Lisnaskea within eight miles, retreated to Crom on hearing of this resolution. It was then resolved to send out a party to the relief of Crom. This detachment was sent in boats up the loch. The enemy attempted to prevent their landing, but were repulsed with the loss of many whom the Enniskilleners shot dead from their boats. They entered the castle, and soon after sallying out with the garrison, drove the besiegers from their trenches with great slaughter, and took possession of the tin great guns, one of which was carried into the castle upon a man's shoulder; the other they carried off in their boats for the amusement of their friends at Enniskillen. Harris, upon the authority of an old MS., mentions another account of the raising of this siege, which, as he observes, is not inconsistent with the former, and is curious enough to be mentioned. The MS. mentions, "that the defect of artillery in the castle was in some degree supplied by long fowling-pieces with double rests, used in killing game about the lough. That as Galmoy was reconnoitering the castle from an hill near an English mile distant, [we should here suggest a *long bow* instead of the fowling piece] and was standing with a glass of wine in his hand ready to drink confusion

to the rebels in Crom, an expert fowler on the battlements, levelling his gun at the crowd, broke the glass in his lordship's hand, and killed the man who stood next him, which deterred the besiegers from making too near approaches, without which the castle could not be taken; and gave the Enniskilleners an opportunity to throw a relief of two hundred men into it, which obliged Galmoy to draw off.*"

The atrocities committed by Galmoy—whom Harris calls "the infamous," and not without strong grounds, in the details of his conduct which are to be found in his great work—were such as to excite a strong disgust among his own officers, and to add considerably to the zeal and earnest ardour with which the northern protestants entered into a league for their common safety. One of his officers, Bryan Macguire, was a prisoner in the hands of Creighton the commander in Crom. Galmoy sent to propose an exchange, offering to send captain Dixy his prisoner in return, and desiring that in case Creighton should approve of the exchange, he might send Macguire, and that he pledged his honour to return Dixy. Macguire was accordingly sent. On his arrival, Galmoy called a council of war to try Dixy, by which he was sentenced to death; we presume the council to have been ignorant of the perfidious negotiations. Macguire, however, promptly and strenuously interfered to the utmost in his power, and offered to return to Crom as prisoner; but he might as well have preached honour and justice to the winds: Galmoy caused Dixy to be hanged, with circumstances of most aggravated barbarity. Macguire threw up his commission in disgust, and left the service which was thus spotted with infamy.

It would be tedious to dwell severally upon the instances of valour and success, which, through the entire spring of 1689, marked the superior spirit and conduct of the Enniskilleners. Among these, the success of a detachment of a few companies under captain Lloyd, in taking the two strong forts of Redhill and Ballinacarrig, might be mentioned, both for the great disadvantages under which they were won, and the universal impression they made. The consequence was an exaggerated report of the strength of the Enniskilleners, the result of terror and shame on the part of those who had allowed themselves to be deprived of their strongest places, by a handful of half-armed men. The report reached Dublin, and three armies were soon in motion against the brave Enniskilleners. General Macarthy marched from Belturbet,—the duke of Berwick from Trellich, where he lay encamped; and Sarsfield from Connaught.

For this great concentration of hostile armies, the Enniskilleners were apparently but inadequately prepared. The result of several bloody actions, though on a small scale, had supplied them to some extent with horses and arms. General Kirke also gave them a considerable supply of musquets and ammunition, with eight small pieces of cannon, accompanied by several good officers. These useful supplies arrived safely at Ballyshannon on the 26th of July. The actual force of the Enniskilleners at this time was "seventeen troops of light

horse, thirty companies of foot, and a few very ill-armed troops of heavy dragoons."

General Hamilton first received intelligence of the march of Sarsfield, and according to the method of warfare uniformly pursued by his army, he detached the gallant Lloyd with a thousand men to meet the enemy. Lloyd, after a march of twenty miles, met Sarsfield with five thousand well-armed soldiers at the stream of Bundroose, on the borders of Leitrim, and after a furious contest, routed them with great slaughter. The Enniskilleners lost but few. There was probably little generalship on the enemy's side, as Sarsfield was taken by surprise.

A slight affair which took place at the same time in the immediate vicinity of Enniskillen, is to be mentioned as the only instance in which they were unsuccessful. General Hamilton receiving information of the approach of the duke of Berwick, sent a company of foot to occupy a close and difficult pass, through which he must have marched to reach the town. It was a place where a handful of men might arrest an army on its march; but the hardy and impetuous Enniskilleners, encouraged by the sense of irresistible valour acquired in so many successful fights, were not to be restrained within the cautious limits of strategy. They passed the strong post which they were detached to keep, and pursued their course a mile beyond it into the pass. There they were soon met, surrounded, and broken. Twenty-five of their number were slain on the spot; twenty-six were taken prisoners; and a few individuals escaped to bear the vexatious intelligence to their commander. The duke of Berwick exchanged the prisoners in a few days. There are several slight variations in the accounts which remain of this encounter, but we have here adopted as the most authoritative, that which is given by Hamilton. The result is the same in all. One instance of singular bravery should not be passed over in a biographical history. In the slaughter of this unfortunate company, while each man was separately surrounded by many, and none had the least chance from resistance, John Wilson, a foot soldier, stood alone in the midst of the half dozen enemies who crowded round him, striking at him on every side without effect, and falling man after man under the weighty blows of his bayonet and the butt of his musquet. Still men fell, and still the circle was renewed with fresh foes; at last wearied with the extreme violence of his exertions, Wilson was no longer able to grasp his weapon in his wounded and bruised hands; but though unarmed, he resisted, and still succeeding in pulling down several of his assailants from their horses. At last, exhausted from the loss of blood, he sunk down into a shrubby bush. While he lay in this condition, a serjeant who had seen the resistance he made, came up and struck his halbert through his thigh; and as the weapon slipped from his hands, Wilson caught hold of it; and drawing it quickly from the wound, by a last and desperate effort pierced the serjeant through the heart with his own weapon. Wilson was left as dead where he fell; but when the enemy drew off from the spot, he still retained strength to raise himself from the ground, and by the help of the same halbert, to drag himself, mangled as he was with twelve wounds, to Enniskillen. His wounds were healed, and he lived thirty years after this incident.

On the 28th July, an account came to Enniskillen from captain Creighton, that Crom was invested by the Munster army under Macarthy. The enemy had advanced close to the walls, and commenced a warm cannonade upon the castle, to the great alarm of the little garrison, who, as they reported in their despatches to general Hamilton, were unaccustomed to cannon. On the 30th, lieutenant-colonel Berry was detached with eight troops of light horse, two of dragoons, and three companies of foot towards Lisnaskea, with orders to garrison or destroy the castle there, as it appeared to be tenable or not. He was also directed to make an attempt to raise the siege of Crom. Berry, on inspection, left the castle of Lisnaskea untouched, as its condition was such as to render it utterly untenable; and encamping that night in the fields, on the following morning he marched towards the enemy, who lay about six miles off. Berry had not advanced two miles, when his scouts brought word that there was a strong body of troops coming on to meet them. On receiving this intelligence, he retreated to Lisnaskea. Obtaining a view of the enemy from a hill, he perceived that their force was such as to render an attack with his present numbers imprudent; and continuing his retreat, he sent word to colonel Wolseley who commanded during the illness of general Hamilton, of his position, and requested that he would hasten to his assistance. In the mean time he continued to retreat in good order to Lisnaskea, where he had two roads both leading to Enniskillen. Of these he judiciously selected the one which led to a defensible pass over a bog. Across this marsh there ran a narrow road, and at the further side a low copse of brushwood; in this he posted his men on either side, and drew up his horse something farther off in the rear. They were scarcely settled, when colonel Anthony Hamilton came up with a strong party; this officer immediately dismounted with his dragoons, and approaching the edge of the causeway, fired over the bog at the Enniskilleners; his fire did little mischief, but it was returned with great effect, as he was wounded in the leg, and a dozen of his dragoons fell. Another officer took the command, and fell in the next discharge with many more. On this, the enemy, having no one to lead them, began to retire in a disorderly manner; which Berry seeing, instantly ordered an advance, and with his whole party, horse and foot, came abreast over the bog and causeway. They were not many minutes crossing the narrow way between, and reaching the enemy. While yet in the height of their confusion, they dashed in among them in close order, and converted their hasty retreat into a rout, slaying without resistance, till they past Lisnaskea a mile. Berry then learning that general Macarthy with his entire army was coming on, sounded a retreat. He marched back his men to the same post over the bog, where this affair commenced. The loss of the enemy was two hundred men slain, thirty prisoners, and several horse load of arms, which Berry sent into Enniskillen.

About two hours after this spirited affair, Berry received a message, by which he learned that colonel Wolseley was on his march by the other road, which lay about a mile on the left, who desired that he should meet him beyond the joining of the roads, at the moat near Lisnaskea. Berry put his men in motion, and the two parties joined

without any obstruction. Soon after, it was discovered that in their hurry to fight, the Enniskilleners had forgotten to carry with them any thing to eat. This appeared to colonel Wolseley a sufficient reason to consider whether it might not be necessary to retreat; and the question was submitted to the soldiers, it is probable with a just view of what their decision would be. The step was very judicious, as men will unquestionably bear privations best, while they feel them to be their own choice. As was anticipated, these brave men spurned at the suggestion of retreat, and cried out to be led against the enemy. On this they were at once drawn up in battle array. Their whole number was about two thousand, in light cavalry, dragoons, and foot.

Sending on a "forlorn," of about eighty men, with orders to march half a mile in front, the whole army marched in three small divisions, to meet Macarthy, who having raised the siege of Crom had advanced to Newton Butler. About half a mile beyond Donagh, the advance guards of both sides having met, those of Macarthy retreated, pursued by the Enniskilleners. When Wolseley came up with his main body, he found the enemy drawn up on the side of a hill on the opposite side of a bog which lay between the two armies. Dividing his men with great judgment, he ordered them to cross. While they advanced, the enemy began to retreat; and Wolseley judging from the order which they kept, that it was a *feint* to draw his men from their ranks into a disorderly pursuit, promptly sent down word to their officers not to allow the ranks to be broken; a needful precaution, for such was the chief risk to which these brave men were exposed. The enemy retired to another position which there can be no doubt they had previously chosen: it was like the former, but that the obstacles through which they could be reached by the Enniskilleners, though similar in kind, were greater in degree. They took their ground on the other side of a bog, with a narrow way across, and on the acclivity of a hill near Newton Butler, on which they had mounted a battery with six pieces of cannon. The place was as strong as a fortified camp, and only to be attacked by men whom nothing could stop. Such were the men whom Wolseley now ordered to march as before, in three divisions over the bog. Macarthy ordered Newton Butler to be fired, and at the same time his battery began to play upon the troops who were working their way over countless obstacles below. The Enniskillen light horse were checked in their advance by the fire of the cannon, but the foot and dismounted dragoons worked on by degrees until they cleared the bog. They then made a rapid charge upon the battery; it was deserted at their approach, and they promptly turned the cannon upon their enemies. The light horse now came quickly forward by the causeway, and their approach determined the fate of the battle; for the cavalry of Macarthy's army at once turned about and fled precipitately over Watting Bridge, leaving their infantry, who steadily kept their ground until they were fiercely attacked by the Enniskilleners: they then broke and fled. The slaughter on this occasion was greatly increased by their taking in the confusion of flight, a road which led through a tremendous bog towards the shore of Lough-erne. The bog was itself impassable; but across it there lay a broken and narrow road intersected with quagmires, pools, and broken pits.

Along this they rode and ran, throwing away their arms as they went. They were fiercely pursued by the Enniskillen horse, and slaughtered as they ran. The Enniskilleners got before the flying infantry, and seized Watting bridge, the only way by which Lough-erne could be passed; the fugitives took refuge in a wood on the shore, and were there quickly attacked and cut to pieces: five hundred of them attempted to cross the Lough, and were drowned, with the exception of one man.

The number of the killed in the Irish army in this sanguinary fight was two thousand, with five hundred drowned, and as many prisoners. On the flight of his troops, general Macarthy had retired into a wood which lay near the battery. From this, he soon after came out with five or six officers who were with him, and fired his pistol on the enemy. His horse was instantly shot, and he received several wounds: a soldier was clubbing his musquet to knock him on the head, when one of his attendants called out to them to stop, and mentioned who he was: on hearing which, captain Cooper interfered and saved him and the officers who were with him. He was conducted into Newton Butler for the night. When he was asked why he hazarded his life so rashly when he might so easily have escaped, his answer was, that "he found the kingdom like to be lost, his army being the best that King James had except that before Derry, who were then much broken, and that he came with a design to lose his life, and was sorry to have missed his aim, being unwilling to outlive the disgrace of that day."* In this engagement the vanquished army lost seven guns, and fourteen barrels of powder, with all their arms and colours. The Enniskilleners lost but twenty men, of whom two were captains Cony and Bell, with about forty wounded.

The field operations of the season ended with this battle. And we may avail ourselves of the interval to notice the civil transactions which have their place in the time intervening between the return of James to Dublin, from before Londonderry, and the commencement of the military transactions of the ensuing year. In the narration of these events within this interval, we think it expedient to be concise and summary, confining ourselves to main circumstances: a course of which the advantages have been already explained; having throughout noticed that much of the fallacy of Leslie, Curry, Plowden, and other writers of their party, as well as the occasional appearance of exaggeration among many of their antagonists, is chiefly caused by losing sight, either wilfully, or from inadvertence, of the chief line of policy on either side, in the multitude of insignificant details.

The ex-king, James, attempted to pursue in Ireland, precisely the same course of deceptions which had so signally failed in England,—to conceal a design of which every one was thoroughly aware, by professions of liberality and moderation, which no one ever affected on either side to believe. Such was the flimsy and short-sighted policy which marked his residence in Dublin. In England, this system had been carried on with some degree of patience and caution: but in Dublin, the public declaration of indulgence and toleration in favour

* Harris.

of his protestant subjects, was accompanied by no proof of sincerity, and immediately followed by two of the most flagitious acts of injustice and cruelty, that the history of the British isles contains. To these we must call the reader's attention, as affording a clear and unquestionable statement of the main question, from which all the lesser facts which crowd the memoirs of this period must depend.

On the return of James to Dublin, a parliament was assembled, of which the composition was altogether of the Irish party. The exception to this statement is too slight to be allowed; for it amounted to about four bishops, and about as many of the temporal protestant peers; of which latter, few remained, or could with safety have remained, in the country, except those who were in arms against James, or those who basely made themselves subservient to him. The commons were all of the same party, and mostly those who were the sons or descendants of those who had forfeited their estates in the rebellions of Tyrone, and of 1641: their uniform return was secured by a fraudulent manœuvre of Tyrconnel's. The writ was accompanied by a letter to the Sheriff, directing who was to be elected: on which the Sheriff assembled a select body of burgesses, freeholders, &c., without any public notice, and completed the election of the royal nominee.* Such a parliament was an engine, the operation of which was to be calculated with unerring precision; so sure in its effects, that it was easy for the possessor to affect as much moderation as his purpose might need, or his reputation demand. Yet to this convention of plunderers thus legitimated under the spurious title of a parliament, the opening address of James was not destitute of significance. After professing the goodness of his intentions in those general terms, which may be very much regarded as the common property of all who have any purpose, good or bad to pursue, he gives them the satisfactory information, "That he would readily consent to the making such good and wholesome laws as might be for the good of the nation, the improvement of trade, and *relieving such as had been injured by the late act of settlement*, as far as might be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good of his people. That, *as he should do his part to make them happy and rich, he made no doubt of their assistance*, so enabling him to oppose the unjust designs of his enemies," &c. &c. When all the particulars of the constitution of the Parliament are compared with these hints, no doubt can remain of the nature of the contract into which James had entered with the party on which his entire dependance was staked: and we must in justice add, as little can there be any reasonable doubt of the character of the party which closed with and acted upon such a proposal. When Mr Plowden, who is an honest writer, feels himself thrown upon the sorry argument, that although James had abdicated in England, he was yet the lawful king in Ireland, and that those who opposed him were rebels, he surely failed to observe the inference directly opposite, which follows from the use of such an unconstitutional expedient of wholesale and indiscriminate transfer of property. We cannot, indeed, imagine the state of things in which such an invasion of rights could be considered,

* Harris. King. Tindal.

otherwise, than as subversive of the legitimate authority of the king or Parliament, from which it might emanate, and as making resistance a right. Forfeitures and penal enactments are to be referred to certain self-preserving powers which must be contained in every frame of government, and which when questioned, involve the existence of the state which they maintain. But here was a premeditated assault on the Protestant and English interest in Ireland: after which the right to dethrone king James (had there not been a still more decided settlement of this question already on other grounds,) was only limited by the power to do so.

The next day after the speech which we have cited above, James issued a declaration, breathing the same delusive sentiments of justice and tolerant equity, which had been already the accompaniment to his attempts to subvert the church and constitution of England. Its entire object was to impose upon the surrounding countries, which could only judge by report: even James with all his want of observation and precipitancy of assertion, could not imagine that it would impose on the protestants of Ireland, or intend that it should deceive his own party, who would not be very thankful for such declarations, if they believed in them. The declaration is indeed worth reading for the impudence of its falsehood.

“James Rex.

“Although the many calumnies and dismal stories, by which our enemies have endeavoured to render us and our government odious to the world, do now appear to have been advanced by them, not only without any ground, but against their own certain knowledge, as is evident by their not daring to attempt to prove those charges to the world, which we cannot but hope hath opened the eyes of our good subjects to see how they have been imposed upon by designing men, who to promote their own ambitious ends, care not what slaughter they reduce our kingdoms to: ye cannot but rejoice, that we have had an opportunity to demonstrate the falseness and malice of their pretences, since our arrival in this our kingdom of Ireland, by making it our chief concern to satisfy the minds of our Protestant subjects, that the defence of their Religion, Priviledges, and Prejudices, is equally our care with the recovery of our rights. To this end we have preferred such of them, of whose loyalty and affection we are satisfied, to places both of the highest honour and trust about our person, as well as in our army. We have by granting our royal protection to such, whose minds were shaken by the arts of our rebellious subjects, dispelled their apprehensions, and effectually secured them against the attempts of even their private enemies. Our ear hath always been open to their just complaints, and so far hath our royal mercy been extended to those that were in arms against us, that we have actually pardoned several hundreds of them; and the most notorious criminals are kept in an easy confinement; as they themselves acknowledge. We have taken care that our subjects of the Church of England be not disturbed in the exercise of their religion; and all protestant dissenters enjoy liberty of their consciences without any molestation. And out of our royal care for the prosperity of our people, we have

recommended to our parliament as the first thing necessary to be dispatched, to settle such a security and liberty both in spiritual and temporal matters, as may put an end to those divisions which have been the source of all our miseries; being resolved, as much as in us lies, to entail liberty and happiness upon our people, so far as to put it out of the power of our successors to invade the one, or infringe the other. And this we take God to witness, was always our design, of which we see our good subjects here are more and more convinced, by the great numbers of those, who, having been seduced or frightened by the restless importunities of our enemies, are returned to their country and habitations, and who assure us daily, more would follow, if the ports were open. But the usurpers know too well the sincerity of our intentions to permit the re-passage of our said subjects, fearing nothing more than that their experience should undeceive the rest, who are restrained more through ignorance than any ill intention; and therefore deny them that liberty which we afford to all, whose designs, we are satisfied, tend not to the disturbance of the peace. By this our gracious and royal care of our protestant subjects, where the greatest part of our nation is catholic, and have, as well as we, received the highest provocations from their fellow-subjects of contrary persuasions, so that nothing but our inclination to justice, and desire to see our people flourish, could move us to such a proceeding, we hope our subjects in England will make a judgment of what they may expect from us; and we do hereby promise and declare, that nothing shall ever alter our resolutions to pursue such, and no other methods, as by our said subjects in parliament shall be found proper for our common security and happiness. And that none may be debarred of assisting us in recovering our rights and redeeming our people from their present slavery, out of any apprehensions from past miscarriages, we do hereby assure all our subjects, of what quality soever, let their crimes against us be ever so great, that if in twenty-four days after our appearance in person, in our kingdom of England, they return to their obedience by deserting our enemies, and joining with us, we will grant them our full pardon, and all past miscarriages shall be forgot; so little do we delight in the blood or ruin of our people. But if after this our gracious condescension, they shall yet continue to assist our enemies and rebels, we do before God, charge all the blood, which shall afterwards be shed, upon them and their adherents; and we doubt not, by the blessing of God upon our arms, to force the most obstinate to their duty: though as we have made appear in reducing our rebellious subjects in this kingdom, we desire to use no other than lenity and mercy."

Notwithstanding the length of this singular compound of misrepresentations, we have given it here without reserve; because we consider that when taken in connexion with the several statements which we have made, and shall make, it confirms the whole view here offered of the policy of James, which is substantially this; that having for the aim of all his actions, to effect changes in opposition to the entire sense of the kingdom, he could only proceed by a systematic course of deception and falsehood. In Ireland, this atrocious system was carried

to all the length of desperation: partly because his case was really hopeless, and partly because his declarations being now made to deceive at a distance, seemed to require less caution. But it is edifying to remark the dexterity with which he availed himself of circumstances; and with the adroitness of a modern partisan, juggled with illusory facts. Triumphantly referring to the fact, that he made use of such protestants as were not too honourable or conscientious to barter their faith and principles for the favour or fear of one who was pledged to their destruction, and the overthrow of all they were pledged to uphold; as a proof to "demonstrate the fallacy of their pretences, since our arrival in this our kingdom of Ireland, by making it *our chief concern* to satisfy the minds of our protestant subjects, that the *defence of their religion, privileges, and properties*, is equally our care with the recovery of our rights." The hardihood of such a declaration has induced some intelligent historians to express a suspicion that James never had read this document: but we see no reason for such a supposition; any consistent view of the whole conduct of James, renders this inference superfluous. After such professions, the reader who may here for the first time peruse the history of the revolution, will indeed be surprised at the next immediate proceedings, by which it was followed up: these were far more consistent with the address (already cited) to his partisan parliament, than his declaration to the world.

Three or four days after the publication of this state paper, the lord-chief-justice Nugent, brought in a bill "for repealing the acts of settlement and explanation, and all grants, patents, and certificates, in pursuance of them."* This bill was passed in the commons, without a single dissentient voice, as well it might, and was sent up to the lords. The commons were the very lowest of that class which was left by the attainted proprietary of former rebellious times, the dregs of Tyrone's and Sir Phelim O'Neile's bonaght and kerne leaders, of whom not one had ever sat in parliament before, or ever expected to do so. The upper house was virtually as much fitted for the tyrant's purpose. A few were dexterously allowed to take their places, whose honest but unavailing opposition only served to conceal the rottenness of the packed parliament. The majority of the protestant lords either took good care to keep out of the way, or were employed more creditably at their posts in the field. Of those who attended, 15 were under attainders by indictment and outlawry, and the remainder, with the exception of those already mentioned, were the creatures of James, the avowed supporters of his intentions, or what amounted to the same, new peers created for the occasion. Under such circumstances it is very conceivable, that either the strenuous opposition which the bishop of Meath (Anthony Dopping,) had the courage to offer, or the manly protest of chief-justice Keating, was received with triumphant complacency, and referred to as evidence of impartiality. The act passed that house and received the assent of James. By this bill, all estates held on the security of the acts repealed, whether by grant or purchase, or mortgage, were at once transferred to the descendants of their former

* Harris.

proprieters, who had forfeited them by the operation of just and equitable laws: a transfer which must have affected the entire property of the kingdom, and, setting aside the universal perversion of all considerations of individual right, amounted to the entire extinction of all legal security; constituting a revolution far more total in character and effect, than any yet known in the records of modern history. For that it was such, will be apparent from the consideration of the state of civilization of the two wholly distinct classes which must have changed places, in a country of which the progress had been slow, and entirely through the medium of the protestant section of the community. To render the effects of this enactment as complete as possible, it contained a clause "whereby all real estates of all who dwelt or staid in any place of the three kingdoms which did not own king James' power, or corresponded with any such (as they termed) rebels, or were in any way aiding, abetting, or assisting, to them from the 1st Aug., 1688, are declared to be forfeited, vested in king James, and that without office or inquisition." The consequence of this was that every protestant who had any correspondence of trade or friendly communication, with kindred, friend, or commercial correspondent, was thus placed under the operation of this plundering statute: for the operation of this clause was secured by the search of all the packets between England and Ireland, and the general seizure of letters, which were thus collected in large heaps, to be produced as evidence of a charge from which no respectable person whom it was any object to involve, could hope to escape. The injustice of this clause is made still more apparent, from a fact, that its retrospective operation included a period before William had taken any overt step towards coming over; and while James was yet king of England. It would be unprofitably tedious to dwell here at greater length upon the combined injustice and absurdity of this monstrous act of a Convention, whose claim to the title of Parliament is questionable. One more observation is yet worth notice, that in the language of this act there is a pervading assumption, which though unpardonable in James, has a curious consistency with the pretensions and character of the body from which it received the sanction of law. This assumption is, that there was actually no rebellion in 1641; but that Charles I., and Charles II., the one in his express and public acts and declarations, and the other in his distinct assertion, were guilty of falsehood and hypocrisy. The preamble of the act declares, that the "Roman catholics of Ireland, had under the royal authority, for many years defended that kingdom, till they were overpowered by Cromwell, &c." Such was, unquestionably, the fair and consistent ground for that parliament to take; a perversion of the differences between right and wrong was the proper foundation for the robbery which they meditated. But it is not easy to see on what rational ground Plowden could complain of the Irish gentry, aristocracy, and commercial classes, for renouncing a king who thus virtually renounced the kingdom in its laws, property, trade, and civilization.

But even this revolutionary act was not considered sufficient for the purpose of breaking down the protestant interest; many would still escape, as a large proportion of protestants held their property by early

and immemorial right; many by titles antecedent to 1641; and many by purchase from unquestioned possessors. An act of attainder against absentees was therefore determined on, and passed into a law: this enactment was rendered effective by a sweeping list of all the protestants whose names could be collected: their absence (at the time of passing the act) was presumed, and the *onus* of disproof which rested on the attainted person, was too manifestly dangerous to be risked. In presenting this bill to James for his assent, Nagle (the speaker) told him that "many were attainted in that act, upon such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest of them upon common fame,"*—an infamous argument for a wicked act. It was carried through the house with extraordinary precipitation: every member returning for the purpose a list of his protestant neighbours. The act, when passed, was kept in strict concealment in chancellor Fitton's closet, both to ward off all applications for exemption on the part of attainted persons, and to avoid any exposure in England, until the affairs of the Irish party should be more advanced. A copy was obtained by accident, to the great surprise and anger of Nagle: James granted a pardon to Sir T. Southwell; and his lawyer, through the earl of Seaforth, obtained a copy from the king, for the purpose of drawing out the pardon. Such was, indeed, the eagerness of the parliament for the spoliation to be thus effected, that a clause was inserted to deprive James of the power to pardon, after a certain time, during which the act was to be a secret. In this act, 2,600 persons were attainted by name, and among them two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, twenty-eight viscounts, two viscountesses, seven bishops, twenty-four barons, thirty-five baronets, fifty-one knights, one hundred and five clergymen, &c., &c., who were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture.†

Among the whole of the provisions of this infamous specimen of revolutionary legislation, one has been uniformly noticed by historical writers, and of which it has been truly said, "in point of atrocity and inhumanity, it cannot, perhaps, be equalled in the records of tyranny, since the commencement of time." We shall notice it here, simply, as more unequivocally stamping the whole of the conduct of James and his party. Much that is atrocious may be explained into the heat, prejudice, and even necessity of a revolutionary course of policy: the uniform and consistent tenor of the conduct of James, must, it is true, when fully looked into, destroy such allowances: but this single instance is in itself enough to dissipate all doubtful casuistry, as it exhibits the open contempt of all considerations of right, humanity, or principle, in the most glaring light. After a list specifying a particular class of persons, the act proceeds, "whereas these parties are, and for some time past have been absent out of this kingdom, and by reason of sickness, nonage, infirmities, and other disabilities, may for some time further be obliged to stay out of the kingdom, or unable to return thereto: nevertheless, it being much to the weakening and impoverishing of this realm, that any of the rents or profits of the

* Harris.

† Ibid.

lands or tenements therein should be sent into, or spent in any other place beyond the seas, but that the same should be kept and employed within the realm for the better support and defence thereof: Be it therefore enacted, that all the estates and lands of these persons shall instantly vest in his majesty, and his heirs and successors. Provided, that if any of them have hitherto behaved themselves loyally, and faithfully to his majesty, then, if they choose to return (their inability to return having been admitted) and prosecute their claim against the crown, before the commissioners for disposing of the estates taken from the protestants, by the act repealing the act of settlement, or in the court of Chancery, or the court of Exchequer, then on the adjudication of each tribunal in their favour, their estates shall be returned to them."

But the effects of this act were yet considered imperfect, while any thing belonging to the protestants remained untouched: another enactment vested in James, all chattel possessions and interests belonging to absentees. It was, however, soon found that this act of spoliation had been so far anticipated by Tyrconnel and his official agents, civil and military, that little remained for their king, and additional arrangements were vainly made for the purpose of compelling those whose burglaries had anticipated parliament to account for their plunder. Fortunately for the protestants of Dublin, there was a certain degree of caution observed towards them, in the application of this dangerous measure, by which they had the advantage of perceiving what was to come, and contrived to send off much substance into England.

The efforts which had been made by Tyrconnel to disintegrate the protestant church, both in its ecclesiastical rights and constitution, and in its great seminary the University, were consistently carried on all this time: and nothing needs to be added to the statements already made under the head of Tyrconnel. James, in this respect, proceeded with a little more caution: the precipitancy of his attacks on the church of England had been the direct means of bringing on all his misfortunes; and in despite of the purblind pertinacity of his temper, he could not help entertaining some misgivings on the subject. He therefore made some feeble efforts to moderate the fierceness with which his party rushed to seize and appropriate even the very churches and chapels of their protestant countrymen. But in this he only received an added lesson of the impotence of his authority, further than it was upheld by the inclinations of his party. The greater part of the churches were seized upon by the priests: on which the protestants complained, referring James to his own declaration, for "liberty of conscience:" a proclamation was thereupon issued, to forbid the further perpetration of this outrage. But the evil had been done, and James was aware that his proclamation was no more than a specious deception: he was, however, taken at his word by the protestants, who on the strength of this piece of hollow candour, selected several cases of the most decided character, and submitted them to his notice by petitions claiming redress. The churches of Waterford and Wexford were ordered to be restored; but the shallow diplomacy of James was ill understood by the simple bigotry of Irish officials: the mayors of

these cities could not comprehend the policy of temporizing with those whom they had expected to see scattered into utter confusion before the progress of James: they refused to obey his order; and James, who was really mortified and irritated by a contumacy he could not easily brook, was eventually compelled to acquiesce.

Under these circumstances, the protestants had no resource but to assemble in private houses for the purpose of worship: but it will be understood at once, that in the active and fierce contest which was then proceeding in the field, there were too many easy and obvious pretexts for the varied interferences which made such a resource dangerous in the extreme. It would be tedious to go at length into this painful detail: it belongs to a part of the subject, which we have on mature deliberation rejected. Cases of outrage, which in such times are easily retorted by the help of very slight evasions and mistatements, and which must depend on previous considerations for their just construction, are not necessary to a statement in which we have throughout adhered to the leading acts and views of the chief persons engaged. In our view the crimes of subordinate agents are rendered unimportant to history, by those of their leaders. Their outrages on the pretended maxim of liberty of conscience are summed in the orders, by which protestants were first prohibited from passing the bounds of their respective parishes, and next from meeting together in any number beyond five, in Dublin, by Lutrel. Lutrel was asked if this order was designed to extend to their meeting in church: he replied in the affirmative, and consistently followed it up by another order for the shutting of all protestant places of religious worship.

On the 20th July, 1690, the parliament of James, having unscrupulously done the work for which it met, was prorogued. But the want of money was not an evil to be remedied by the mere aid of enactments. James, whose case was one of desperation, and readily comprehended within the application of the "tyrant's plea," adopted the unscrupulous means which his necessities demanded; regardless of all consequences, he ordered a coinage of the very worst brass, from old guns, and all sorts of refuse and dross which could be procured, into shilling and half-crown pieces. With this enormous medium, by which two-pence was rendered equivalent to about one pound, payments were to be made. Another proclamation doubled the value of this base coin. And by this James paid his soldiers, who were in no respect losers, as the protestants, on whom the stress of this injustice was designed to fall, were thus compelled by a new contrivance, to submit to a legalized plunder, under pretence of fair dealing, and made the entire sufferers. The papists refused the base coin; but Lutrel, and the provost-martial, by the threat of hanging, compelled the protestants to take it. Their losses were thus enormous beyond computation; but it may be easily conceived, by the simple consideration, that there were then probably 10,000 protestants in Dublin, who transacted all the trading affairs of the place, and that they were thus compelled to give the value of £240 for one pound. If, therefore, a trader be assumed to sell the value of £1000 of goods in one month, it is evident, on such data, that he must have received but $\frac{1}{2\frac{1}{4}0}$ th part of that sum in exchange: that is to say, a sum not much more than £4,—

a per-centage unknown in Change Alley. The protestants attempted to save themselves by the use of the same medium, and by the storage of such commodities as they could collect: the attempt was met and defeated by another proclamation, setting forth that the king wanted all such commodities, and ordering their stores to be seized. They applied for redress, and were answered by Sir Patrick Trant, a commissioner of the revenue, after some evasion, that it was because they were protestants. In addition to all this fraudulent imposition, the unfortunate protestants were themselves compelled to purchase the necessaries of life, at six times their value, by the soldiery of James, who, according to the orders on which they acted with cordial alacrity, stood sentry on the doors of those houses where provisions were sold, and when they came, compelled them to pay whatever price the caprice of the moment suggested. For the same purpose it was next contrived to collect all the corn that could be brought to Dublin, into the king's stores, in order to pursue the same object by more uniform means and with more advantage to the king. It is indeed quite evident, that an extensive plan was adopted by James and his advisers, to break down the protestant power in Ireland, by such means as might thus crush them under a variety of pretences, and without any open and public show of direct violence. The project was so understood at the time, and was fully acknowledged by the indiscreet candour of James and his partisans. A question occurs here to every reflecting reader: to what extent do we mean to impute such disgraceful proceedings to the papists of Ireland? Our answer is ready: we consider the more respectable, wealthy, and civilized portion of the laity of that communion, wholly free from these flagitious acts and designs: their clergy were, it must be admitted, drawn very far by the considerations of what they regarded as their duty, the suppression of the protestant church; but we think that they must for the most part have looked with regret upon the means adopted for their purpose. But, as was and ever will be the case in such awful junctures, the most base, treacherous, and selfish tyrant who ever invaded the rights and liberties of a nation, was surrounded by all that was worthless and profligate in church, aristocracy or democracy, the very lowest dross of every class and order: his counsellors were knaves, bigots, and assassins; his soldiers an ignorant and deluded multitude—urged on and led by a ruffianly armament of Frenchmen, who were only alive to every brutal passion. With these, the rude peasantry, who were led by the crimes of their leaders to shed their blood in an unworthy cause on the banks of the Boyne, are not to be confounded: simple, rude, and deluded, they thought they were doing God good service, and fighting for their king and their rights.

It is now time to proceed with the main course of events. The French and Irish under their several leaders had been materially disheartened, and reduced to act in a great measure on the defensive in Ulster, by the bravery and signal successes of the Enniskilleners, and by the relief of Derry. The triumph of the brave defenders of this city was much damped by a most undeserved and unexpected result. The brutal Kirke, whose name is stamped by historical infamy, for his conduct on every occasion in which his name occurs—in England, as the

blood-stained compeer of Jefferies, and the remorseless tool of the feeble but murderous despot against whom he was now in arms—in Ireland, as the cowardly deserter and abandoner of the walls he was commissioned to relieve—and at last, when after unparalleled bravery and endurance, the Derry garrison had been relieved—this atrocious murderer and coward rewarded their bravery and sufferings by insult, oppression, and injustice. To the claims of those who had commanded as officers during the siege, he showed not only the most entire disregard, but seemed to be transported by some secret enmity. He set many of them aside in favour of those whom he had brought with himself: incorporating several companies and regiments together, he dismissed the officers. The brave Murray, than whom none bore a more distinguished part in every encounter with the enemy, he actually robbed of his horse. The protestants of the surrounding country were also widely plundered of their cattle, which were indiscriminately driven into Derry, on the pretext that they were the property of the enemy.

In the meantime, Kirke did not neglect the necessary operations against the enemy; but among these there is nothing sufficiently important to detain us, unless we mention that Sligo, which Lundy had betrayed lord Kingston into the loss of, by a most villanous fraud, was at this time recovered from Sarsfield, by colonel Gore, who employed considerable dexterity for the purpose.

Notwithstanding the general anxiety felt in England, the preparations for the expedition into Ireland were embarrassed and retarded by the slowness or inefficiency of the agents employed to forward them. The troops had been quickly levied; but the provision of transports and artillery, as well as all the arrangements of the commissary department, were the occasion of great and detrimental delay. James had already been engaged for more than six months, in the almost unobstructed disorganization of the civil and religious constitution of the country; and, save the local resistances which we have been detailing, he had been suffered to work his will without any effective impediment. Duke Schomberg, to whom the conduct of the expedition to Ireland was committed, was, not without reason, impatient to embark, and exerted himself to hasten the preparations. The delay appeared to him to be in some measure caused by the circumstance, that the offices of paymaster and purveyor were united in the hands of one officer, and Schomberg endeavoured to remedy this defective arrangement, by prevailing upon Mr Harbord to relinquish the purveyorship, which he intrusted to a Mr Shales. Anxious to commence operations on the field with the utmost expedition, Schomberg proposed to march to Portpatrick, from which it was only a few hours passage into Ireland, and then effect the passage of his troops without waiting for the provisions. Had this been done, much time and perhaps valuable life might have been saved, as well as an enormous quantity of confusion and suffering. The landing of the French might have been prevented; Londonderry would have been relieved, and the army of James would not have been suffered to gain strength. But the suggestion was rejected; and it was not till after the tardy relief of Londonderry, that the English levies were embarked at Liverpool and

Chester. On the 12th of August, 1689, Schomberg sailed for Ireland with about 10,000 men, and steered towards Carrickfergus bay, where he arrived on the 13th, and landed without any opposition near Bangor on the Down coast. From thence he marched to Belfast. Here he was joined by numbers, who till then had not dared an open declaration. His troops having been rested, he sent five regiments to invest Carrickfergus. This town, if well defended, would occasion considerable delay; and it was to be apprehended that it would be relieved, as James had at this time a strong army in the field. On the approach of the English, however, the garrison beat a parley: but their demands being inadmissible, the trenches were opened, batteries raised, and a fire opened on the walls by these and six ships from the harbour. A capitulation was a second time proposed in vain; and on the 26th Aug., several breaches were effected, and an assault about to be made, when the garrison signified their acceptance of Schomberg's conditions—which were: 1st. To march out with flying colours, arms, lighted matches, and their own baggage, by ten o'clock the day following. 2d. To avoid disorder, none to be admitted into the town, but such a guard as the general should send to one of the gates, to be delivered immediately, according to the custom of war. 3d. The garrison to be conducted by a squadron of horse, to the nearest garrison of the enemy. 4th. That nothing belonging to the protestants or other inhabitants be carried out of the town. 5th. That the governor deliver all cannon, arms, munition, and victuals, into the hands of the commissary, as the general should appoint, the next day. 6th. The garrison to pay all debts to the inhabitants, of the protestant religion, and to restore what had been taken from them. 7th. A safeconduct to be allowed to all the inhabitants of the country; and such of the Roman catholics who took shelter in the garrison, to go to their respective habitations, and carry with them their goods, and there to be protected, pursuant to king William's declaration of the 22d of February before. 8th. Care to be taken of the sick and wounded, that cannot march with the garrison, and to have a pass when in a condition to follow the rest."

The articles were scarcely ratified, when Macarthy More, the commander of the Irish garrison, found his way into Schomberg's kitchen; on learning which, the Dutch commander observed, that "if he had staid with his men he would have asked him to dine with himself, but if he would go eat with his servants, let him be going."*

During the evacuation of the town, the duke had much difficulty to prevent the garrison from being attacked by the country people, who understood little of the laws of war, and thought only of the injuries they had recently sustained; considering retaliation to be their just right. The garrison lost about 150 men in killed and wounded, the English about ten; but Harris who has taken this statement from a Gazette, subjoins in another paragraph, that "the duke lost about the same number" as the enemy.†

While this siege was going on, the remainder of the English troops landed. The whole of Schomberg's army thus collected, was four

* Harris's Life of King William, p. 245.

† Ibid.

regiments of horse, one of dragoons, and eighteen of foot. They consisted of raw recruits, with perhaps the exception of Schomberg's own regiment, which was composed of French protestants, who were refugees from the massacre of St Bartholomew. The artillery horses had not yet been brought over from Chester. In consequence of this deficiency, Schomberg was under the necessity of transporting his artillery and stores from Carrickfergus to Carlingford. He then advanced with his force through the country to Lisburn, Hillsborough, Dromore, &c. In this march the Enniskilleners formed the advanced guard; but flushed as these brave and hardy men were, with their recent career of victory, they were discontented at being now restrained within the bounds of military restraint; drawn closer as these were by the rigidly formal and cautious tactics of duke Schomberg, whose dilatory proceedings during this campaign have been severely condemned, both by his cotemporaries, and by the generality of historical writers. The duke of Berwick sarcastically expressed his obligations to the tardiness of his adversary, who, he observed, might by a more prompt conduct, have at once made his way to Dublin, and put an end to the war. But it is evident, that the difficulties under which Schomberg laboured were not allowed for. His army was neither disciplined nor well appointed; the country was wasted, and incapable of affording the requisite supplies; and, should they chance to meet with any serious reverse, of which the probabilities were not few, the whole object of the expedition would be lost, and the hope of any future attempt rendered very precarious. The Duke came to a conclusion, not without strong grounds, that the first consideration under existing circumstances should be the preservation of his army, and the maintenance of a position which would operate to check and frustrate the advances of the enemy in the north. Subsequent inquiries discovered additional reasons for the more cautious and dilatory course of proceeding. Though there were 23,000 men upon Schomberg's establishment, yet they had never exceeded 12,000 effective. He had been compelled to wait a month for artillery horses and carriages: bread was wanting, shoes, horses and provender, and a medical establishment.

As Schomberg approached Lough-briclan, he had been joined by Hamilton with his Enniskilleners, who offered to form his advanced guard. The duke of Berwick abandoned Newry; but as his soldiers burned the town when about to march away, Schomberg despatched a trumpeter to the duke to acquaint him that "if he went on to burn, in this barbarous manner, he would not give any quarter." The threat saved Dundalk from the like fate. Within a mile of this city Schomberg halted: he had designed to continue his march; but the necessities already mentioned made him decide on this delay. His position was judiciously taken, so far as its military advantages were concerned; but in other respects it was very badly chosen and unfortunate: Schomberg was not sufficiently aware of the disadvantages of the climate. The ground on which he encamped his army was a low and marshy spot on the north of Dundalk, and the river; to his east lay the Newry mountains; and on his north a wide range of bogs and hills. But an abundant supply of provisions afforded an immediate advantage

to his troops, which were exhausted by want, long marches and bad weather. Soon after, he was here joined by the regiments of Kirke, Hanmer and Stewart: after which he sent a strong party to seize on Ardee. To this he is said to have been induced, by information that his halt had impressed De Rosen with the conviction that it was the consequence of some disability: this commander when he heard of the circumstances, having at once said "that he was then sure Schomberg wanted something."*

On the morning of the 20th September, Schomberg received intelligence that James had assembled his forces near Drogheda, and was advancing towards Dundalk; and that a large party had been detached round the mountains, to seize the pass of Newry, and attack his rear. He immediately sent out a strong body of cavalry to meet them; on sight of which they retired towards Sligo. The next day the army of James appeared in force and drawn out in battle array; as it drew near, a strong party of horse came forward, and approached the English trenches. The English officers were urgent for battle, conceiving that they were about to be attacked in their camp. Schomberg saw more correctly; and on being applied to, answered, "Let them alone; we will see what they will do." A few days after, he observed them drawing out into two lines. when he immediately sent general Douglas to order the troops to stand to their arms, and commanded that the horse which were out foraging should return on a signal appointed. These orders were joyfully received; but to the great disappointment of the army, the enemy drew off. Schomberg, who best knew the condition of his force, was glad to be relieved from the risk of a battle, from which he had so much more to lose than to gain.

A few days after, a dangerous conspiracy was discovered in the camp. A captain of one of the French regiments was informed, that four of his soldiers and a drummer, who were papists, intended to desert to the enemy. He instantly caused them to be arrested. On the person of one of these men he found letters to M. D'Avaux the French ambassador. This man confessed that he was engaged to convey letters from a person of the name of Du Plessis, who had been a captain in the French service, but was compelled to fly for a murder he had committed, and came over to Ireland as a private. He was immediately seized, and freely confessed that he had written both to D'Avaux and to James, to acquaint them with the fact, that there were many papists in the three French regiments, and that he would engage to bring them over with him, on condition of being himself appointed to command them, and receive his pardon in France. Du Plessis and his five accomplices were tried and sentenced to death. On a strict scrutiny there were found to be 250 papists in the French regiments: these were sent as prisoners to England, and thence conveyed to Holland, where they were set at liberty.

Meanwhile, the Enniskilleners were not idle: Schomberg suffered them to make their excursions in every direction. On the 27th of September, a party of them amounting to a thousand men, commanded

* Harris. Tindal.

by colonel Lloyd, fell in with a body of five thousand of the enemy, under colonel O'Kelly, and routed them: they slew 700 and took three commanders. On their return, Schomberg was so gratified by the exploit, that he caused the whole body to be drawn out, and rode with his hat off along their ranks. This success was shortly after counterbalanced by some unfortunate occurrence at Sligo, where some troops, under Lloyd and St Sauveur, were attacked by Sarsfield with a force which made open resistance impossible. Lloyd returned into one of the forts, and St Sauveur into the other: but Lloyd, having no provisions, was under the necessity of retiring during the night, which he effected with much difficulty, and not without some small loss of men. St Sauveur had the foresight to provide food for his party; and, retaining his fort, he was presently attacked. Fearing on account of the extreme darkness of the night, that the enemy would approach unperceived, he caused several fir trees dipped in tar to be lighted, and by their light he discovered the advance of Sarsfield's men, with an engine called a sow,* towards the walls; they continued to approach, but when they were near enough, St Sauveur ordered his little party to fire; and the engineer with several men having fallen, the storming party scampered off, and their machine was seized and burned. In a little time, however, finding that they were in no condition to stand a regular siege against a force so preponderating, and terms being offered, these brave soldiers surrendered on being allowed to depart without their arms. As they were filing out, Sarsfield stood on the bridge with a purse of gold in his hand, and offered five guineas, with his horse and arms, to any of them who would consent to fight for James. All refused but one, who escaped next day with his horse and arms, and returned to the camp.

But an enemy more formidable than James at this time made its approaches. The camp of Schomberg was attacked by fevers and fluxes—the effect of cold, moisture and bad living. Much mischief was also done by the facility with which whisky was to be had in great abundance. By this combination of disastrous causes, 2000 men and several valuable officers were soon carried off, and the condition of the survivors was sadly lowered. Among the officers who were thus lost, were Sir Edward Dering, colonel Henry Wharton, Sir Thomas Gower, and colonel Hungerford. Besides the loss by deaths, 2000 men were sent off as invalids to Cork, of whom 900 died by the way. Upon the whole, nearly half of the effective force of Schomberg was lost or disabled by want and sickness. So reduced was the numerical strength of the English army, that by the beginning of the next year, it became necessary to draft some of the regiments into each other, and send the officers to raise recruits in England. While they were in this dreadful condition of suffering, the enemy, who were encamped in a dry and healthy situation, exulted in the contemplation of their misery, which they attributed to the judgment of Providence. It was not long, however, before their triumph was moderated by similar visitations, and their condition became not less afflicting. Schomberg had neglected

* A hollow carriage made very strong with "whole timbers" to carry a number of men: it was strengthened with bands of iron, and covered with hides, by which it was considered proof against musket balls and arrows.

no precaution to diminish the effects of his unfortunate position. But he was strongly resisted by the discontent of his men, which seems to have amounted to the recklessness of despair. He ordered them to erect huts to shelter themselves from the drenching torrents of rain, which fell with little intermission, and from the extreme cold, aggravated in its effect upon the human frame, by the dampness of the air: but they were impatient of the place; and, languid with disease, they neglected this precaution, until the increasing severity of the weather became insufferable.

When Schomberg was preparing to go into winter quarters, he was joined by some regiments from England. In order to save these from the calamitous sufferings of the rest of his troops, and if possible to retrieve the condition of the whole, he now determined to remove from the fatal spot which had been productive of such misfortunes; to form a new camp beyond the town, and to remove the diseased from his army. He ordered them to be conveyed to the transports, but the ships not being sufficient to contain them, waggons were provided to convey them to Belfast. The operation was one of difficulty, danger and suffering, beyond all possibility of description, and had the unhappy effect of exposing, in its most dreadful shape, the whole of their wretched condition. The air was filled with the groans of agony and the murmurs of discontent; the soldiers were unwilling to quit the huts they had so reluctantly built, and the sick died in numbers on the first attempt to move them. Schomberg, in his eightieth year, stood upon the bridge of Dundalk, exposed to the cold and windy weather, exerting the energy, activity and firmness, wanting to younger men, to overcome reluctant, inanimate, listless languor, enforce order and despatch, and to the utmost possible extent, alleviate the sufferings of disease. In this dreadful condition, while the sick were dying from the mere effect of motion, and the road was heaped with the dead as they advanced, their languor was for a moment roused by a report that the enemy was approaching. The alarm was false; but its effect was strikingly illustrative of the bravery of the troops; in all the debility which had rendered them unwilling to move from a position which they abhorred, there was a simultaneous expression of joyful alacrity; even the dying cried out for their arms: disabled as they were, the soldiery thought of nothing but the victory, which would avenge all they had undergone.

The retreat of Schomberg was unmolested, except by an ill-managed and feeble attempt to seize the pass of Newry. The Enniskilleners continued on the alert, and several sharp conflicts on a small scale contributed to repress the activity of the enemy, who left eight regiments at Ardee. It was the intention of these to destroy all the frontier garrisons in possession of the English. Their first attack was upon Newry, where there was a garrison of sixty men, of whom not more than twenty were in a condition for service. Here they met with so spirited a resistance from this handful of soldiers, assisted by a few of the citizens, that they were seized with a notion that the garrison was very strong, and suddenly taking panic, they rushed into the river and waded up to their necks in the water. Their officer made every attempt to rally them in

vain. They left their lieutenant-colonel and six men dead; but carried off several. The loss of the garrison was not less than that of the enemy, who could have found no difficulty in overpowering them, if they had merely pressed on through the town, into which they had advanced a considerable distance before they received any check. On the 29th November, general Stewart received intelligence that lord Antrim's regiment had been detached from Dundalk where they were quartered, to make another attack upon Newry: he marched to intercept it with two hundred men; and after a few minutes' contest put the enemy to flight, thirty being slain and seventeen taken prisoners.

In the following month colonel Wolseley with a party of Enniskilleners surprised the garrison at Belturbet, and obtained possession of the place: they soon discovered that the enemy were preparing for a vigorous effort to recover it; and according to their uniform custom, they marched to the number of a thousand, in hopes to anticipate them by a surprise at Cavan. The duke of Berwick had in the mean time arrived there with a strong reinforcement, by which the total number of the Irish was raised to four thousand. These two parties met near Cavan. The Irish were four to one, but the Enniskilleners in addition to their superior bravery had acquired the *prestige* of a name; their first impetuous onset carried all before it; the duke of Berwick's men scattered before them, and they poured like a torrent into the town. Here they began to plunder, and were dispersing in every direction, while the enemy who had retired into the fort, or collected into parties, were rallying to renew the fight. Wolseley saw the critical situation of his men, who would infallibly have been cut to pieces; and, finding that it would be impossible to detach them in time from the streets, he fortunately conceived the idea of firing the town. This desperate expedient quickly forced them out, and they were led against the enemy, who, once more rallying in force, were again routed with dreadful slaughter. In this action the duke of Berwick had a horse shot under him, besides losing three colonels, a major and five captains, with 300 men slain, and several officers and 200 men prisoners. Colonel Wolseley returned to Belturbet with a large supply of cattle; and took the castle of Killeshandra on his way. This with several other minor affairs, had the effect of keeping the enemy quiet, and in some measure exciting a healthful spirit among the English garrisons.

It was during these occurrences that Walker was in London, awakening the sympathy and spirit of the people, and parliament, by his recital of the calamities which he had witnessed. There was at the time a general sense of discontent at the inaction of Schomberg, from whom much had been expected. The English Commons, of which the spirit has ever been governed by the strong internal workings of party, gladly seized on these misadventures for the usual purpose of opposition. As often has been the consequence, the excitement was favourable to Ireland: the progress of inquiry and the ardour of remonstrance had but their natural effect, in exciting a strong zeal for the relief of the sufferers; every expedient was adopted which might relieve or mitigate the hardships of those who had sustained loss, or were deprived of subsistence. The corporations threw

open their barriers to the numerous artificers who had been forced to take refuge in England; the clergy were allowed to hold English benefices while deprived of their Irish preferments; and a strong recommendation was made to the king, that the gentry who had been driven from that country, should be supported on the credit of the fund to be derived from the estates of the rebel party. Shales the purveyor, whose misconduct had been the cause of all the misfortunes and delays of Schomberg, was arrested in Ireland, and brought over to England, where he was imprisoned; he had however secured means for the purchase of impunity; for nothing more is mentioned of him. But the most important advantage derived from these circumstances was, unquestionably, the resolution to which the king felt himself impelled, of coming over to conduct the war in person. Nothing indeed can more strongly illustrate the ferment of the English nation, and the strong clamours of the opposition; for at that moment his presence was imperatively called for on the continent, whither he had been impatiently waiting for the prorogation of parliament to proceed. He now felt that nothing but the most speedy and effective settlement of the troubles in Ireland, could extricate him from the difficulties in which he found himself placed; and thither he resolved to proceed. Against this there was, it is true, much opposition; his enemies and the friends of James, by no means desired so decisive a step to be taken: his own friends feared the effects which it was conceived the climate might have on his delicate constitution. Addresses were proposed in both houses against it; but William prevented these by formally acquainting them with his design. In his address on this occasion he said, "As I have already ventured my life for the preservation of the religion, laws and liberties of this nation, so I am willing again to expose it, to secure you the quiet enjoyment of them." The parliament was then prorogued, and afterwards dissolved by proclamation. Among the acts of the session, it had passed one in which "the parliament held in Ireland was annulled, and held to be an unlawful and rebel assembly."*

Meanwhile, as spring began to appear, Schomberg's army was encouraged by the general appearance of more vigorous and efficient support from England. In March, a large body of Danish troops, amounting to 7000 men, under the prince of Wirtemberg, were landed in Belfast. An abundant supply of clothing, provisions and ammunition, also arrived. And already both armies addressed themselves to vigorous preparations for the summer campaign. James, who had declared his intention to rely on the arms of his own subjects, now condescended to accept of five thousand Frenchmen under the count de Lauzun, in exchange for as many Irishmen. He found in Lauzun a master who treated him with slight and scorn, and appeared to have no object further than to secure the safety and interests of his own men. On the 18th of April, James received a mortification which he felt sensibly: Sir Cloudesley Shovel appeared on that day in the bay of Dublin, and was at first thought by James to be "some of his loyal subjects of England returning to their obedience;" presently they were observed to approach the *Pelican*, a 20 gun frigate, the only

* Harris. Tindal.

armed vessel of which James was possessed; and soon after a firing commenced, on which James rode out to Ringsend, where a large crowd had collected to witness the result. As the tide was low, the English commander had entered the harbour with the Monmouth yacht and several long-boats, and approached where the captain of the Pelican had run her aground among several vessels, containing the plunder of the Dublin tradesmen, ready to carry it off to France. These vessels were now filled with soldiers; they were strengthened additionally by a French vessel of twelve guns, and altogether served to present a superior force to Sir Cloudesley's small armament. The two parties kept up a brisk fire; but as Sir Cloudesley made signal for a fire-ship to come over the bar, and as this vessel drew nigh, the French and Irish already severely cut up, forsook their vessels and took refuge on shore; on which the English boarded the Pelican without opposition; and, by throwing her lumber overboard, contrived to set her afloat, and carry her off before the eyes of the mortified James. During this operation, a hoy with its crew ran aground, and the English lay to in their boats to bring her off at the flow of the tide. While she lay thus, two protestants escaped to her from the shore. The guards who attended James advanced to the water's edge, and a French trooper rode into the water and fired his pistols; his horse was quickly shot, and he had to escape on foot; the sailors coolly approached and carried off the horse's furniture, which they conveyed to their boats. When the tide was in, Sir Cloudesley sailed off to his ships with his prize. All the protestants who had been spectators of the affair were imprisoned by James.*

He was, it is said, still more sensibly affected by the loss of Charlemont fort, which our readers may recollect as a place of early importance, built by lord Mountjoy in the wars of Tyrone. Under its shelter there grew up a town, of great importance at the time before us. Here, a place strong by nature was made nearly impregnable by art. It was held by Teague O'Regan with a strong garrison. Thither Schomberg detached two French regiments, who invested the place, and reduced it to great distress. When summoned by colonel Caillemotte, O'Regan sent him for answer that, "the old knave Schomberg shall not have this castle." James sent colonel Macmahon with some hundred men to convey some supplies: and Schomberg hearing of their approach, sent orders to Caillemotte to let the whole party in, after some show of resistance; but to let none return. These orders having been strictly followed, and the supply which was brought being small, the garrison was immediately in a worse condition than before. Macmahon's party made several sallies for the purpose of returning; but were uniformly driven in with some loss; and O'Regan was so enraged, that he told them, "that if they could not get away, they should have no entertainment or lodging within," and compelled them to make themselves huts in the ditch, within the palisades. But the distress grew until it became unbearable, and O'Regan then sent proposals of surrender to Schomberg. These terms, on the 13th May, were, with some exceptions, agreed upon, and the garrison of eight hundred men marched out. Schomberg noticing that they had with

* Harris.

them a great crowd of women and children, asked why they had kept so many useless mouths to consume their provisions; he was answered, "The Irish were naturally hospitable, and that they all fared alike, nor would the soldiers stay in the garrison without their wives or mistresses;" on which the duke observed "there was more love than policy in it." They were eating hides as they marched out; and observing their starved condition, Schomberg ordered a loaf of bread to be given to each man, and entertained the officers handsomely. In the castle he found seventeen brass cannons, a large mortar, with eighty-three barrels of powder, and many other valuable stores of arms and ammunition.

About this time, some protestant gentlemen who had made their escape from Dublin, brought accounts of the condition of affairs there: these were for the most part such as we have already stated. In addition, they mentioned the facts that the French, recently brought over under De Lauzun, were carrying oppression to a violent and severe extremity, and were trampling on all parties. They were freely quartered on the protestants, whom they treated as prisoners and enemies, and compelled, according to their trades, to provide every thing they wanted, without any compensation. De Lauzun refused to set his guards until the castle was surrendered to him in his own authority, and without any recognition of James: thus confirming the fact otherwise ascertained, that there was a private understanding, that Ireland was to be the remuneration to Louis for his aid. Meanwhile the garrison at Enniskillen, under Hamilton, was reduced to great want, as they had neither food nor money to buy it; and if they had had money, the surrounding country was already exhausted, and could supply no market.

On the fourth of June, 1690, king William left London, and on the fourteenth landed at Carrickfergus. He was attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormonde, the earls of Oxford, Portland, Scarborough, and Manchester, with a numerous train of distinguished persons of both kingdoms. The same evening he went to Belfast, where he was met by duke Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, &c., &c. On the following day he was waited upon by the gentry of Ulster, and received a congratulatory address, presented by Walker, in the name of the Episcopal clergy, and another from the Presbyterian clergy. Many other addresses were at the same time presented, of which the general import was, a resolution to stand by and support his majesty, with life and fortune. At Hillsborough, on the 19th of June, the king issued several important orders, among which we may here specify two, which indicate more plainly the spirit of moderation and regard for the people, that governed his conduct. He issued the most strict and peremptory orders, prohibiting all encroachments upon private property, on any pretext: and also against all insult or personal aggression against any of his subjects. The two orders were read at the head of every regiment, that none might pretend ignorance, and were both worded with a severe precision, which strongly marks the earnestness of William to secure their fullest effect.*

* They may be seen in the Appendix to Harris's Life of King William.

Among the several acts of just and politic consideration worthy of mention on this occasion, we should not omit William's bounty to the Presbyterian clergy, one of whom was among the first to advise the shutting the gates of Derry, and several took an active part in encouraging or assisting in the defence. A liberality the more deserved, as the people of that communion which amounted to a large proportion of the protestant population of Ulster, had been uniformly in the foremost ranks of the opponents of James. William issued his warrant, giving them the annual pension of £1200, secured on the customs received in the port of Belfast.

The king, it is said, had been six days in Ireland, when the intelligence of his arrival reached James, who confidently presumed that he was entangled by the difficulties of his government in England, and had no fear of such an interruption, when this alarming intelligence came to startle him from his fancied security in the exercise of petty tyrannies in Dublin. On receiving this unwelcome news, he committed the guard of the city to Luttrell the governor, and marched with six thousand Frenchmen to join his army, which was at the time encamped near Drogheda, and amounted to thirty-three thousand native troops. His officers at this time advised the adoption of a cautious and temporizing course of procedure: they urged the destructive consequences of a dilatory campaign to William, both from the consideration of the urgency of his interests elsewhere, the effects which the climate and scarcity of food would have upon his army, the waste of which it would not be so easy to repair; and above all, they reckoned on the expected succours from France, and the approach of the French fleet, which they said would destroy his transports, and cut off his communication with England, so that his cause might be weakened in that kingdom, while he would be exposed to ruin in this. Had James pursued this counsel, and successfully avoided all the risks of a battle, it seems nearly evident, that his fate might have been protracted to a much longer duration, and the war dwindled into a desultory and indecisive succession of sieges and slaughters, without any decided result. But James was as presumptuous as he was feeble, and always ready to rush upon distant perils, from an utter incapacity for consideration. He considered the inferences which might be drawn to the prejudice of his reputation, if he should pursue a timid course, rather than any consequence which might be the result of daring indiscretion: and thus consulting his pride rather than his real capability, chose the brave part which he was so incompetent to sustain. In the midst, however, of this mock-heroic decision, the habitual timidity of his nature was not wholly dormant: he sent Sir Patrick Trant to Waterford, to secure the vessel which was to carry him back to France, if he should find it expedient to preserve himself to "fight another day."

King William was soon apprized of the movements and position of James upon the banks of the river Boyne, and gave immediate orders for the march of his troops in three columns towards that river, then about four miles from his encampment. By nine in the morning, the leading column of cavalry under Sir John Lanier, along with which the king rode, arrived within two miles of Drogheda. Here observing

a rising ground west of the town, he rode thither to take a view of the enemy's position: on this height he held a long consultation with the prince of Denmark, Schomberg, Ormonde, and several other general officers. That the reader may the more fully conceive the scene then occupied by the hostile armies, he may imagine the course of the river between the two armies, from west to east through Drogheda, on the west of which city they may be conceived to have occupied the opposite banks of the river. James, who had previously crossed the water in his retreat from Ardee, lay on the southern side, with his right upon the city, having the fords of the Boyne in front: on his left lay a bog, beyond which there runs a bend of the river, which for a little way runs nearly from south to north,* and a little further west, where after some winding it regains its former direction to the town and bridge of Slane, at the distance of about three miles. Three miles south of the Irish camp lay the narrow pass of Duleek, on which James securely reckoned as affording a retreat for which he neglected no precaution. Here occupying this strong and advantageous position, the army of James was seen by William and his generals. One of William's generals having reckoned only forty-six regiments, spoke slightly of their force; but observing that some hills towards the S.W. intercepted the view, the king made answer that the hills might perhaps conceal a part of the enemy, but that it was his intention to become soon more accurately acquainted with their numerical strength. On this point a false impression of an unfavourable kind was made, by the information of a deserter who magnified the numbers of the Irish army to a most discouraging amount: but Sir Richard Cox who suspected this account to be a gross exaggeration, entirely inconsistent with the intelligence which he had otherwise obtained, hit upon an ingenious contrivance to test the accuracy of the informant: leading him through king William's camp, he asked him his opinion as to the number of soldiers it contained: the deserter guessed more than double the actual number, thus so clearly manifesting his total incapacity for such an estimate, as to set the king at ease upon the subject.

The actual amount of the army of James was, 6,000 French under Lauzun, and about 33,000 Irish under Tyrconnel, the duke of Berwick, Hamilton, Sarsfield, and other generals. His advantages of position were very apparent; the river in his front was deep, the bank steep and difficult; and when the fords should be passed by William, a difficult morass was still to be encountered; and after all a rising ground still gave an advantage of position to the Irish army.

From the height on which he stood with his generals, William rode towards the village of Oldbridge, to obtain a nearer view, from a bank within musket shot of the fords—from this point he proceeded up the river for about two hundred yards, to observe the enemy's left more precisely. Here while his troops were taking their positions as they came up, he dismounted, and sitting down upon a rising ground began to make his observations and take notes. He was after some time noticed from the other side of the river; and taking advantage of the

* Beaufort's Map.

hedges which covered their left, the enemy cautiously moved down forty men with two fieldpieces to the corner of a hedge, which concealed the ploughed field over which they marched. From this point they fired at the king: the first discharge killed a man and two horses, very near where he was seated: another immediately followed, which having struck the bank, rose again, and grazed his right shoulder, carried away a piece of his coat, and, passing on, struck off the "cap" of a gentleman's pistol. Mr Coningsby placed his handkerchief on the king's wound, which was happily slight, though sufficient to disable his right arm, "so that he could not carry his sword that day." As he mounted and rode on, William only observed, "that the ball was not destined to come nearer." There was an immediate crowd about him; and the enemy conceiving that their ball had performed its mission more completely than it did, gave a shout, which ran tumultuously through their camp, and several squadrons of horse came towards the river, as if with the intention to cross. The report that William was killed reached Dublin, and from thence was carried to Paris, where arriving at midnight, it was signalized with bonfires, illuminations, and joyful peals of church bells. It reached Rome qualified by some reports of the real event, and created a distressing and ludicrous embarrassment in the conduct and language of lord Melfort, the British envoy, from whom some correspondence is still extant. A letter from this person, dated the 12th of August, contains the following sentences:—"All that concern, anxiety, joy, or fear can bring on me almost at once, at least by near succeeding fits, your majesty cannot blame me if I long to be freed of them, by a full confirmation of the success in Ireland, and the death of the Prince of Orange, that the king is safe, and your majesty once again happy in seeing and having so near a prospect of Whitehall. As soon as the confirmation of this new Herod, the Prince of Orange, his death shall come, all that is to be expected from this will be immediately done, and my longer stay here will be needless. . . . It is impossible to imagine the falsehoods spread abroad, by the allies' ministers here, who go through the town offering great wagers that the French had greater losses at Fleury than the allies, and that their fleet is totally defeated. But to us, who are sure of the contrary, it is some joy to see the mean shifts they are put to. Would to God we were as sure of the usurper's death, and of the victory in Ireland, of which with the utmost impatience we expect the confirmation from Ireland—for from Versailles it seems to come directly enough hither. I have only the letters of the 17th of July, so that I want those of the 10th of that month, and those of the 24th; and that notwithstanding others have got letters of that date, which brought the news of the total defeat in Ireland of the king's forces, and his flight, which had broken my heart if that of the death of Orange had not come before."

Meanwhile, king William having had his wound dressed, speedily remounted and showed himself to his army, through which much alarm had been spread by the report. He continued for several hours on horseback, attending to the necessary arrangement of every division of the army, until four o'clock, when he dined: after which, though he had been in active exertion from one o'clock in the morning, he again

mounted and continued his labours. A sharp cannonade was kept up through the evening on both sides, of which the advantage lay with the English, who not only silenced the Irish batteries, but compelled them to withdraw a part of their camp.

At nine in the evening the king called a council, to which he communicated his purpose, to cross the river on the next morning early. Schomberg opposed this decided step, and recommended caution and the tardy course of proceeding which he had himself pursued. Finding such counsel ineffectual, he advised that a body of cavalry should that night be detached towards the bridge of Slane, by which he would be enabled to pass the river with greater security, with the additional advantage of turning the enemy's position on the left: by this means also, he would, in case of victory, be enabled to intercept their retreat towards the pass of Duleek. And it is not easy to see why this judicious advice was not taken by William, who is said to have approved of it: but the other generals opposed him, and Schomberg retired to his tent depressed and mortified. Presently after, receiving the order of battle, he observed that it was the first that had been sent him. Schomberg's advice was in fact that which was substantially adopted; the only important difference relating to the time of action. General Douglas, and count Schomberg (the duke's son,) were ordered to march early in the morning to the bridge of Slane, for the purposes already mentioned, while a strong division of infantry were to force their way through the fords at Oldbridge.

James, on his part, was advised the same evening by Richard Hamilton, to send a party of dragoons to a ford below Drogheda, of which he said the enemy knew nothing, and also to detach light regiments of dragoons to secure the bridge of Slane. He, with incredible folly answered, that he would send fifty dragoons to Slane. Hamilton withdrew in silent amazement.

William ordered a good supply of ammunition to be distributed among his troops, and that every man should wear a green bough to distinguish them from the enemy who wore pieces of white paper. As night advanced he rode by torch-light through the camp, carefully inspecting every regiment, and examining their condition for the approaching fight. Such were the respective positions and councils on either side, on the eve of a battle which must be considered as holding a cardinal place among the historical events of Irish history. The advantages of ground were possessed by James, but these were perhaps far overbalanced by the superiority of both men and commanders on the side of William.

The morning of July 1st, 1690, anxiously awaited by eighty thousand brave men in certain expectation of a battle, at length appeared. At six o'clock, Douglas commanding some regiments of infantry, with counts Schomberg and Auverquerque, leading their cavalry divisions, making a joint force of 10,000 men, proceeded according to their orders to the bridge of Slane. It had been first arranged by king William, that the right wing of his army should cross over at this bridge: but afterwards receiving information of several fords nearer to the front of his position, he changed his plan, and gave direction that they should be passed by different corps. Duke Schomberg com-

manded the centre, while the king took charge of the left wing, which was next to the city of Drogheda.

Count Schomberg soon reached the bridge: as he approached, some regiments of Irish horse advanced to oppose his passage, but their colonel, Sir Neile O'Neile, was wounded, and about seventy men killed by the fire of the English, on which they retired. Douglas led his men over without further opposition, and directed his march towards the main array of the Irish. He was embarrassed by some difficulties, from the nature of the ground, as well as from considering his force, of which he had six battalions, deficient in front. He despatched a messenger to desire a further reinforcement; but in the meantime, he adopted a suggestion of the earl of Portland's, and mixed his infantry with the horse, according to a plan of ancient tactics, adopted by Cæsar at Pharsalia. But the deep morass, which we have already mentioned as covering the left of the Irish army, offered a more serious difficulty, as it was to be crossed by the foot alone. Fortunately the desired reinforcement quickly came up, and Douglas at once directed his march across the bog, sending the cavalry round by a circuit to the right, towards the pass of Duleek. When the Irish saw this force coming over the bog, they began to retreat rather precipitately towards the pass; and falling thus on the horse under count Schomberg, were severely handled and lost great numbers.

Other divisions, in the meantime, crossed the several fords, under the immediate direction of the king, who, exerting the utmost activity, galloped from post to post. The resistance experienced by these troops was more trying than that at the bridge of Slane, and generally it appears throughout, that the Irish army was more effective in the exchange of fire, than when exposed to personal collision. The Dutch blues took the river at the ford of Oldbridge, where there was a slated house full of soldiers, who poured a galling fire upon them as they waded breast high through the water: these brave men, however, went on without faltering an instant, and landing, drew up in two files, and drove the enemy from their intrenchments. They were again attacked, and sustained an impetuous charge from five Irish battalions: but they received them with the coolness of veteran discipline, and scattered them into the wildest disorder with great slaughter and the loss of a pair of colours. They then pushed on beyond the village; again encountering and again putting to flight a squadron of cavalry, that was sent forward on their advance. At the same time a considerable body of Dutch, with the Enniskillen foot, made their way over. The regiments also of Sir John Hanmer, and count Nassau, succeeded in repulsing some squadrons of horse led to resist their landing, by lieutenant-general Richard Hamilton. The two regiments of French protestants, led by De Caillemotte, and Cambon, were not quite so fortunate, not having pikes to resist the furious charge; thus, though they had made good their passage, and were pushing briskly on, the flying squadrons of Hamilton broke in upon them, and slew several before they could be effectually checked. In this attack the brave De Caillemotte received a mortal wound, and was carried off the field cheering on his men. The Dutch, French, and Enniskilleners in this part of the battle, had now advanced on fair ground, and carried all before them,

cutting some bodies of the enemy to pieces, and repelling others with vast execution.

But Hamilton having again rallied his disordered squadrons, the most effective corps in the Irish army, again made a furious and effective charge upon Sir John Hanmer's brigade, so that they were not only forced to give way, but many driven back into the river. Schomberg who commanded the centre, seeing this, and perceiving that the French division was without a leader, hastened across the water to lead them. In his anxiety he refused to wait for his armour, which M. Foubert, his aid-de-camp, earnestly pressed him to put on. Hastily crossing the ford, he rode up to the Frenchmen, and exclaimed while he pointed to their countrymen in the hostile array, "*Allons Messieurs, voilà vos persecuteurs.*" He had scarcely pronounced these words, when he was fiercely assailed by a small party of Lauzun's French horse, who were endeavouring to regain their lines, and had been allowed to pass by Schomberg's men, who mistook them for some of their own. From these, before any attempt could be made to disengage him, the duke received two sword-cuts on the head: the Frenchmen of Cambon's regiment, whom at that moment he had been addressing, instantly perceived the mistake they had made, but in their hurry they inconsiderately fired into the group. One of their bullets unhappily hit the duke on the neck, and he fell dead. Foubert, his aide-de-camp was also struck in the arm, while alighting to his assistance. Here also in a few minutes after, George Walker met his death.

During these encounters, the Irish horse, had generally conducted themselves with great gallantry; and, though mostly repulsed with loss, still undauntedly returning to the charge, were nearly cut to pieces by the Dutch and Enniskilleners, who overthrew all that came before them. But the Irish foot had been by no means as successful in preserving their order: they were with much difficulty collected by their leaders, and brought back to the scene of trial. They were probably rallied effectively by the appearance of James, who had stationed himself in a small ancient chapel, near Dunore, about half-a-mile in the rear, where he was surrounded by his guards in an ignominious security, while brave men were shedding their bravest blood for his cause. Here they rallied in force, and were moving back in good order, to contest the same ground over again, when William seeing the necessity of his presence, and of the troops which were immediately under his care, gave immediate orders to them to cross the river. These were the left wing of the cavalry, which consisted of four regiments of Enniskilleners and one of Dutch horse, with a regiment of English foot. They pressingly urged him not to cross with them under the fire of the enemy: but William in his quiet way told them he would lead them over. The passage was difficult in this part of the river, and at the opposite bank, William's charger sunk in the mud, up to the saddle, and was extricated with very great difficulty. Having mounted again, he marshalled his men in order for a charge, and drawing his sword, notwithstanding the violent pain of his inflamed shoulder, he flourished it on high and placed himself at their head. At this moment the Irish were coming on in considerable force and with great impetuosity to attack the English infantry regiment, which having crossed the river

with less difficulty, had got greatly in advance. William anxious for the result of their encounter with such unequal numbers, pushed on rapidly to their aid. But when the two bodies were within musket shot of each other, the Irish obtained a sight of the approaching squadrons, and came to a halt, and then after a moment's hesitation, wheeled about and again retreated towards the hill of Dunore. Their pursuers, soon uniting, marched on with an accelerated step, and came up with them, when a very sharp and spirited conflict ensued. The Irish were here reinforced by several bodies of their countrymen, and the several divisions of William's army were rapidly converging to the same point; so that the action slowly increased into a general engagement between the main divisions on either side.

At first the regiment of horse, headed by William, gave way before a furious charge; the king on this rode up to the Enniskilleners and asked them, "what they would do for him." On being told that it was the king who addressed them, they immediately followed him to the charge, and received the fire of the enemy. William turned again to bring up the Dutchmen, but the movement led the heroic Enniskilleners into a momentary mistake, for they wheeled to follow him: seeing this, William turned when he reached the nearest regiment of Dutchmen, which he quickly brought up; the Enniskilleners instantly perceived their error and turned back on the enemy, whom they fiercely charged and forced back in disorder. Here, Schomberg's regiment of French cavalry fought with distinguished bravery. King William here also took a conspicuous and effective part, showing himself in every part of the field where the fight raged the fiercest; at the same time directing and animating the bravery of the soldiers by that well tempered combination of coolness and courage, which was so observable a feature of his character: and great at that moment was the demand for both these qualities, when the combat, hitherto scattered and desultory, began to thicken around his person, as a centre towards which all the several masses were moving: while in the smoke and dust raised by this hot medley of combatants, his own men could not always with sufficient rapidity be distinguished from the enemy. A trooper of one of his Dutch regiments presented a pistol so close to his head, that the king turned it aside with his hand, saying, "What! do you not know your friends?" Nor was this a single instance of the risks he ran in the whirl and confusion of that furious half-hour, during which the fight was kept up, by the rapid succession of fresh arrivals on either side.

While the contest thus raged about the king, another lesser affair which had considerable effect on the fortune of the day, was taking place on the left a little way off. Lieutenant-general De Ginckle, intending perhaps to take the enemy's flank, charged up a narrow lane, but was repulsed, and his men forced a little way back on their steps: a party of Sir Albert Cunningham's dragoons, and another of colonel Levison's were looking on: they were ordered by their officers to alight, and line a hedge and a ruined house, that flanked the lane; from these they opened a galling fire on the enemy, which quickly stopped their advance. Meanwhile, De Ginckle rallied his men, and as soon as the fire of the English dragoons ceased, again charged the

enemy, and after a very rough struggle forced them back. Meanwhile, as we have said, the centre of William's army had cleared its way beyond the obstacles and intrenchments of the Irish position, and notwithstanding some weak attempts to check them, descended into an open plain beyond. Here two attempts were still made to bring up a regiment of Irish cavalry to attack them in flank, but several bodies of William's army, which had that day from the nature of the ground been compelled to fight in remote and desultory attacks, began to be concentrated about him. The Dutch blues, with some other regiments of French, English and Irish, were drawn up under cover of the English artillery, and all attacks were repulsed without any struggle.

General Richard Hamilton, having had repeated occasion to distrust his infantry, put himself again at the head of his horse and made a desperate charge, which however entirely failed: he was wounded on the head and taken, and his capture put an end to the battle, which had for some time been entirely sustained by his influence in rallying his men, and his desperation in leading them to the charge. He was conducted to the king, who asked him if he thought the Irish would fight any more? Hamilton answered, "Yes, Sir, upon my honour I believe they will, for they have a good body of horse." The king turned scornfully on his heel as he replied "your honour!" in allusion to his perfidious conduct when employed to negotiate with Tyrconnel.

The battle was now ended, and the Irish were in full retreat. The count de Lauzun rode hastily up to James, where he stood on the hill of Dunore, and told him that he was in danger of being surrounded, advising a speedy retreat. James was not remiss in taking such counsel; and, attended by Sarsfield's regiment, hurried away to the pass of Duleek, whence he got safe to Dublin. He had indeed good need of haste: for Schomberg yet breathing revenge for his great father's death, lent himself to the pursuit with fierce and fiery zeal, and led his cavalry towards that pass. He experienced some slight check from the skill and coolness of De Lauzun and other officers; and also from the danger of attacking the retreating parties while in the pass. They had no sooner passed than he rushed through, and according to most historians committed great slaughter on the other side: from the particulars, however, as related by captain Richardson, it does not appear that much slaughter could have occurred, as the retreating army of James had gained a considerable way before their pursuers were through; and king William, very erroneously concluding that the war was at an end, sent orders to forbid all unnecessary bloodshed,—a course of clemency for which he has been hastily censured.

The battle of the Boyne was prolonged by its desultory character: the divisions of James' army had, for several hours, been fought and beaten in detail; and the usual effect of a rout in deterring or disordering a whole army was thus frustrated. The various corps of the army of William were mostly led on to battle under the most tremendous disadvantages, and their first collision was, for the most part, such as none but the very best troops could bear. Accordingly, upon a review of the details already offered, it will appear that some disastrous incident commonly attended the landing and first approach

to the enemy's lines; while, nevertheless, in a little time they had uniformly made good their ground. The infantry of the Irish army seem to have been ill conducted, and to have felt the want of a leader: Hamilton twice expressed his discontent with their conduct, but we think on insufficient grounds; they were fearfully overmatched by the disciplined veterans and gallant officers of William. But Hamilton was desperate, and communicated some of the spirit by which he was animated to his followers: at one period of the battle, when he seems to have abandoned all hope of his foot, which though full of courage, were too little disciplined to make a persevering stand, he had recourse to brandy to stimulate the exertions of his horse.

Among the casualties of the fight, many officers of rank seem to have fallen in the Irish army: but considering the duration of the conflict and the completeness of the victory, few of the men. This is doubtless to be explained by the circumstances already mentioned; the battle was prolonged rather by the obstacles of position and the consequently intermitting and desultory nature of the several encounters, than by the obstinacy of the resistance; and in the anxiety of a combat in which they had such unsteady instruments, the Irish officers were more than usually compelled to expose themselves. The duke of Berwick, the most able of James' generals, received much severe handling: his horse was shot, and he was rescued after being trampled and covered with blood, and dirt, and many bruises. The actual number slain was perhaps about one thousand on the side of James, and five hundred of king William's men. The accounts of the several authorities differ so much, that accuracy is out of the question. William himself escaped unhurt on that day, though no one had been more constantly exposed to every danger that called for his presence: his pistol was struck by a shot, and one of his boots grazed by a cannon ball. All the historians who notice this battle concur in attributing to him the utmost skill, exertion, intrepidity and coolness, both in the selection of the ground, the plan and distribution of the attack, the decision with which he availed himself of circumstances, and the bravery with which he exposed himself in repeated charges. The noblest tribute was the well-known compliment of the brave Sarsfield.

In Dublin the utmost anxiety prevailed. Under the command of Luttrell, the condition of the protestants reached the extremity of endurance; nor was there any limit to the furious tyranny of this most atrocious monster, but the check imposed upon him by the humane feelings of the papists themselves, of whom the more respectable portion at least felt themselves bound to remonstrate. At this juncture the protestants were confined to their houses and disarmed: nor was it possible to feel any security against the most fearful wrongs and indignities of a sacked town, if the soldiers of De Lauzun should return flushed with victory, and irritated by the losses inevitable in such a contest, as was hourly expected: on the day before the battle, reports came fast upon each other, and the air seemed laden with rumours of anxious burthen. The report of the certain intention and preparation for battle was early known, and every heart and ear were on the strain when the morning of the 1st of July appeared: during the course of

that day, and as the evening approached, reports began to assume a more definite form: at first the accounts appeared unfavourable to William's army, as it was reported he was taken prisoner: late however in the evening more genuine accounts began to make their way, and to change the balance of fear and hope. A few straggling fugitives who had galloped for life, entered the city on jaded horses and gave an account that James had the worst of the battle: and it was not long before other parties came in with the news that he had received a total defeat. During the entire evening, parties of horse, weary, broken, and deformed with the stains of battle and the dust of flight, followed frequent on every northern avenue: terror spread through the town, and the protestants, shut up in their houses, revived at the cheering intelligence. The whole of the day these indications hourly increased; numerous officers of James came in with all the marks of depression and defeat, and several of his guards appeared towards evening, in disorder and unarmed. About nine in the evening James himself made his appearance, with an escort of 200 horse. He was received by the countess of Tyrconnel, to whom he gave an account of the disasters of the day, with characteristic want of consideration laying the blame on the brave men who had toiled and bled for him, while he skulked like a coward on the hill of Dunore: with sarcastic levity he complimented the countess on the light-heeled activity of her countrymen; the countess, who was celebrated for her wit, retorted with courteous irony "that, in that respect his majesty had the advantage of them all." This lady was the same who is celebrated as la Belle Jennings by De Grammont: she was sister to the haughty and spirited duchess of Marlborough, who for a time may be said by her talent and court favour, to have governed England and balanced the destinies of Europe.

On the following morning at the early hour of five, James had a meeting with the civil authorities, whom he had summoned to attend him at the castle. He told them "that it seemed God was with their enemies;" that "too much blood had been shed already;" that "the prince of Orange was a merciful man:" he desired that "they should set the prisoners at liberty and submit to the prince:" he told them that "in England he had an army that could have fought, but would not, while his Irish army were loyally minded and willing to support his cause, but could not: the English abandoned him and the Irish ran away:" this base and inconsiderate calumny, when it was reported, is said to have excited great indignation, and drew from Sarsfield the cutting retort, "Let us exchange kings and we will fight the battle again." James' usual duplicity may perhaps be traced in his injunction to be kind to the protestants. We may here observe, that Curry endeavours to conclude from the report of one of his sayings, that he had no prejudice against the protestant religion, but was under the impression that he could not himself be secure, until the church to which he adhered was placed on a steady footing in England. This he may indeed have thought and said: such a thought may have often crossed his brain, and have found expression among the numerous and various inconsistencies, which he incessantly used to dupe those who were not duped by his words: but his entire history is rather too well

known to leave any one for a moment in doubt, as to his real designs and the actual influences by which he was governed: but Curry is one of those who will run to and fro over fields of broad day-light, to discover some speck of obscurity for the purpose of self-deception. Having been apprized that there was a design on foot among those of his party who intended flight, to set fire to the city, James conjured them to abandon a purpose of such needless cruelty, and which would reflect so much discredit on his cause. Finally, he assured them, that he did not abandon their cause and his rights, but though absent would still exert himself to the utmost for them.

Having dismissed his hearers, he hurried off to Bray, attended by the duke of Berwick, &c., &c., where he embarked for Waterford, after having given directions to have the bridges between Dublin and Waterford broken down to prevent pursuit. We shall pursue the course of events in the subsequent memoir.

We shall here close this account with a summary of those transactions in which Gustavus Hamilton appears to have borne a part, reserving the more detailed notice of them until they come on in the order of history.

After exhibiting high proofs of bravery and conduct in the defence of Coleraine, he commanded a regiment in the battle of the Boyne, and there signalized himself by his usual valour and conduct, having a horse killed under him, and a very narrow escape from death.* At the storming of Athlone shortly after,† he waded the Shannon at the head of his regiment, and stormed the town of Athlone, of which he was made governor. He was present and took a prominent part in all the principal battles fought by De Ginckle.

On the reduction of the country he was made one of the privy council, promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and received grants of forfeited lands. In the reign of Anne, he was further raised to the rank of major-general, and represented the county of Donegal in parliament, until created viscount Boyne. At the siege of Vigo he commanded a regiment, and made himself so useful upon the occasion, that he was presented with a service of plate by the queen.

In 1714, George I. advanced him to the dignity of baron Hamilton of Stackaller. The same king granted him a military pension of £182 10s. yearly, and promoted him to the title of viscount Boyne, by patent dated 1717.

He married a daughter of Sir Henry Brooke, and had by her a daughter and three sons. He died September, 1723, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

Robert Fitz-Gerald.

BORN A. D. 1637—DIED A. D. 1698.

THIS distinguished gentleman was the third son of George, the sixteenth earl of Kildare, by his countess the lady Joan, fourth daughter of the first earl of Cork.

* Preamble of his patent.

† See forward, Life of De Ginckle.

At the time of the Restoration, he exerted himself with power in forwarding that great event, insomuch that his efficient services were acknowledged by Charles, who in return made him comptroller of the cheques and musters of the army, with the fee of twenty-shillings a-day.

In 1674, he received the command of a troop, and was made joint governor, with his nephew, of the county of Kildare, of which in 1680 he became *Custos Rotulorum*, and lived there at Grangemellan, until the accession of James II., who by the advice of Tyrconnel, at once deprived him of all his employments to the amount of £3,300 a-year.*

We may now take up the thread of our history. While James was on his way to Waterford, and William by leisurely marches, approaching Dublin, affairs in this latter city remained in a state of much confusion. At first, occasional alarms were received from hourly reports, which threw some shade of apprehension over the satisfactory tidings which seemed to have received certainty from the flight of James. These were chiefly occasioned by the approach of several bodies of the beaten army, chiefly consisting of the French, whose atrocities in Dublin had made their presence detestable to the protestants, and formidable to all. They passed nevertheless peacefully through, contenting themselves with menaces and assurances of future vengeance. But after all their sufferings, it was not easy for those who had been so long in the bondage of every vital terror and galling humiliation, to throw off habitual apprehensions, and feel that their chains were actually loosened; nor, generally speaking, was the happy change at once perceptible to those, who in hourly expectation of all that is horrible in the sack of a town, had shut their doors against all communication. Communication, retarded by a reign of caution and fear, had been slow; the circulation of social life had sustained a pause, and every one was limited within the circle of his individual perceptions. The approach of a happier turn of events brought with it of course an interruption to this shocking state of suspense and social torpor; but the first incident which is said to have carried with it reassurance to all, and broken the spell of apprehension, was the public appearance of Robert Fitz-Gerald the subject of our memoir.

Fitz-Gerald having been first confined in Newgate for twenty-one weeks by order of James, was then, on the ground of ill health, allowed to remain a prisoner in his own house; but on the landing of king William, he was with several others sent into close imprisonment in the college. There a report reaching him of the victory of the Boyne, the flight of James, and the rumour of the intention of some persons to fire the city, he thought it full time to make some effort to ward off so calamitous an injury. With this view he broke from his confinement, and sent Sir Robert Gore to the castle with a letter to Mr Spike, in whose custody the keys were left, to demand possession. Fortunately Spike knew the real condition of affairs too well to venture any resistance, and complied without hesitation. In the meantime, Fitz-Gerald, accompanied by the bishop of Limerick, Dean Bourke, and others who had been his fellow-prisoners, pushed on into

* Lodge.

the city. Finding a sentinel at the end of lord Charlemont's house, he asked by whose orders he stood there: the man answered, "by his officer's, and that the guard was at hand." On this he was disarmed by the party, Mr Fitz-Gerald taking his sword. As he passed, the citizens threw up their windows, and the cry became general, "here is captain Fitz-Gerald, we are now safe." Looking next in at the custom-house and castle, he hastened into the city, where an angry crowd was assembled for the purpose of seizing the goods of the papists, thinking that it was no more than fair retaliation; for such is the natural impulse of the common people of every persuasion. This outrage Mr Fitz-Gerald prevented, and received from the crowd an assurance that nothing should be done that night but by his orders. He had not advanced much farther when he met Sir Thomas Newcomen and others, who were similarly occupied in trying to prevent disorders; from them he learned that Luttrell had left the city, and had said at parting, that "captain Fitz-Gerald would soon have his place." Passing on, at the end of Skinner Row he found a crowd of about fifty common people, and a gentleman with the city keys in the midst of them: Fitz-Gerald demanded "by whose authority do you hold these keys?" and was answered, "by an authority better than yours:" on receiving this answer, he promptly closed with the gentleman, and took the keys. This gentleman seems in the first instance to have acted under a false impression, and probably did not recognise the person to whom he spoke; for immediately after, he came up and apologized, saying that both he and all his party were looking for him to deliver up the keys to him. On which both parties joined, and Fitz-Gerald appointed guards for the city-gates and for the mint. He next proceeded to the main guard, and found there a militia officer with thirty men having their muskets loaded and their matches lighted. Here there was, for a moment, some disposition to resist, and the officer threatened that his men should fire; but the calm and decisive representations of Fitz-Gerald soon convinced him of the danger of such a proceeding, and he surrendered. The arms of these men were at once quietly delivered to as many protestants. Fitz-Gerald then returned to the castle; thither he had sent a body of protestants collected as he went, to form a guard under the command of Sir Robert Gore. At night, he caused a letter written and signed by the bishop of Limerick, dean Bourke, &c., to be sent off to the king, giving him a full account of all that had passed.

During the night, alarms were numerous: early in the evening Fitz-Gerald received an intimation that a body of French soldiery to the number of a thousand, were on their approach; and soon after, he learned from alderman Blackwall, that some persons were setting fire to the city. On this information, he set off with a guard of thirty, and directed his steps by the noise, to the point of greatest danger; on his approach the incendiaries fled; but one man who was setting fire to the thatched houses in Kevin street, was taken. As he was a Frenchman, he was set free in a few days. About daybreak, Fitz-Gerald was called again to renewed exertion; numbers of the protestant mob having got together, the cry arose that they should recover their goods out of the houses of the papists; saying, "that they had

been ruined and imprisoned by the Irish rogues, and now would have satisfaction by plundering the houses of all papists." Against this atrocious idea of retaliation, Fitz-Gerald remonstrated; he told them that he had last night disarmed their enemies and preserved their houses when there was no one to take their part; this quieted many; but while he was speaking, some persons had broken into general Sarsfield's house, on which he was obliged to have recourse to personal efforts with his cane and sword, and only succeeded after three hours' severe exertion. Every one of those people seemed to be persuaded that he was robbing them of a right, so that it was with considerable danger that he effected this great service.

Having thus restored order, he sent round to assemble the members of the late council, with several other eminent persons, to make arrangements for the management of affairs, till the king's arrival. While they were thus engaged, reports of an alarming nature came pouring in, on which Fitz-Gerald wrote, and despatched a letter, addressed to the commanding officer of the nearest body of king William's army, of which the following is a copy:—

"Sir,—This town is now at his majesty's service, only the rabble is very numerous, and we are afraid will be disorderly; and it is feared that some parties of king James's forces, who are within six miles, will return and rifle the town. We therefore entreat you to come, or send some party of the forces under your command, to relieve and assist us with all expedition, and secure his majesty's subjects from any further inconveniences.

"FITZ-GERALD.

"Dublin, July 3d, at noon, 1690.

"To the chief officer commanding any body of his majesty's horse, foot, or dragoons, in their march to Dublin.

"Haste, haste, haste, for his Majesty's service."

This pithy despatch was received by the king himself, who expressed great satisfaction; and being on horseback, sent a verbal answer, promising a speedy succour of horse, and requesting that Mr Fitz-Gerald would continue his care of the city. A council of the city officers having been assembled, agreed upon a request in the nature of a commission, appointing him governor in the following words: "Whereas, the city and castle of Dublin have been deserted by the late governors appointed by king James, and it is necessary that some care be taken to supply that office, we therefore desire that the honourable Robert Fitz-Gerald would take upon him and execute the office of governor of the said city and castle, till his majesty's pleasure be known." On the 4th, Sir Thomas Southwell arrived, bearing messages from the king, among which was a special assurance of favour to Fitz-Gerald, to whom the king sent a small silver medal, which he had formerly received by a messenger from Fitz-Gerald, that it might be returned for the purpose of authenticating any message he might afterwards send him. And in an hour after, nine troops of horse arrived under lord Auverquerque and major-general Sgravenmore, with the duke of Ormonde, who served as a volunteer. Next day the king's blue Dutch guards fol-

lowed. To these Fitz-Gerald gave the castle and town guard: not having slept till then for three days and nights, and having been the whole of that time in a state of continual exertion and danger.

The day after the battle, the king sent Brigadier La Millioniere with one thousand cavalry, a large infantry force, and eight guns, to summon Drogheda, where lord Iveagh commanded for James, having a garrison of one thousand three hundred men. It was understood that there was also a great magazine. The summons was received with contempt by lord Iveagh; but king William sent him word, that if he should be compelled to bring his cannon before the city, no quarter must be hoped for. On this, lord Iveagh reconsidered the situation in which he stood, and accepted the conditions which were offered, being allowed to march out with the garrison and baggage, leaving behind their arms and stores. The town was found well supplied, and given in care to the regiment of colonel Cuts.

On the 4th July, the king marched on to Dublin, and on the following day encamped at Finglas. Here he received the intelligence that James had embarked for France at Waterford, with the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, &c.—that numbers of those who fled from the battle had gone to embark at Kinsale, where some French vessel had put in; but that the greater part of the Irish army had marched to Athlone, with other particulars of less importance. On Sunday, the 6th, he entered Dublin, and went to church at St Patrick's cathedral, attended by the bishops of Meath and Limerick. There he heard a sermon preached by Dr King, afterwards archbishop of Dublin, and among the ablest metaphysical writers of his time.

On the same day, the keys of the city and castle were presented to him by Fitz-Gerald, to whom he returned them with the answer, "Sir, they are in very good hands; and you deserve them well and may keep them." On his return to the camp, William published a declaration of pardon to all poor labourers, common soldiers, townsmen, artificers, &c., and any of the common people, who, having been engaged in the war, should return to their homes before the first of August, commanding all tenants of protestants to pay their rents to their landlords: but that the tenants of those who had been engaged in the war should hold their rents until further notice from the commissioners of the revenue.

While he continued encamped at Finglas, the king reviewed his army and took account of their numbers. The infantry amounted to 22,579, the horse to 7751, with four regiments in garrison. Here also he learned the particulars of the battle of Fleurus, and received an account of the disastrous incidents at sea, off Beachy on the Sussex coast.

On the 9th, king William broke up his camp at Finglas. Before he could move in direct pursuit of the forces yet in arms against him, it was however necessary to secure his transports; for which purpose it was considered expedient to obtain possession of Waterford and Duncannon fort. We do not consider it necessary to detail the particulars of the king's march southward. He pursued his way by slow marches, as the varying and uncertain accounts which he received of his English affairs made him waver in his determination, and irresolute to proceed. At Kilkenny he was splendidly entertained by the duke

of Ormonde. In the next memoir we shall take up our narrative of his conduct, with a few more details here omitted.

We now return to Fitz-Gerald, of whom there is little more to be related. The last occasion in which we find his name publicly occurring, was the commission appointed by the king on the 9th July, to inquire into, and seize all forfeitures accruing to the crown by the recent rebellion. In this he was joined with the bishop of Meath, the earl of Longford, and others. This commission was not considered legal by the bishop, who therefore absented himself from its meetings; and it was remarked, that the instrument by which it was appointed was so worded as to contain an admission of its illegality, as it provided for the continuance of the commission until a more legal method should be appointed: this however appears to be mere chicanery. If not illegal, this commission was nevertheless conducted so as to inflict much injustice, and more severity than justice required. We here specially advert to the indiscriminate and sweeping execution of that part of the commission which related to the goods and personals of rebels. The papists were understood to have secured much of this species of property by committing it to the keeping of their protestant neighbours, an expedient which it would have been sound policy to respect. But on this pretext, the commission, with the usual encroaching precipitancy of commissions, the most unconstitutional resource of British government, made searching inquisitions among the protestants, and seizures of their goods on insufficient proof of their liability. This gave rise to much clamour, and finally to remonstrances from the commission itself.

When the Irish government was settled, Fitz-Gerald was appointed of the privy council. He did not long survive these events, having died, January, 1698. He left several sons, of whom the third, Robert, afterwards succeeded as nineteenth earl of Kildare.

Patrick Sarsfield.

KILLED A. D. 1693.

IN the sixteenth century, by some of the numerous revolutions of Irish property, the manor of Lucan came into the possession of the Sarsfields, a family of English origin. In 1566, Sir William Sarsfield was distinguished for his good services against Shane O'Neill, for which he was knighted by Sidney; Patrick Sarsfield was his lineal descendant and representative. By what steps he rose to that rank in which he appears in Irish history, it has not been our fortune to ascertain; and, we must presume, that no private memoir remains, from which (if such were to be found,) the usual curiosity of historic research would not fail to have drawn more distinct notices than any we can discover among the most authoritative of our historians, of one so very prominent in his own generation. Of the commanders for James he was beyond comparison the ablest as a general, and the most respectable as a man. For which reason it was that he was the least

preferred by James, a fact which may be recorded to his honour; for with that feeble and unworthy prince, baseness and servile pliancy appear to have been the only sure passports to promotion and favour.

We have already had to notice several incidents in the life of Sarsfield, many others are essentially interwoven with the thread of subsequent memoirs; we shall therefore mainly occupy this narrative with one which exhibits his military character to advantage.

William had, as we have stated, received several accounts, of which the result was a determination on his part to return to England. With this view he returned on the 27th July from Carrick-on-Suir to Dublin. While he remained at Chapel Izod for some days, he received accounts of his English and continental concerns, so favourable as to change his intentions, and in consequence returned to the army, and directed his march towards Limerick. On the way he was joined by Douglas, who had been sent against Athlone, and sustained an entire failure, as we shall hereafter particularly relate. On the 8th of August, the king sent forward the earl of Portland and Brigadier Stewart from his camp at Cahirconlish, with a large detachment towards Limerick; they advanced within cannon-shot of the town with little opposition.* In the evening, the king, accompanied by the prince of Denmark, Auverquerque, De Ginckle and other generals, went to view the place and ascertain the different approaches. On the 9th, the whole army was moved forward toward the town, levelling the hedges and ditches as they went, and driving in the various outposts, until their collected force made a stand beyond a narrow lane between two bogs, within half-a-mile of the city. The position was one which it might have cost much bloodshed to force; but we forbear from description, as the enemy's horse were dislodged by the cross fire of a battery from the left, and the regiment of colonel Erle pressed on, in the midst of a hot fire, from numerous lanes and hedges, and drove the foot who kept up a running fire in to the very walls. Here they obtained two very advantageous posts. In one of these (Cromwell's fort,) four guns were mounted.

When he had encamped his army, the king sent a trumpeter to summon the city. There, many were desirous to surrender; but this was opposed by the governor, the duke of Berwick, and by Sarsfield, who detailed most of the same reports of changes and invasions in England, which had nearly induced the king to return, and were yet very generally credited among the Irish. On receiving the summons, the governor wrote to Sir Robert Southwell, (secretary to William) in which he expressed his surprise at the summons, and said, "that he thought the best way to gain the prince of Orange's good opinion, was by a vigorous defence of the town, which his majesty trusted him withal." A brisk cannonade was kept up the whole evening on both sides; the balls from the city fell thick in the camp, and especially round the royal tent. A gunner who deserted to the city guided their fire, so that at last its intent and direction became so evident, that the king was with some difficulty prevailed upon to change his quarters. Several operations of no decisive character had taken place on both

* Tindal.

sides, when on the 11th, Manus O'Brien, a country gentleman, came to the camp with intelligence, that Sarsfield, with six hundred cavalry, had crossed the Shannon at night, nine miles above the city. The information appeared to awaken little interest in the general officer to whom it was communicated, who began immediately to question O'Brien about some cattle which might be obtained in the vicinity. O'Brien, however, having found some officers of his own acquaintance in the camp, to whom he mentioned the fact, and expressed his astonishment at the carelessness of the general to whom he had spoken: he was then introduced to the king, who instantly acted on the information, which caused him great uneasiness, as he at once conjectured Sarsfield's purpose of intercepting his train of artillery, which was yet upon the way, and about that time expected to be near. He sent off Sir John Lanier with five hundred horse to meet it. Lanier went tardily to work, and it was near morning before he got off; even then he went very slowly, and while he was on his march, a sudden gleam of remote light followed by a heavy roll of thunder in the distance, told too plainly that his mission was late for its purpose. The king's artillery had proceeded that day from Cullen to the castle of Ballynedry within seven miles of its destination. Sarsfield, who had learned with how little regard for personal safety king William rode about, had collected a private party to intercept him; but having obtained information of the approach of the train, and being apprized of its route, went out on the preceding night from Limerick, and lurked with his detachment all day among the hills; when the train stopped for the night he took guides who conducted him to the very spot where it lay; the detachment were completely surprised—the officer, and probably most of the men asleep: sixty of the soldiers were killed, with numbers of country people who were, under their convoy, bringing provisions to the camp. Sarsfield soon had complete possession of the field, and with it of the fortune of the siege: he caused all the guns to be filled with powder and buried with the mouth down, and the breech just raised over the clay; then heaping wagons and provision-carts over them, set fire to the heap and left them. The fire soon making its way to the guns, the whole exploded with prodigious effect, and nearly the entire of William's battering train was at once destroyed.* It was generally understood that Lanier could easily have prevented this misadventure, by ordinary exertion; and Burnet remarks upon the occasion, that it was a general observation made on him, and most of those officers in William's army, who had served James, that they had more mind to enrich themselves by keeping up the war, than to bring it to an end.†

This exploit of Sarsfield caused great murmurings in the camp; but William, who seldom exhibited any public appearance of being depressed or elated by circumstances, went on vigorously pursuing operations, the result of which must have assumed an uncertain character. He obtained some guns from Waterford, and raised a battery below Cromwell's fort to the right of the trench, by the fire of which some of the enemy's cannon were dismounted. On the same day the prince

* Tindal,

† Burnet, ii. 58.

of Wirtemberg and other generals, with seven battalions, made a nearer approach, and obtained possession of some redoubts. On the 18th, 19th, and 20th, the different divisions and generals relieved each other in the trenches, each making nearer approaches, and obtaining slight advantages over the enemy: while the king exposed himself with his wonted indifference to all dangers. On the 18th, he had indeed a narrow escape from a cannon-ball which struck the spot which he had just passed, so close as to cover him with dust. On the 20th, a vigorous sally was made by the garrison with nearly two thousand men; but they were driven in with loss; and, on the 21st, the trenches were finished so as to prevent further sallies. On the following day the king's cannon were directed against some lofty towers, from which the besieged were enabled to fire into the trenches: these towers were completely overthrown. On the 25th, all the king's batteries were completed with thirty guns, the trenches were advanced within thirty paces of the ditch, a breach was made in the wall near St John's gate, and part of the palisades on the counterscarp were beaten down. The next day the engineers having assured the king that they could not for want of balls effect a wider breach, he resolved to try the effect of mines, and commanded that the covered way and two towers on each side of the breach should be attacked on the following day, and that the party should lodge themselves there. This attack was accordingly made by nine companies of French grenadiers, with one hundred volunteers, and the enemy was quickly dislodged from the towers and covered way. This attack was nevertheless frustrated by the storming party, which neither precisely observed the king's order, nor fully pursued the opposite course. The besiegers fled precipitately before them, and were pursued by a few of the earl of Drogheda's grenadiers, while the Counts Solmes and Nassau kept back the rest. The pursuers entered the town, as the whole army might have done, had it been there; but when the fugitives began to perceive the fact, that they were followed by a handful of men, who came on without order, they rallied and turned back upon them and slew several. Elated by this, they poured on once more to the breach with a fury seldom equalled, being more than ordinarily excited by the presence of their women, who crowded the walls with stones, broken bottles, and every missile that presented itself, and attacked the French with a desperation only to be rivalled by angry women. Such was the impetuosity of the besieged, that after three hours' hard fighting the assailants were forced to retire. During this fierce struggle, a Brandenburg regiment had made their way to one of the batteries of the town, when the powder there exploded and killed many of them. Another attack was at the same time made at the south gate, with great loss of men, though the besieged were beaten back into the town. The only result of this action, which lasted for four hours, was a severe loss of men on both sides. The king lost four hundred and fourteen privates, twenty-five subalterns and three field-officers, with many other officers of rank, one thousand one hundred and seventeen soldiers wounded.* There were six

* Harris, App.

hundred of the besieged killed on the spot in this action, and as many more mortally wounded.*

The king's impatience to look after his own interests elsewhere was probably aided by this unsuccessful affair. The health of his troops became perceptibly affected; and the approach of winter, of which the previous year had afforded such disastrous experience, warned him that he must soon provide for the safety of his army against a foe more fell than Sarsfield. On the 30th of August, he sent away his heavy baggage and guns, and on the following day broke up his encampment and marched to Clonmel. It is probable that the war would have been brought to a termination but for Sarsfield's exploit, and that such was the opinion of this commander is very well known. The same would have been the result of the storming party on the 26th, had they followed up their success and been supported in time. As it was, the contest was destined to abide the result of another campaign. The king appointed lord Sidney, viscount Sheppy, and Thomas Coningsby, lords-justices: the command of the army was committed to De Ginckle, in whose memoir we shall relate the events of the next and last campaign.

Sarsfield continued to bear a principal part in the events of this war, till the capitulation of Limerick in the following season terminated the struggle. He had the merit of the most important successes and wisest counsels of the party to which he was attached; but it was his unlucky fortune to be slighted by the weak and cowardly prince to whose cause he adhered through every trial, and to find his experience overruled and neutralized by the presumptuous foreigner who was placed for no merit over his head. Some of these facts will be sufficiently exemplified in the details which we are compelled to reserve for other memoirs.

After the capture of Limerick, in 1691, Sarsfield left his native country at the head of a large body of Irish, whose liberty to depart was secured by the articles of capitulation. Of his personal history we have obtained little trace. He was a man of large stature, and of a heavy and dull expression of countenance. He was created earl of Lucan by James. He entered the French army, and served under the marshall Luxembourg, and was killed in the battle of Landen fought between this general and king William on the 29th July, 1693. About two years after his departure, he was married to a daughter of the earl of Clanricarde, by whom he left a son, who died unmarried in Flanders. His widow remarried with the duke of Berwick.

His elder brother was married to a natural daughter of James II., and left a daughter his sole heiress, through whom the Sarsfield property in Lucan has descended to the Vesey family.

* Tindal.

Colonel Richard Grace.

KILLED A. D. 1691.

THE gallant veteran, whose name stands at the head of this article, had been a distinguished soldier in the great rebellion, in which, both in England and Ireland, he had fought with honour for the kings of the Stuart race. The value of his services may be now in some measure estimated, from the fact of his having been intrusted with the government of Athlone. The ancient origin of his race we have already had occasion to notice in our memoir of Raymond le Gros.* He was a younger son of Robert Grace, baron of Courtstown in the county of Kilkenny.† During the Commonwealth, he served with distinction in Spain, and after the Restoration, was chamberlain to the duke of York.‡ When he came over to serve his master in Ireland, it may be inferred that he was far advanced in life. We shall here detail only his last memorable achievement.

Eight days after the battle of the Boyne, king William saw the expediency of dividing his army for the purpose of obtaining possession of several important places, remotely apart. Among other detachments made with this view, he sent general Douglas, with ten regiments of foot and five of horse, to reduce Athlone. The march of Douglas was characterized by the most disgraceful relaxation of military discipline; and his soldiers were permitted to plunder and murder in a manner, and to an extent, which could not be surpassed by the uncivilized and atrocious Rapparee. This was perhaps the more disgraceful, if any circumstance could aggravate such conduct, by the fact that William, in parting with this and other detachments of his army, had omitted no precaution to prevent the excesses into which he feared his soldiers might be betrayed; and also because it was in direct disobedience to the proclamation forbidding all oppressive exactions. But in thus stigmatizing the excesses of this detachment, fairness demands that we should remark, that it is hardly to be demanded that the common soldier of any nation, however civilized, will, when the control of discipline once gives way, resist the common impulses of human nature so far, as to refrain from the vindictive satisfaction of retaliating the criminal atrocities which had so shortly before been committed without measure, against the protestants of Europe as well as Ireland. It must be remembered that the common soldier is but a peasant, imperfectly civilized in any state of society yet known; but still more imperfectly then; and considering the mode in which *opinion* operates on the uneducated in the form of passion and prejudice, it will be easy to conceive that in the sight of those rough and rude soldiers, the entire population of Ireland seemed degraded by the most savage barbarism, and stained by every hue of crime. We would not wish to be thought apologists for prejudice, much less for flagitious deeds: licentious and wicked passions are always largely developed in the movements of popular excitement, and the annals of the best soldiers

* Vol. i.

† Rev. John Graham.

‡ Ib.

in modern war, furnish dreadful proofs of what materials an army is composed; but in marking the crimes of multitudes we think it useful to put the reader ever in mind of what man is, and if possible, to separate in the party scale, the general components of our nature from those of faction or creed.

But in the instance now before us, some of the disgrace appears to rest upon Douglas. Deluded by the royal proclamation, the peasantry flocked round his tent to claim the protection which he was enjoined to afford; they were received with the desired assurances, and then abandoned to the lawless violence of the soldiers; and thus they arrived, amidst the hate and execration of the country, before Athlone. It was perhaps owing to these circumstances, that the summons of Douglas was received by Grace with a species of defiance not quite reconcileable to the usage of civilized war: "these are my terms," he replied, firing his pistol at the messenger.

The garrison of Athlone was composed of three regiments of foot, with nine troops of dragoons and two of light cavalry. There was however a larger body encamped at a small distance.* Douglas soon resolved on an attack. His force was scarcely adequate to the siege of so strong a place, where every precaution of art had been adopted for its defence. Nevertheless, he planted two field-pieces to "prejudice the enemy's guns;"† and ordered fascines to be made, and in the mean time a battery of six guns was put in preparation. When this was constructed, the firing was kept up very warmly on both sides. The town lay on each bank of the Shannon, but the eastern, or English side, as it was called, was not defensible, on which account Grace caused it to be burned, and broke down the bridge. The western side, which lay in the county of Roscommon, he defended with several strong outworks about two hundred yards from the river. He also planted two batteries with two guns each, while those of the castle situated on a lofty eminence commanded the camp of Douglas. Douglas, whose largest guns were two twelve-pounders, could make but little impression on these works, and his utmost success was a small and unavailable breach near the top of the castle. At last, after much waste of ammunition with small effect on either side, Mr Nelson, the best gunner in the army of Douglas, was killed. To this discouragement was added the difficulty of obtaining forage for his cavalry. He also learned that Sarsfield was approaching with fifteen thousand men to the relief of the garrison. He therefore held a council, in which it was decided to raise the siege, which was accordingly done on the 25th, after having lost four hundred men before the town, of which the greater part died of sickness arising from exposure, want, and unwholesome provisions. Such was the event of the siege conducted by Douglas, whose ill success can, however, be hardly attributed to any want of skill or courage on his part, while we may claim due honour for the firmness and skilful dispositions of colonel Grace, by whom the town was thus maintained for another year to the Jacobite cause. Before we arrive at the events of the following year, by which it was destined to change hands after a few more rough and arduous

* Harris.

† Tindal.

struggles, we have to notice some of the few military incidents of the winter, which are too important to be passed without notice. We must yet confine ourselves to the briefest recital.

During the winter of 1690-1, the country was kept in a state of continual disturbance by the depredations of the Rapparees; so called from the Irish name of the pike with which they were armed. Assembling in great numbers, they carried plunder, fire, and murder, into every unprotected home; but always melted away before the appearance of any regular force, however small.* The soldiers of De Ginckle's army were also but little restrained, and in the vicinity of their own quarters were nearly as dissolute and formidable. Strenuous exertions were made to repress both these evils, yet in neither were they as effectual as was to be wished. The Rapparees knew the country too well, found it too easy to come together and separate, and were too little distinguishable from the peasantry in general, to be hunted down with decisive effect. De Ginckle's army was unpaid, and in a condition of want which made it hazardous to constrain the soldiers, and by his desire they were for a time exempted from all civil restraint; an unhappy necessity, to which no one was more averse than De Ginckle, of whose humanity there can be no doubt. One step taken by the lords-justices to restrain the soldiery, should not be omitted; they made a regulation that for such complaints as could be fully substantiated before some justice of peace of the county in which the crime was committed, a satisfaction should be made out of the soldiers' pay. A declaration of indulgence was also published towards all those of the Irish army who should submit and return to their duty.

In Limerick, the discontent of the Irish became very great. Their provisions were run low, and they were forced to open the magazines of the last season before the time. Tyrconnel had returned in January from France with a scanty supply of money, which was applied to the fortifications and for the purpose of rewarding deserters from De Ginckle's garrisons. Of these, the greater part were Danes, who however refused to take an active part, and had to be transported to Denmark. It happened upon one occasion that three Danes approaching the city, met three Irish deserters leaving it; they took and brought them in to Tyrconnel, who hanged them.

Meanwhile, a few military actions remain to be mentioned. Of these the most important were the capture of Cork and Kinsale by Marlborough, in the early part of the winter (September). This expedition was suggested by the discontented party in England. The Jacobites, and the faction of the princess Anne, were anxious to lower the king's credit with the nation, and the promotion of a rival in military reputation appeared the readiest expedient for their purpose. The failure before Limerick afforded occasion for unfavourable comparison, and a rival was found in the earl of Marlborough, whose countess governed the princess. King William understood the petty artifice; but the pressure of faction was too strong, and he felt himself compelled to give way.

* Letters from Mr Pulteney to Sir W. Colt. Tindal.

On the 21st September, Marlborough arrived in Cork Road with nine complete regiments, and about three hundred men drafted from other regiments. His entry into the harbour was resisted by a fire of eight guns, which he first silenced and then seized by a detachment in boats; and on the 23d, landed without opposition. On the day before, De Ginckle sent general Sgravenmore to join him with nine hundred light horse, and three hundred dragoons. The duke of Wirtemberg expressed an anxiety to join the expedition, and obtained consent, with the expectation (it is thought) that he would embarrass the earl, by claiming the command: he was therefore detached with near four thousand infantry.

Omitting several preliminary movements, we may mention that on the 23d, when general Tettau with a thousand men was sent to attack Shandon castle, and some parts in the same quarter, the garrison set fire to the suburbs where they lay, and, abandoning the castle and forts, retired into the town with great precipitation. The English planted some guns in the castle, and opened a fire upon the city.

The 26th brought the duke of Wirtemberg and general La Millioniere, with the troops under their command. The duke claimed the command on the score of his rank, which Marlborough disputed, as being the senior officer, and having the main body which was English, under his command. La Millioniere interposed, and by his mediation, they agreed to share the command, which they were to take in turn.

On the 27th, the Irish abandoned their works at the Catsfort, which the English took possession of and converted into a battery. From this and several other batteries, they kept up an effective fire. One of these from St Finbar's church, and another from the Red Abbey, soon effected a breach; the besieged called for a parley, and a truce till next morning was agreed upon. But they refused the terms offered, and the breach being much enlarged, the Danes, with four regiments of English, passed the river to the custom-house marsh to storm the city. Lord Colchester led the way with the English grenadiers accompanied by several volunteers, among whom was the duke of Grafton, a son of Charles II.: this body marched to the post assigned under a severe fire from the walls, where the duke of Grafton fell mortally wounded by a ball upon the shoulder: his death was the subject of general regret. The spot where he fell is yet called Grafton Alley, but is now nearly in the middle of the city. The storming party took their station under "the bank of the marsh, which served as a counterscarp to the city wall," under cover of the fire of two ships which came up with the tide close to the end of the marsh. On this event, when all was ready for the assault, the garrison again beat a parley, and the earl of Tyrone, with others who were sent out by the governor, colonel MacEllicut, agreed to the terms proposed by the earl of Marlborough; these were, "that the garrison should be all prisoners of war, both officers and soldiers, and no prejudice be done to them or the inhabitants; that the general should endeavour to obtain his majesty's clemency towards them; that all the arms of the garrison and inhabitants should be secured; that the protestant prisoners should be set at liberty; that the old fort should be

delivered up in an hour, and the two gates of the city next morning; and that an exact account should be given of the ammunition and provisions in the magazine.”*

This siege, though short and comparatively bloodless, was of the utmost importance in its results. The protestants of the county had been threatened with ruinous extremities by the brutality of the governor, who was leagued with the Rapparees for their destruction. The protestant inhabitants of Cork had paid him a large sum of money to spare the city, notwithstanding which, on the very next day he set fire to the suburbs, by which numerous protestant families who maintained the trade of that city, even then beginning to take a distinguished commercial rank, were reduced to beggary. Nor was the siege unhonoured by exploits of distinguished bravery. Among these, one mentioned by Smith in his history of Cork, is deserving of record. Lieutenant Townsend, having taken his post with his detachment on the steeple of the cathedral, galled the Irish in one of the forts so severely with his fire, that two cannon were at last brought to bear upon the steeple,—the situation of the English in a narrow space at that great height now became rather trying to ordinary nerves; at every discharge, as the slight and seemingly unstable pile was struck, it rocked heavily beneath them, menacing at each successive shock to precipitate them through the air. The soldiers, ready to face all the ordinary dangers of the charge or storm, were unprepared for a terror which presented itself thus fearfully to the shrinking instincts of self-preservation, and turned to descend from the reeling pinnacle. The heroism of Townsend interposed and saved them from this disgrace, by promptly ordering those below to take away the ladders by which he had ascended with his men; and thus they held their post, till the surrender of that fort which was their point of attack.

On the first of October, the earl of Marlborough having disposed of matters to the best advantage in Cork, marched towards Kinsale. He had previously despatched general Villiers to take possession of the town, which, not being in a condition for defence, the Irish abandoned, and betook themselves to the two forts. On the 2d, Marlborough took a position in the neighbourhood, and gave directions for the attack of these forts. In conformity with these directions, on the next morning, general Tettau crossed the river near Ringroan castle to attack Castleny Fort. Having made a feigned assault on the weakest place where the garrison was ready to receive him, another party made its way unperceived to a point where they were quite unexpected, and, meeting with little resistance, quickly mastered a bastion. Several barrels of powder happening to blow up in the same moment, by which forty of the garrison were destroyed, the confusion became very great, and the rest of the Irish, having first retired into the castle, submitted as prisoners of war; two hundred out of four hundred and fifty having been slain. The earl of Marlborough then sent to summon Charles fort, which was much stronger. He was answered by Sir E. Scott, that “it would be time enough to capitulate in a month hence.” On this the earl opened his trenches upon the

fifth October, and on the ninth had advanced to the counterscarp. He was however detained for want of guns till the eleventh, when they arrived. On the next day, six guns and two mortars were mounted and played upon the walls all day; the thirteenth and fourteenth brought fresh arrivals of artillery, and increased the fire of the batteries, which were severally plied by the Danes under Wirtemberg, and Marlborough's English. The Danish battery had made a considerable breach, and a storm was under preparation for the next morning, when the garrison beat a parley. All was soon arranged, the garrison was allowed to march out with arms and baggage, and conveyed to Limerick.* This took place on the 16th of October, and on the 28th, Marlborough had kissed the hands of the king and queen at Kensington, after his first exploit as a commander. It was on this occasion that William made the well-known prophetic remark that "he knew no man so fit for a general who had seen so few campaigns." Marlborough brought with him as prisoners, the earls of Tyrone, Clancarty, and other distinguished Irish leaders.

During this time, De Lauzan lay inactive about Galway, and waited the arrival of transports to convey him with the remains of his army back to France. He was known to be weary of the service, and as the raising of the siege of Limerick had intervened, when it became known in France, his reputation was much impaired.

The remainder of the winter offers no incident worthy of detail. The possession of Cork and Kinsale in which Marlborough centred his regiments, had the effect of keeping Munster pretty quiet. A large remittance of money from England enabled De Ginckle to place his army under the control of the civil powers, and to reduce his soldiers within the strictest bounds of discipline.

The particulars of the succeeding campaign we shall relate in our memoir of De Ginckle. Of Grace, we have not had it in our power to ascertain any more than we have related. On the 19th of June, 1691, the siege of Athlone was commenced: on the following day colonel Grace fell, and was buried in Athlone.†

Goddart de Ginckle, Earl of Athlone.

DIED A. D. 1703.

To enter, at length, upon the incidents of De Ginckle's life, previous to his appearance on the stage of the Irish wars, would have little interest for our readers, and be a considerable interruption to the chain of those events which we have here, notwithstanding the considerable difficulty presented by the method of our work, laboriously endeavoured to preserve. We shall therefore enter with the least possible delay upon the series of events of which he was the leader, and to which this notice is in any way due.

We have already taken occasion to mention that upon William's

• Tindal.

† Rev. John Graham.

departure, the military affairs of this kingdom were committed to De Ginckle, and also the circumstances of the close of the campaign of 1690. We have in the last two previous memoirs given some account of the main incidents of the winter,—the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, and may here add that several affairs of minor importance as to the result and objects contended for, but hardly less bloody and destructive, took place in different quarters of the land. And some important steps were taken towards the restoration of order, as well as to bring the war to a conclusion. Among the several judicious and efficient methods at this time adopted by the Irish government appointed by king William, there was none more immediately beneficial in its effects, or which more contributed to the success of the following campaign than the organization of a militia of the protestant population, which acted with great vigour and uniform success against the Rapparees. By this means, not only much waste and human misery were prevented, but a general sense of hope and confidence was diffused through every rank and order of the friends of the government, while the Jacobites were proportionably disheartened. The numerous collisions which took place during the winter were strongly adapted to promote these impressions, as they continually terminated in favour of the English. Among those incidents which spread very general depression in the south, none was more remarkable than the repulse of the Irish at Fermoy bridge. In January a fierce attack was made by fifteen hundred Irish in Fermoy, who were repulsed by the Danish garrison. They were however re-enforced with fourteen troops of horse, and led by general Caroll to Ballymagooly, where they were again met and defeated by Tettau. At Ballyclogh and Bantry similar affairs took place, in March, with the like result. In April, Clonakilty was attacked by five hundred Irish, who were driven off by the garrison; and on the next day, Inniskeen was attacked by fifteen hundred, who burnt the town, excepting one house, which the garrison held against them till they were relieved from Bandon. Macroom was in like manner attacked, and relieved by general Kirk. In May, the Irish received a smart defeat from the militia at the ford of Ballederawn. These are but a small part of numerous affairs all having the same result.*

In the commencement of the summer of 1691, De Ginckle was much embarrassed by the want of most of the necessaries for the campaign. The king had gone to Flanders to take upon him the command of his foreign wars; but queen Mary, to whom in his absence the government had been intrusted, was moved by the advice of the lords-justices to order instant and effectual measures to forward the prosecution of the Irish war. By her orders a magazine was established at Mullingar for the supplies necessary for the reduction of Limerick, which was understood to involve the termination of the war. The wants of De Ginckle's army were thus repaired in a short time; and while, by the care of the lords-justices, the militia were judiciously trusted with the general maintenance of tranquillity, so far as this object was attainable, the army was re-enforced by the addition of the troops

* Correspondence of Pulteney, Tindal.

which had been employed in Scotland under general Mackay. A large train of artillery was obtained from Dublin, and a general spirit of courage and self-confidence was breathed through the army. The campaign opened in the beginning of June, and the first event was one calculated to inspire favourable expectation.

On the 6th, De Ginckle decamped from Mullingar, with the intention to direct his march to Athlone, and on the next day came to Ballymore, twelve miles west of Mullingar. This town, the Irish, relying on its strength and convenient position, had at considerable pains and cost fortified during the winter, and garrisoned with a thousand select men. De Ginckle planted his guns and sent in his summons to colonel Bourke, acquainting him that "if he and his garrison would surrender within two hours, he would save their lives and make them prisoners of war; if not, they were to expect no mercy."* An evasive answer was returned, and a fire was opened on the walls which soon made two breaches; the storming party crowded to the water side, and the pontoons were put out on Loughsendy: these indications had the desired effect, and seven hundred and eighty soldiers, with two hundred and fifteen Rapparees and their officers, laid down their arms and surrendered. This fort had been a chief place of strength in 1641, and was still of the utmost importance, from the position it held between Athlone and Mullingar. De Ginckle repaired the damages it had suffered from his attack, put it into a strong condition by additional fortifications, and garrisoned it with four companies under captain Pearce. While the English army lay here, an eyewitness mentions, that their camp was haunted by wretched people in the lowest stage of suffering, from the famine caused by the waste of both parties. It was in some measure a matter of strong necessity to exclude the multitudes of useless people from the range of country on which camps depended for sustenance, and these miserable objects had been driven from the Irish camps, garrisons and lurking places: the English army was at this time supplied with regular magazines, but could afford nothing to the crowd of forlorn and famishing outcasts whom danger collected round the camp; to these, so dreadful was their destitution, that a morsel of garbage was a feast, and they flocked as ravens round the putrifying and blackened carcasses of dead horses which lay rotting in the summer sun.

On the 18th June, De Ginckle again proceeded on his march, and that evening arrived at Ballyburn-pass within five miles of Athlone. He was here joined by the duke of Wirtemberg and count Nassau, who brought seven thousand men; and on the same evening he went forward with an escort to inspect the defences of Athlone. The army of St Ruth lay over the Shannon on the Connaught side, encamped between two bogs, and about two miles from the river. Next morning early, the advanced guard marched from Ballyburn, and as they came, drove the Irish parties from the lanes and ditches, where they had taken their unavailing posts outside the English town on the Westmeath side of the Shannon. Here they took up a position close to the walls.

* Tiindal.

Next day, De Ginckle planted a battery of ten twenty-pounders near Dublin gate, the fire of which soon broke down a bastion near the water side. The breach was attacked by a party of French grenadiers: they mounted the wall, led on by their lieutenant, who, having thrown his grenade over the wall, and fired his piece, ordered them to do the same; this discharge caused a recoil of the defenders on the other side, and the lieutenant rushed on followed by his men; he was instantly killed, but the men advanced, and the Irish fled at once before them, forcing one another along in vast and irretrievable disorder. Some found their way over the bridge, and others leaped into the river, in which numbers were drowned in the confusion; sixty were killed by the storming party, who themselves lost about twenty. During this affair, general Kirke, while looking on from a hill side at some distance where he was posted, was killed by a cannon-ball from the city. His infamous exploits in England, his cold-blooded and cowardly remissness in the relief of Derry, and his base and brutal oppression of its subsequent defenders, are already noticed in this volume.

The English were thus in possession of the one side of the water; but steps of real difficulty now presented themselves. The Shannon was broad, rapid, and deep. The bridge, over which brave men could force their way, was broken down, and all impediments were to be surmounted in the face of a superior force. De Ginckle was impatient for the erection of his batteries; and as his train was not yet come up, he detached an escort under colonel Wolseley to meet it. The guns soon arrived with his mortars and pontoons; and on the 22d, a battery of five twenty-four pounders, with several mortars, opened its fire from the foot of the bridge. At the same time intrenchments were thrown up along the river, opposite to those on the Roscommon side. Several batteries were planted above and below the bridge, and a hot fire was kept up on the castle. In the mean time De Ginckle was anxiously engaged in obtaining the best intelligence, and contriving the means and plan for the only movement that could have any decided result. He had learned that St Ruth's sense of security was carried to the point of remissness: this commander was on bad terms with Grace and Sarsfield; both of whom, better apprized of circumstances, and less confident, knew the dangers he was presumptuous enough to slight, and were much dissatisfied with his entire conduct: he had compelled Grace to admit three of his worst regiments into the town, and in the mean time, considering any attempt to cross the river too arduous and too daring for the enemy, he seems to have studied to show his contempt of danger by amusements and gaieties. De Ginckle, as resolute as he was cautious, had soon learned this state of affairs, and came to a decision to cross the Shannon. His first design was to pass by a bridge of pontoons, at a place towards Lanesborough; but this design was frustrated by the enemy, who discovered it and guarded the pass. He next turned his thoughts to the bridge: here, under cover of his batteries he carried on works for the purpose of throwing planks over the broken arch. The heat of the weather had dried the breastworks of the Irish at the other extremity, and the bursting of a shell set fire to them. In the smoke caused by this accident, the English proceeded to throw their beams and planks

across the broken arch. Amidst a galling fire, from which they were but little protected, the workmen had nearly completed the desired purpose, when they were suddenly attacked. The first assailants, consisting of a sergeant and ten men in armour, were slain, but they were instantaneously succeeded by a second party, who were perhaps unexpected, and who, ere the smoke and dust of the former fray had subsided, destroyed the works. The desperation of this feat, may be conceived from the fact, that only two of the triumphant party returned to boast of this brave action, the rest having been slain while executing their purpose.

De Ginckle, little disconcerted by obstacles and disappointments, under which most generals would have given way, immediately gave orders for the reparation of this work in a manner more complete and safe. The work was carried on by a close gallery on the broken arch; and the general now resolved to cross the Shannon the following day, and made arrangements for three simultaneous attacks; one by the bridge, one by the narrow ford a little down the river, and the third by the pontons, about three hundred yards farther down towards Lanesborough. Three Dutchmen, who lay under sentence of death, and had been reprieved on condition of this service, ascertained the practicable depth of the ford. In the morning, when the time for this enterprise came, it was frustrated by a combination of casualties. The pontons had been delayed, and it soon became too apparent that the whole design was known to the enemy. Troops were seen pouring into the town, while in the mean time their grenadiers had set fire to some of the fascines in the broken arch, and the gallery was soon on fire.* De Ginckle countermanded the attack; and St Ruth, more satisfied than ever of the impossibility of such an attempt, invited a large and brilliant assembly to his camp. But he little conceived the patient spirit of his antagonist, or the fiery and invincible resolution of the brave officers and soldiery at his command. De Ginckle, fully bent on success, once more convened his council, and pointed out to them the impossibility of longer remaining where they were. Satisfied himself as to the course he would adopt, but willing to lighten the responsibility, and to make the risk voluntary, he proposed the alternative of an attack which he knew all would eagerly lay hold of; or of retreat, which he knew all would reject. As he anticipated, every voice echoed the wish of his own heart. Mackay alone, with the caution and obstinacy of age, opposed any further attempt. That any further proceeding should be attempted, was indeed generally considered unlikely, and De Ginckle availed himself of such an impression, by ordering several feigned movements which carried the appearance of retreat. But the attack was fully planned, and Talmash received the command of the party appointed to cross the ford, as De Ginckle was unwilling to commit it to Mackay—on whom in rotation it had devolved—but who had warmly opposed it; this Mackay resented, and Talmash withdrew his claim, offering to cross as a volunteer. The attack was appointed for the next morning, and every precaution was taken to encourage the soldiers: their ardour was however most excited by the taunts of

* Tindal takes no notice of this affair.

the Irish during the night, who among other cutting reproaches, told them "that they had but ill earned the money yesterday distributed by their officers.

To avoid any premature discovery, among other precautions the attack was settled for six in the morning, when the guards being usually relieved, less suspicion would be excited by any movement among the troops, and by the appearance of double guards. The tolling of the church bell was to give the signal. Two thousand men, commanded by Mackay, were to enter the river: the prince of Hesse, Tettau, and other officers, were to accompany as volunteers.

The same evening two officers from the other side escaped across the river, and gave the encouraging information, that the "Irish were mighty secure, thinking that the destruction of the works on the bridge would entirely oblige them to draw off, and that it was impossible to attempt passing the river in the face of their works, especially as the army was so near, &c."*

On the next morning, all was ready at the appointed hour; and on the tolling of the church bell, captain Sandys entered the ford at the head of sixty grenadiers, twenty abreast, and all in armour. Another strong party of grenadiers immediately followed, after which six battalions of foot came on, all marching steadily through the ford, "a little to the left of the bridge, in the face of a bastion, the river being very rapid and deep, and the passage difficult by reason of some large stones."† A heavy and destructive fire was quickly opened upon their passage, though every effort was made to divert the attention of the garrison, by an incessant and fierce cannonade from all the English batteries and lines. But the English passed rapidly, and without faltering in their progress, through the deadly shower of the Irish bullets, and driving all before them, rushed to the bridge, where a strong party was already prepared to cross; there the planks were now laid without opposition, and the whole body of the English army quickly moving over, all poured into the Irish works—no opposition was attempted;—all fled before them in astonishment and dismay; and they were in possession of the town. In this assault little life was lost on either side; the opposition had been so slight, that the rage of slaughter had not been awakened. The soldiers were unwilling to slay; the greatest obstacle they experienced was from the heaps of ruin caused by the cannonade of the last ten previous days. Stumbling and scrambling over these in their haste, several of the grenadiers about Mackay were heard to vent their irritation in curses, and received from the cool and pious veteran this memorable reproof, "they had more reason to fall on their knees and thank God for the victory, than blaspheme His name."‡

St Ruth was in his tent, when an express came to acquaint him that the English had entered the river. A gleam of scorn played over his features, and he calmly said, "it was impossible for the English to pretend to take a town, and he so near with an army to secure it:" he paused, and added, "he would give a thousand pistoles they would attempt it." Sarsfield, who had been brought by the same

* Harris.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

intelligence to press for instant succour, was present and replied, "that he knew the attempt was not too great for English courage." He warmly pressed St Ruth, who continued to treat the matter as a jest, until the patience of Sarsfield was moved, and angry words ensued, which left a coolness between them. Sarsfield withdrew in deep displeasure, and there is reason to believe that they met no more. It was of course impossible for the doubts of St Ruth to be long allowed to remain: he was presently satisfied that his jests were a little out of season, and made some feeble efforts to repair his misconduct, by sending a detachment towards the walls to rally the fugitives. He then experienced the consequences of what has been termed another oversight, having neglected to level the fortifications of the town which were next his camp. These were now available as an impregnable defence against him in the hands of the English, who fired at his approaching parties; and colonel Gustavus Hamilton marched out at the head of a few companies of grenadiers, and made the advancing Frenchmen soon retire faster than they came. St Ruth was now satisfied of his complicated mistakes, and concluded to retreat that night; he had, it is supposed, resolved on fighting, but justly considered the present advantages too much in favour of the English. On his disappearance, the castle of Athlone, in which five hundred men, commanded by major Waucop, had shut themselves up, surrendered at discretion.

The effect of this incident on the mind of every party was very strong. The Irish lost much of their confidence in the valour of their French allies; and the French, with the same justice, returned their contempt. The presumptuous temerity of St Ruth's expectations were also wofully abated. He had entertained the confident hope of securing Ireland for his own master; and had used all efforts to persuade the Irish to swear allegiance to Louis, in whose name and authority his orders were all put forth. This fact was understood on the report of the deserters, and confirmed by the French flag which waved over the castle of Athlone. A battle was now essential to his reputation: but as the trial had not actually been made, it was not impossible to find matter for excuse and encouragement: the warm-hearted Irish, sanguine in hoping against experience, and constitutionally open to imposition, soon forgot their resentment under the influence of renewed promises and flatteries; and, determined by the desperation of their state, all were resolved to "fight it out."

De Ginckle for a moment indulged in the vain hope of ending the war by a general pardon; and this was perhaps the best course that could have been adopted. But it is the misfortune of civil war—a misfortune then much aggravated by circumstances—that it aggravates the bitterness of party and sect, and awakens the cupidity of those whose lot it may be to thrive by the ruin of the victims of revolution. It is no reproach to William, his cause, or the English party in Ireland, to say, what was notoriously true of the opposite cause and party in a ten-fold degree, that there was a strong interest at work, to reap advantages from the crimes and errors of the country, and whose main intent it was to protract the profitable state of things, until its full benefits, the certain harvest of civil war, should have been reaped. There was a small but powerful set (they cannot be called in this instance, party,)

of generals and colonels, of lawyers and attorneys, of commissioners and commissaries, who, while they were equally careless about creed or politics, were bent on stepping in to catch no small spoil in the scramble. De Ginckle was urgent for a proclamation of pardon and security to all who should submit—and the government had much difficulty in their compliance—the civil officers gave so much opposition as to call forth from the Irish secretary, in a letter to De Ginckle, the severe animadversion, “I see our civil officers regard more adding fifty pounds a-year to the English interest in this kingdom, than saving England the expense of fifty thousand.” De Ginckle was so sensible of the necessity, that he published on his own risk a pardon, which occasioned much demur in the castle; but they dared not venture to retract.

It came however too late: the Irish were not the people to throw away the hope of a battle for any temptation. Not more valiant in arms than brave in tempting danger, and devoted in persisting in extremity,—the gallant Irish were again renewed in military ardour, and burning for an occasion to wipe away the reproaches of many a disastrous field.

We think, nevertheless, that the offers which were actually spurned, must be weighed in the scale; and that this declaration, together with other such efforts to conquer enmity by liberal conciliation, forms an important feature of the conduct of this campaign, and therefore give it here at length:—

“Since it hath pleased Almighty God to give so great success to his majesty’s arms, towards the reduction of the kingdom of Ireland, that in all probability the whole must in a short time be brought under their majesties obedience, with great effusion of blood, and destruction of their majesties enemies; their most excellent majesties in compassion to their seduced subjects, to avoid further effusion of blood, and that nothing on their majesties parts be wanting to encourage and invite all, who are now in arms against them, to subject themselves to their obedience and government, have commanded us, and we, the lords-justices of this kingdom, by their majesties special direction and command, do by this our proclamation, publish, declare, and promise, that all, and every, the private soldiers, now in arms against their majesties in the enemy’s army, who shall, within three weeks, (after this the date of our proclamation) surrender up themselves, their horses, arms, and furniture, to the commander-in-chief, or any other of their majesties officers, shall not only be paid a reasonable rate for their horses, arms and furniture, which they shall so deliver up, but shall be fully and freely pardoned of all treason and other crimes and offences against their majesties; and all, and every person or persons, who now are governors, officers, commanders, or soldiers, of, or in any cities, towns, forts, castles, or other garrisons in their kingdom of Ireland, not already under their power and obedience, who shall surrender, deliver, and yield up any such city, town, fort, or other garrison, unto the general or other officer of their majesties army, within three weeks after the date of this our proclamation; and all other officers and soldiers now serving, or being in the enemy’s army or quarters, who

shall, within three weeks time after the date of this our proclamation, come in, and bring with them their regiments, troops, or companies, or some considerable part thereof, and submit themselves to their majesties obedience, and deliver up their horses, arms, and furniture of war, they, and every of them, both officers and soldiers, shall be fully, freely, and absolutely pardoned of all manner of treasons, crimes, or offences committed against their majesties, their crown and dignity; and shall also be restored to, and put in possession of, all their estates forfeited for such treasons, crimes and offences; and if any citizens and inhabitants, or other persons residing in the city of Limerick, or town of Galway, shall, within the time aforesaid, either of themselves, or by joining with any other, be instrumental, or assisting, in delivering up either of the said places to their majesties obedience, they, and every of them shall be likewise fully, freely and absolutely, pardoned of all manner of treasons, crimes, or offences, committed against their majesties, their crown and dignity; and shall also be restored to, and put in possession of, all their estates forfeited for such treason, crimes, or offences; and we do hereby further publish and declare, that if any officers and soldiers now in command in the enemy's army, or in any of the cities, castles, forts, or garrisons, of the enemy, not having any estates forfeited, or to which he or they can be restored, shall render unto their majesties any of the services aforesaid, such person and persons, officers and soldiers, shall be fully and liberally rewarded by the general of their majesties army, in such, or greater proportion, as the services by them done shall deserve; and such of the said officers and soldiers, as shall desire to enter into their majesties pay, shall be received in the like or better post or condition, as they now serve under the enemy; and lest those who are to take benefit by this proclamation may be apprehensive of being prosecuted for exercising their religion, though their majesties have sufficiently manifested to the world by the rest and quiet, not only Roman catholics of this kingdom, but those of England, have enjoyed under their government, may be sufficient to remove any such apprehensions, we are commanded further to publish and declare; and we do hereby publish and declare, that, as soon as their majesties affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in the kingdom, they will endeavour to procure them such further security in these particulars, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their religion; and we do hereby advise and admonish all such persons, who still adhere to the enemy, carefully and prudently to consider the ill estate and condition whereunto they are reduced, and seriously to recollect into their minds and memory, the quiet and blessed estate and security which they enjoyed under the English government, and the vast difference betwixt that and the tyranny of France; and withal, the terrible consequences which must follow, if they any longer neglect returning to their duty, and thereby lose the benefit of their majesties most benign and gracious compassion and intention towards them.

“Given at their majesties castle of Dublin, the 7th day of July, 1691, in the third year of their majesties reign.”

De Ginckle repaired the defences of Athlone, and endeavoured to

strengthen himself by re-enforcements drawn from every garrison. On the tenth of July he led his forces in a southerly direction* from Athlone, and took up a position of considerable strength along the banks of the Suck, at a pass which historians mostly observe might have been advantageously contested by the French. But St Ruth had taken a still stronger position about three miles on the other side of Ballinasloe, where he resolved to await the English. About three miles south of Ballinasloe, a small rivulet, tributary to the Suck, runs nearly in a direction from west to east. On the further side of this, near Aghrim castle, St Ruth was encamped with his left to the stream, and consequently nearly fronting the east: and extending from the church of Gurtnaburg to the church of Killcomedon. Along the course of the rivulet lay a succession of wet and marshy bogs, which extended into a deep morass along his front. Immediately on the left, a large red bog, nearly a mile over, extended from Aghrim castle, which commanded the only pass on that side of the Irish position.

To assail an army thus formidably posted was a serious trial of nerve and skill. There was a second pass on their right near Killcomedon, where the Irish lay between two hills. It was in other respects more accessible, but rendered difficult by the numerous lanes and hedges lined with musketry, such as the Irish had often shown themselves expert in defending. The English front may be conceived to extend in a line parallel to that of St Ruth's, and on both sides of the stream above described. We have not seen any precise representation of the ground, but think that such a conception will best illustrate the following movements, which were successively made on both wings and upon the centre.

De Ginckle sent first a party of Danish horse to force the pass of Urachree on the right of St Ruth; but he was not then aware of the real strength of that post, which was not only strengthened by a network of lanes and ditches; but made additionally defensible by covered communications, so that the whole of the enemy's force could at will be brought to bear upon any point of danger. Perceiving this, De Ginckle next decided to move his main body towards this point; but to prevent the enemy from crossing the bog stream, by which they would have it at their option either to retreat unpursued, or to come round upon his right, or even to attack his rear, he ordered two hundred of colonel Cunningham's dragoons to take possession of the ditches near the ford above Aghrim castle.

It was at this time two o'clock; and De Ginckle, anxious to make his attack on the positions of the enemy about Killcomedon as extended as possible, ordered the dragoons to cross a ford and intercept a body of Irish horse, which were some distance in advance. These retired until they fell back upon a large body of horse, on which De Ginckle sent forward, by the same route, some fresh troops to the aid of Cunningham's detachment. Still the enemy was re-enforced from behind that skreen of hills, and fresh troops of horse were sent forward, until a considerable portion of both sides were engaged. The Irish cavalry at last fell back into their lines in good order, and there was a brief

* West by south.

cessation; during which De Ginckle, seeing more distinctly the enormous difficulties to be surmounted, called a council, to consider whether it might not be better to defer the battle till the following morning, when in the mean time a position less obstructed might be obtained, and his troops, which had already gone through a severe and fatiguing march, be in fresher condition for the fight. But it was then understood that St Ruth was inclined to pursue a retreating course, and that, if deprived of his present advantages, he would most probably, by retiring in the night, avoid a fight. These considerations determined the general to make the most of matters as they stood. Even the cautious Mackay was for pressing on; by his advice, it was now determined to make an attack in great force upon the heights and pass near Killcomedon, and thus draw off the enemy's attention from the ford and the red bog: by this it was hoped that the French general would draw off his left wing from Aghrim castle, and while they were kept engaged among the hills, De Ginckle's right might pass the ford unopposed. It would be otherwise impossible for the whole army to be brought into action.

This manœuvre had the intended effect. About half-past four, De Ginckle's left was briskly pushed forward round the bog, and in half-an-hour reached the lines of Killcomedon. The battle may now be said to have begun in downright earnest. Never in any instance had the Irish maintained their ground with the same persevering and obstinate resolution: lining every ditch, they gave their English assailants the full benefit of their fire, and never quitted the one side until the muskets of the enemy were actually over the other, and then coolly took post behind the next line, where a rank of muskets as fatal to the enemy waited to cover their retreat. Such was the character of the tedious and sanguinary struggle which now occurred within the hills in the right wing of the Irish. And, it may here be observed, that at all times, from the very earliest record of their warfare, the Irish are to be distinguished for their excellence in this species of defence. Here, for an hour and a half, they continued to maintain a retreating fight from ditch to ditch, still contriving to maintain the advantages of their position, and to crowd upon the flanks of the enemy, who pressed forward without any contrivance.

Such a course of manœuvres might at last become fatal, and it had, at near six, continued for an hour and a half, while De Ginckle's right and main battalion had not been engaged. It was his great disadvantage to have to deal with obstacles and distances, when promptness and rapidity were principally to be desired; and, indeed, it must here be observed, that the resistance made has been somewhat exaggerated, from not fully allowing for the effects of these incidents in prolonging the fight, and keeping it seemingly in the balance. On attentive consideration, we have no hesitation to say, that if the morasses had been removed, the result which closed the fight would have occurred at nearly the first attack. So great may be the odds of position.

But the plan proposed by Mackay at last began to be effective: the fury of the struggle at their right at length induced St Ruth to strengthen his forces in those desperate passes, by drawing away his left wing and part of his centre from Aghrim castle, where they had hitherto

kept the English army in check. This fatal error which had been foreseen, was at once taken advantage of: the English right pressed towards the ford, and their centre plunged into the morass in their front. Four regiments passed to their left where the bog was narrowest, and where the hedges which at first covered St Ruth's right came down to the very edge of the bog: the centre came on straight over the broad morass, while the cavalry was making its way round by Aghrim castle to be ready to support their advance. The four regiments came across up to the middle in mud, and were received with a shattering volley as they drew near the hedges: the defences of the enemy in this quarter had been arranged with such skill, that the cavalry were instantly enabled to cross their lines with rapidity, and attack the English regiments as they emerged from the mud: so that on obtaining firm ground they found themselves in present danger of being ridden through and cut to pieces. Erle, their colonel, seeing the emergent danger, called out that they had "no resource but their courage." But no courage could avail a small body thus flanked by armed hedges on their left, and having their front and right flank charged by dragoons: resistance was no further effective than to enable them to retreat with great loss into the morass, while colonels Erle and Herbert were taken. Erle escaped, but the Irish soon after killed Herbert when they saw that he was about to be rescued.* Already St Ruth exulted in a sanguine hope of victory, and said, "Now will I drive these English to the walls of Dublin."

The second body had advanced over the wide part of the bog. They composed the centre of De Ginckle's army, and advanced towards the enemy's right, where every thing seemed to lie so motionless, that they doubted of the presence of an enemy in that quarter. But their doubt was not suffered to be of long continuance. No sooner did the French refugees, who formed the first line, approach the ditches, than a tremendous and destructive volley poured slaughter into their ranks; the surprise was not passed, nor the smoke dissipated, when the adverse waves of battle came together with the impetuosity of the two excitable races, now contending with long and deadly fury. Here the Irish behaved themselves with signal gallantry, and the contest continued long without any sign of giving way on either side. The French however were giving ground as they fought, and were at last on a line with the edge of the bog, and within the range of the English artillery which could not however be used, as the hostile bodies were so intermixed. In this confused condition, it was really hard to say to which side the advantages might incline.

But in the mean time, the English right wing, chiefly composed of cavalry, had made its way amid a heavy fire: for St Ruth, whose numerical superiority was considerable, and whose position augmented its disposable numbers in a fourfold ratio, was thus enabled to present a covered resistance at every point. The English horse, with some regiments of French, came forward through a narrow and difficult pass, exposed to this fire; St Ruth was, it appears, astonished; for his usual presumption had led him to conclude that this last movement would

* Tindal.

not have been attempted: he expressed admiration for their bravery, and pity for their inevitable fate. They surmounted every opposition, however, and got safe under cover of a dry ditch from the fire which came from the old castle. The whole of De Ginckle's force was thus at last in a fair way to make a simultaneous assault, his army having hitherto been exposed to be attacked in detail, as it floundered on through incredible fatigue, to be cut up by a murderous fire from a masked enemy.

The English centre was now rallied by Talmash, who saw and seized the advantage of the moment, and being reinforced by some regiments, they again pressed forward, while Mackay seconded them with a strong body of horse on their left. Ruvigny's regiment of French cavalry also charged on along the edge of the bog, and taking the Irish in flank, bore down all opposition. The fight from being kept up among ditches and on broken ground, still maintained its confused and intermingled character, though it had at last begun to incline in favour of De Ginckle; while the two armies were mingled up in confused masses, contending separately for the possession of the intricate web of ditches which had so long protracted the contest. St Ruth, meanwhile, had been endeavouring to repair the error into which he had fallen, by checking the approach of the English right wing from Aghrim castle. It was just at the moment that the English centre had begun to give way on the edge of the red bog, that he exclaimed, now he would beat them to the gates of Dublin, and ordered out a brigade of his best cavalry, to drive back the English and French dragoons to the ford. He was leading some horse down the hill of Kilcommedon, when a cannon-ball struck him dead from his horse. This incident is said by all who tell the story of this eventful fight, to have put an end to the battle; this may be true, but not, we think, in the way assumed: it prevented one manœuvre of which the effect might have been decisive; but when St Ruth fell, such was the confusion of the field, so intercepted all the lines of communication, and so engaged the various bodies, that we must profess our doubt as to the effect alleged to be the actual result. We do not believe that on the event, any impression was communicated through the Irish army, and attribute the flight which immediately commenced, to be the result of the concentration of the English army, after overcoming a multitude of obstacles insuperable by ordinary troops; and if duly considered, the incidents which immediately preceded St Ruth's fall, consisted mainly in certain indications of what followed; his unwonted activity was caused by apprehension and alarm. His fall, nevertheless, had a material effect in aggravating the general confusion; his own troops were dismayed, and his orders which might have retrieved the fight were neglected. Those of the English army who had observed the casualty, were roused into more vigorous exertion; but however the point may be decided, he had not long fallen when the whole of his troops were in full flight over the ridges of Kilcommedon. Another slight error appears to us to have been committed by the narrators of this fight; it is too much to say that Sarsfield could have done any thing effectually to restore the fight, and there is a want of consideration in the reason assigned for his failure;

namely, his ignorance of St Ruth's plan. St Ruth's most ingenious and able arrangements (such as do not often find a parallel), had produced their whole result at the time of his fall, and his further movements were only such as the exigencies of the occasion called for. There was no further plan. The battle, after having for several hours exhausted the resources of military skill, and the advantages (and very extraordinary they were) of circumstance, had become a pure trial of hearts and sinews and training, and when it came to this, the battle was decided; for, maugre its inferior numbers and vast waste of effort, De Ginckle's was a veteran army, of the best composition throughout, while that of St Ruth was very mixed.

We have been more copious than is our wont on the details of this fight, because it offers much interesting matter for reflection. It would be difficult, as we have already noticed, to find an instance of a battle-field more judiciously selected, or of which the advantages were more adroitly used. Had De Ginckle had any previous knowledge of the lie of the country, and adopted a line of approach some miles to the right or left, he would unquestionably have been enabled to bring his entire force at once into operation, with one-tenth of the toil; but St Ruth's position was in itself adapted to give a determinate direction to the approach of a distant enemy, who would be unlikely to be aware of the necessity of adopting another line until it became too late. The real disadvantage under which De Ginckle's men came to the attack, can be in some measure estimated, by considering the time which it took to pass the fords and morasses: the labour can only be conceived by those accustomed to such tramps.

The flight of the enemy was full and final: the foot took refuge in a bog to their left on the other side of Kilcommedon, the horse crowded the road to Loughrea. The slaughter, as usual on such occasions, was miserable; but fortunately it was late when the battle began, and the evening, falling on with fogs and misty rain, saved numbers, by preventing De Ginckle from getting between them and a pass near Loughrea. It was computed that seven thousand Irish fell on the scene of action. Of the English, six hundred were killed, and nine hundred wounded.

The English lay on their arms all night, and De Ginckle, after a few days' needful rest, pursued his march to Galway. On his arrival, he summoned the garrison; but lord Dillon answered that he and Monsieur D' Ussone the governor had determined to defend it to the last. They changed their minds very quickly; for, when De Ginckle sent some regiments over the river and took the fort, they beat a parley and entered on a negotiation. Terms were proposed by De Ginckle, and considered and reconsidered, till he began to grow very impatient. Lieutenant-colonel Bourke, who was one of the Irish hostages, asked and obtained permission to go in; as he went, Talmash told him in a cool and indifferent tone, "when you are ready to commence action, give us a signal by firing a gun in the air." Bourke replied, "that they would not fire until they were provoked from without;" but there was no farther firing; for immediately after, terms were agreed upon, and Galway surrendered.

Nothing after this remained in the hands of the Jacobites but

Limerick, their last and most important place of strength. Thither the several bodies, which were the wreck of the different armies which had taken the field, with the principal of their leaders who yet remained, repaired under the brave Sarsfield, to make the last struggle in an ungrateful cause, for a feeble and degenerate prince, to whom, in despite of ingratitude and cowardice, they were willing to be faithful still.

It is not essential to any purpose of these lives, to pursue De Ginckle's march; a few particulars may be sufficient for the connexion of our main line of events. At Galway, he remained for some days in the hope of receiving overtures for peace: he soon received accounts of Sarsfield, who had collected some thousand men of every description, and hovered near Cashel, but without any effectual demonstration of strength. In consequence, a reinforcement was detached to that city, but Sarsfield had disappeared. From Galway De Ginckle moved cautiously towards Limerick, by Banagher, Birr, and Nenagh. The conveyance of his artillery was an object of anxious precaution. As he proceeded, he took care to examine; and where necessary, to recruit the guards and garrisons along the line of the Shannon. North of Lough-Derg, the passes of this river were guarded by parties of the army; from this, the rest of the line was committed to the less efficient service of the militia. By these means, the districts west of the Shannon were kept tolerably free from incursions, and the hostile parties were in a measure confined to Kerry and Clare. It had been proposed to strengthen the army by the garrisons of regular troops in most of the garrison-towns and military posts, which were to be occupied by militia forces in their stead. This plan was to a considerable length adopted, care being taken to suit the force to the degree of importance or exposure of the station. On the 14th of August, De Ginckle issued another declaration of the same nature as that already noticed, offering peace and amnesty to those who would lay down their arms. Having halted for some days at Nenagh for certain expected supplies, accounts were received in the camp that the enemy awaited them at Cahirconlish: it was here that among various other reports, De Ginckle learned that there were in Limerick different factions, some being for defence, and others for the surrender of the town. On this information, he contrived to send copies of his declaration, which were dispersed in that city. The recollection of the events of the siege of the same city in the previous year, had made a deep impression on the general's mind, and he proceeded with a degree of precaution, which, though far from superfluous, was yet unsatisfactory to those who were only impatient on-lookers; and on his way, he received urgent letters from both the king and the lords-justices. On the 14th of August, he reached Cahirconlish, within six miles of the city; there he encamped for several days which were chiefly occupied in securing the passes of the Shannon in that vicinity. On his arrival, he went himself with some officers and a few horse to take a view of the state of things about Limerick, and was within two miles of the city joined by his scouts, and some deserters from the town. On the following day, he detached thither Ru:igny and the Prince of Hesse with strong parties of horse and foot, and six pieces of field-artillery: he

accompanied this detachment with his staff-officers to take a view of the works. On his return, he found that large supplies of bread had arrived. He then lay still, till his train of artillery, amounting to nine twenty-four pounders, nine eighteen pounders, and three mortars, with ammunition, should arrive from Athlone. He mean-while received letters from the government, promising whatever supplies he should require. The queen, to whom the administration of the affairs of the kingdoms had been left at this time by William, exerted all her influence and authority to send off all military stores to Waterford, from which there was the advantage of conveyance through a safe country.

In Limerick there was at this time collected a vast, but for the most part useless, crowd. The army amounted to fifteen thousand effective troops: from deserters it was ascertained that the cavalry was excellent, but that the foot were far inferior. The want of arms alone, however, limited the number of their men; for, among the unarmed multitude there were many able and willing to bear a part in the defence, and it was therefore evident that deaths, and slaughtering storms and sorties would have but small effect in diminishing the garrison. Of ammunition of every kind, they possessed an ample abundance.

On the 22d, an account of the approach of the artillery reaching the general, he sent off two hundred and fifty fresh horses to hasten them up, and they arrived the same evening. He also sent orders to the squadron in the Shannon to sail down towards the city, and made detailed arrangements for marching thither with his entire force. Apprehending that an effort might be made to check his approaches, his arrangements were made for a sudden and unexpected advance, which was so contrived that the army came on in order of battle towards the walls. On the 25th, they came before the town, and at once took Cromwell's and Ireton's forts. Two days after, Castle-Connal, five miles above the town, and Castle-Carrick-a-gunnel, as much below it, were taken, and their garrisons, amounting to four hundred men, taken prisoners.*

The position occupied by De Ginckle, was one in a high degree disadvantageous; it was the same which had been taken in the last year's siege, before the strongest parts of the city, where its walls were nearly impregnable; and, as will presently appear, one side being left completely open, the city was, in effect, quite free from investment. The city, strong in defences and men, well-provisioned, was supplied by uninterrupted communications with Kerry. Large bodies of irregular troops, little formidable in a regular field, but terrible to convoys and provision-carts, were collecting in different quarters. Among other disadvantages of this nature, one is specially to be noted; the Irish who carried protections, which had been granted rather freely upon application, availed themselves of the immunity thus obtained, to pillage horses and everything they could lay hold on; of these, numbers were taken and hanged. This caused considerable murmuring as an infraction of the treaty of Galway; but the complaint was from ignorance of the simplest rules of natural equity, and was not noticed. They

had strong garrisons at Newcastle and Gellinturbert in the western part of the county, from which burning and plundering parties issued on every side. Captain O'Dale, who was posted at Athlacka with a body of militia for the protection of the neighbouring country, was unequal to the charge of guarding an extended frontier, infested by parties indefatigable in exertion, and excelling all others in the arts of stratagem and ambush. He was surprised by an ambuscade, and most of his men cut off. In the districts about Cork, the weakness and insufficiency in every respect of the several posts and garrisons, left it in the power of these predatory bands to do as they pleased. But in the county of Kerry, they were soon checked by many destructive repulses from brigadier-general Levison, whose actions, with those of several inferior officers in the same service, are related at length by Harris. The importance of that county to the camp before Limerick was confirmed by the vast supplies obtained by this general. It was considered necessary to preserve it from the enemy, both as a resource in case the army should winter where it was, and as the principal resource of the city. For these reasons, De Ginckle detached this general with seven hundred cavalry, towards Kerry, on the 31st of August; and on the 8th of September, reinforced him with the prince of Denmark's regiment. The most remarkable of the various incidents of this detachment, was a sharp encounter with about six thousand Irish near Listowel and Lisnaw, in which he put them to flight. His operations were mainly directed to the preservation of the corn, and the encouragement of the agricultural classes to carry on and complete their harvest, most especially in the neighbourhood of Tralee, where it was most abundant and had sustained least damage. Levison was accused to De Ginckle of certain underhand transactions, carried on in concert with the secretary at war for their own private profit; he contrived to lull the suspicions of the general, but there seems to have been sufficient evidence of the truth of the accusation.* He nevertheless performed the duties of a resolute and able commander. A rendezvous was appointed by different Jacobite leaders for the purpose of overpowering him by numbers, and gave the rout with a slaughter of sixty to three thousand commanded by lord Merrion, himself losing no more than two men.

Mean-while, captain Coal, who commanded on the Shannon, was not remiss; he took some French vessels laden with brandy and salt for the garrison, and a vessel containing the field equipage and horses of the unfortunate St Ruth. He also destroyed the enemy's boats, and cut off the communication between the opposite sides of the Shannon. Sir Ralph Delaval was stationed in the channel between twenty and thirty leagues south-west of Cape Clear, for the protection of trade, but still more to keep off the French. An order had been sent for his removal from this station; but this was countermanded at the earnest desire of De Ginckle, who represented that the presence of the vice-admiral was essentially necessary, to enable him, if it so required, to prolong the siege, by the facility it would afford for the removal of his artillery, which he might otherwise find himself compelled to leave

* Harris, p. 343.

behind. The ships under Coal, which were protected by this fleet, were also to be convoyed by it on their departure.

The minute detail of the numerous transactions which occupy the interval between the 1st and the 15th of September, can have no interest for the general reader, and contribute little to illustrate the result. The French privateers were on the alert, and threatened to give considerable interruption to the necessary communication by sea; and there was serious and well-grounded expectation of the arrival of succours from France which would not fail, it was thought, to make a last effort to protract the struggle for another season, at a moment so important. Winter was on the eve of setting in: a winter gained might enable them to cut out fresh trouble for king William, and place him under serious perplexity, as it would create a troublesome diversion to his continental campaign. De Ginckle, fully awake to all the real difficulties of his undertaking, and impressed with a recollection of the events of the former siege, was proceeding with a cautious delay which circumstances amply warranted, but which was little consonant with the impatience of the army, or satisfactory to the fears of the lords-justices. The army were yet elated by the confidence inspired by a victorious summer, and not less reluctant to face the well-known horrors of a wintry blockade. But the general saw the obstacles to be overcome, and appreciated in a cautious balance the effect of failure. In such a position of circumstances, nothing was neglected that prudence or efficient resolution could suggest and attempt. The utmost effort to secure the supplies for winter, to cut off those of the city, and to reduce all those parties and places of strength by which their safety might be risked or their operations molested, were accompanied by no less energetic demonstrations of the various means of offence; the ball and shell poured with unrelenting fury upon the resisting walls and bastions, or fell with havoc, terror and conflagration, amid houses and streets. The people, driven from their homes, availed themselves of the immunity which the Shannon secured for their city, of having one side free from danger; and formed a camp for themselves out of the reach of peril, at the north-eastern quarter of their town.

In the mean time, ample breaches were made; but the risk of storm was, under the immediate circumstances, too great. The garrison was nearly or wholly as numerous as the besiegers, well armed, and the flower of the Irish army. To assail these under the usual disadvantages of such attacks, seemed little less than madness; for there was no sufficient reserve of spare strength, to follow up the first reaction which so commonly attends storming upon so large a scale, when resistance is cordially opposed. The soldiers, and even their officers, would gladly have run all hazards; but the responsibility lay with De Ginckle, who thought it would be more safe and sure, to await the result of that decline of strength and spirits, which would soon follow on the establishment of a vigorous blockade, and the dissension of opinion and feeling, which he was aware already embarrassed the commanders in the besieged city. But on the 13th of September, it appears that he had received certain intimations of the approach of the French fleet.

Under these pressing embarrassments, he was meditating the chances and the necessary preparations for converting the siege into a blockade. "But matters," observes Harris, and the numerous historians who follow him, and draw from the same authorities, "took a different turn." The general, we should think, saw clearly the probable course of events, but acted with his usual discretion in putting forward the remote rather than the more immediate result. And it can never be too much kept in mind, that the relations of that class of writers who are called eyewitnesses, are always in such cases largely made up of conjecture. We make this remark, not finding any fault with the actual statement of Harris and his copyists, but from having felt that the narrative is uniformly so concluded as to dis sever the chain of consequences, and to impress the cursory reader with the notion of the constant interposition of some new and unexpected incident, which altered the course of the general's proceedings. Such an inference is however negatived by the facts of every statement.

Having taken the most comprehensive measures to provide for the probable exigencies of a blockade; on the 14th September, De Ginckle immediately commenced the necessary steps to carry it into execution. The most essential was of course the occupation of the Clare side of the city, from which he was separated by the river. To cross the Shannon was therefore a purpose to be effected without delay; but seemingly this step involved difficulties not inferior to those of a storm; it was to be effected by means of boats and rafts, and could be resisted with fatal certainty, by an enemy so alert and resolute as they might be sure to encounter on the opposite bank. Harris mentions that De Ginckle had on this subject a secret correspondence with colonel Henry Luttrell, then in Limerick; but in a long note, he himself repudiates the allegation, from subsequent authority, chiefly that of the earl of Westmeath, who had been "at the time of the passage, posted with a regiment of horse, three miles from the bridge of boats," who states that Luttrell was at that time confined a prisoner in the castle of Limerick, "where he probably remained from the time of his trial;" so far it is just to state, we think it unnecessary to sift the evidence.

On the 15th, in pursuance of De Ginckle's plan, boats and other such means were all day in the course of preparation for the intended enterprise. The more entirely to prevent suspicion, the report was generally diffused that the siege was to be raised as hopeless: such was the general impression among both officers and troops, and it found its way into the city. It was on this day confirmed to all appearance by the general disarray and motion of the camp: the batteries were dismounted and the guns drawn away, while the work was cheered by notes of triumph from the walls. But in the mean time, orders were given that four hundred grenadiers should assemble at the approach of darkness to "parade at the head of Kirk's regiment." Darkness came, and with darkness, it is not very improbable that treachery was a ready colleague; at nine, five hundred workmen, supported by Talmash and Scrammore at the head of large divisions of horse and foot, and a train of six field-pieces, marched to a part of the Shannon two miles northward; and at midnight began to lay their bridge of pontons; while the grenadiers, with their officers, were carried over in tin-boats to an island from which

the river was fordable to the other side. From this they drove some stragglers; but still no suspicion was excited, both on account of the darkness, and still more, because the noise which was heard must have been attributed to the hurried retreat which had ostensibly begun in the preceding day. The morning broke on the completion of those preparations: a regiment of dragoons passing over to the island, on which it rested, caught the eye of Brigadier Clifford, who came down towards the water-side with four dismounted regiments of dragoons, who are said to have "pretended to give opposition." This general is said by Harris to have been of the moderate party, and therefore "under suspicion," which, if his accounts be correct, was amply justified. Some small regiments of foot came forward with more sincere intentions, on which Talmash ordered the grenadiers to wade across from the island. He was obeyed with alacrity: the grenadiers took possession of an old house and lined the hedges which immediately surrounded it, within two hundred yards of the enemy. They were commanded, to the utmost possible extent, to keep their fire in reserve, till some companies of horse, then on the bridge, had passed. An attack was however made with a view to take this party in flank, on which Mathews, with his dragoons, received an order to drive the enemy back from their position: this he effected with ease; and the other body having landed, the grenadiers, sustained by another regiment of foot and some parties of dragoons, were ordered forward. They met a faint and ineffectual resistance: in a very few minutes their opponents turned, and flinging away their muskets, grenades, and every encumbrance, offensive or defensive, ran to a large bog and wood in the rear. A pursuit took place, in which many of them were killed, and some prisoners taken; among these were a French lieutenant, a colonel, and a captain. Orders then reached the English to halt until they should be joined by the remainder of the division, which was still crossing the river. Ere long the whole party were reunited, and directed their march upon the left, towards the Irish camp.

The camp and city were completely taken by surprise. The sound of the conflict just described came from a distance to those who were awake; but its actual import was unsuspected, unless by those few who may have been in the secret; and the appearance of the English in force on the Clare side, communicated a sudden and universal panic. According to captain Parker, who was among the assailants at that moment, the Irish soldiers were asleep, and when suddenly aroused by an attack so entirely unexpected, they ran to and fro in a bewildered state without their arms, and some entirely naked. The few whose courage stood the shock, made a show of intended resistance, in the vain hope to gain time; but the crowd thought only of safety. The Irish dragoons were without their horses, which were two miles away at grass; the foot began to pull down their tents and carry off what they could lay hold of to the hills. But De Ginckle, who had himself hastened across the Shannon, restrained his men from pursuit, in the apprehension of an ambuscade; and it must be evident, that vast destruction of life was thus prevented among these wretched fugitives. Seeing all safe, however, he gave orders to advance; the horse camp

was seized, and found to contain ample stores of beef, brandy, and other provisions.

There was a party of horse drawn up at a place called the White House, about half-a-mile from the town, together with a regiment of foot posted among the hedges: they had been placed there for the protection of the Jacobite lords-justices, the records, and the principal ladies of the city. All these might have been seized, had a timely attempt been made: but they escaped back into town after having remained till a late hour of the day. A small party of Irish soldiers garrisoned St Thomas' island, but they were made prisoners with but little resistance; as also an ensign, and twenty men in Ware castle. This was the sum of the proceedings of that day, in which few were slain on either side. In the same afternoon, De Ginckle issued a declaration, promising the garrison and inhabitants of Limerick, if they yielded in eight days, pardon of their offences, restitution of their estates, rewards for their services, and all the benefits promised by the lords-justices' proclamation of the 7th of July, from which no act of parliament had delivered them, as they were falsely made to believe by some persons, who lived by sacrificing their country to the tyranny and ambition of France; but if they continued obstinate, they must be responsible for the blood and destruction they drew on themselves.

Though De Ginckle was now in secure possession of the Clare side of the Shannon, yet the King's Island was still in possession of the besieged; and without this, no attempt could be made to storm the city, without great risk and certain waste of life to an enormous amount. The difficulties were indeed still to all appearance so great, that it was debated in a council, whether the siege should be converted into a blockade. And so far was this opinion carried, that engineers were sent to inspect Kilmallock, and report on its capability of being fortified for a military depot. But it seems evident enough throughout, that De Ginckle contemplated a different course of occurrences, which, from the secret nature of his correspondence, he was necessitated to keep within his own bosom. The engineer was recalled before he had passed the lines, and a different series of operations commenced. The materials for a settled encampment for the winter were brought together—the fire upon the city increased—the bridge of pontons brought to a more convenient position. At the same time three hundred cars brought large supplies of ammunition of every sort from Dublin.

On the 19th, fresh manœuvres were in preparation on both sides of the river, and several judicious dispositions were made, unnecessary to be described,—some to cannonade the city to the best advantage, others to draw forth and resist the *sorties* of the garrison. On the 27th, however, De Ginckle, with other general officers, resolved to cross over on the bridge next day to the Clare side, with a large body of horse and ten regiments of foot. The general calculated that this large division would be most likely to bring on some decided movement from the garrison, who would probably attempt to force the camp, when weakened by the absence of so large a body. Generals Mackay and Talmash were to remain, and a signal was agreed on in case of an attack.

At noon on the 22d, the appointed parties crossed over the bridge

into the county of Clare. At two, their advanced guard was presently attacked, and retired before a stronger party; but having been reinforced, the enemy in their turn retreated. In about two hours after, when, perhaps, it was evident, that no attack was likely to be made on the camp, the general ordered that the English grenadiers, supported by four other regiments, should attack the works which protected Thomond gate. These consisted of two forts, to the right and left, and some fortified quarries and gravel-pits, in which eight hundred men were posted for their defence. De Ginckle considered this assault so hazardous, that he desired his grenadiers not to venture too far—a precaution which in the heat of action they little heeded. The resistance was at first very fierce, and the assailants were exposed to a severe fire both of cannon and musquetry from the walls and forts. The Irish were driven back from their fortifications, and were again reinforced from the town; the grenadiers however pressed on with such resistless vigour, that the whole gave way and rushed towards the gate. The English still pushed on, and would have entered with them, notwithstanding the showers of bullets which were poured down on their approach; had not a French major who commanded at the gate, observing this imminent danger, ordered the draw-bridge to be raised. It was an awful necessity—the command was the death-warrant of the brave Irish thus excluded and devoted. Suddenly checked at the draw-bridge, which they had sought as the last refuge, they turned to meet their fate, and half-an-hour of hideous carnage stained that spot with the blood of seven hundred and fifty men. About one hundred and twenty had made good their way into the gate, and about a hundred were taken. The slain lay heaped above the battlements of the bridge. In this action, a colonel and two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, with nine captains, seven lieutenants, and six sergeants, were taken prisoners; while the English had one lieutenant, and twenty privates killed, and sixty wounded.

The two forts were now in possession of De Ginckle, who made a lodgment within ten yards of Thomond gate. The garrison, finding their communication with their horse and the entire country cut off, alarmed by so vigorous a demonstration of force, and weary of their condition, began seriously to think of capitulation. On the following day about six in the afternoon, they beat a parley on both sides of the town. Colonel Ruth came from the town on the Limerick side, and meeting Talmash, was referred by him to Sgravenmore and Rouvigny. The general, being on the other side, was presently waited on by Sarsfield and Waucop, and a cessation was concluded till six next morning. De Ginckle wrote off by express to the secretary, requesting his presence next morning, and desiring him to bring certain letters from the king and queen, which are supposed to have contained instructions for such an occasion. Sarsfield applied to have time for three days, to allow lieutenant-general Sheldon, who was quartered at the six-mile bridge, to be sent for, that he might be included in the treaty. The English prisoners, to the number of two hundred and forty, were now released; they displayed in their wasted forms, evident marks of the cruel neglect and privation to which they had been exposed during their captivity: for a while they had experienced kind treatment from the protestant inhabitants of the city; but when these were turned out, they

were reduced to the lowest state of want, and exposed to all the insults which anger and brutality could suggest: among other barbarities, it is mentioned they were exposed to the fire from without, by which thirty of them were killed. This account, even in those barbarous times, appears hardly credible; and yet it is trifling, compared with the treatment alleged to have been received during this siege by the Limerick protestants, who were exposed upon a naked, barren, and roofless island in the Shannon, to famine and the elements, until released by order of De Ginckle.

On the 25th, lieutenant-general Sheldon, lords Galmoy, Dillon, Westmeath, Trimleston and Maguire, with other persons of rank, came from the Irish horse-camp, and dined with the general, after which they went to lodge in the town. On the 26th, Sarsfield and Waucop dined with the general, after which the cessation was agreed upon, with an exchange of hostages. And this having been effected, the next day the Irish generals sent in the following proposals:—"I. An act of indemnity for all past offences. II. A restoration of the Irish to all such estates as they had before the revolution. III. Free liberty of worship, and one priest to each parish, as well in towns and cities as in the country. IV. Irish papists to be capable of employments, both civil and military, and to exercise all professions, trades and callings. V. The Irish army to be kept on foot, and paid as the rest of the king's forces, in case they are willing to serve against France or any other enemy. VI. Irish papists to be allowed in cities and towns corporate, to be members of them, and to be equal with the protestants in all privileges of the said corporations. VII. An act to be passed for confirming the said conditions." To these proposals, which, considering strictly the actual state of the kingdom—the previous course of events, and the obvious liabilities of the throne and kingdom, were as extravagant as can well be conceived, De Ginckle answered, "that though he was a stranger to the laws of England, yet he understood that what they insisted on, was so far contradictory to them, and dishonourable to himself, that he would not grant any such terms." He immediately commanded the erection of a new battery for mortars and guns to the left of Mackay's fort. But on this he received from the besieged a request that he would send his own proposals: he sent twelve articles, which formed the basis of the actual capitulation, and with them a message that he would grant no other. And, indeed, considering all circumstances, we should be inclined to conclude that these were the terms proposed by the king himself, and were probably the instructions contained in his secret letter. At the same time De Ginckle sent them all his prisoners, in return for those which they had released on the first opening of this treaty.

The next morning, Sarsfield, with the other prisoners of authority or rank in the city, waited on the general, who was on his part attended by several eminent officers, military and civil. A long discussion took place, in which articles were agreed upon, but not committed to paper. These included, together with Limerick, all forts and castles in the kingdom then in possession of the Jacobite officers. Orders were immediately sent off for part of the transports at Cork to come round into the Shannon, to take on board some of the Irish according to the

terms agreed upon, and the termination of hostilities was notified to the commanders by sea and land in every quarter.

Sir Theobald Butler, who was commissioned to reduce to writing the terms of the agreement, had the folly or the dishonesty to vary them, by the introduction of additional matter. On this De Ginckle declared his sentiments in strong terms in a letter to Sarsfield, and observed, that such interpolations could have no design but "to embroil affairs which were come so nearly to a conclusion, to which it was not in his power to agree, nor would it be any advantage to promise what the law would not suffer him to make good;" after other comments to the like effect, he concludes, "that if, upon signing the articles of war, he had not the outworks of the Irish town and one of the gates by twelve o'clock the day following put into his hands, he had given orders for his hostages to return, and would send back those in the camp; and would take the best measures he could to do his master service."*

The lords-justices arrived on the 1st October, and on the 3d, the articles were signed in two parts. One, relative to the surrender of the town, and signed by the military commanders on either side: the other relative to the privileges and concessions to the Irish, signed by the civil authorities, and several of the Irish nobility and gentry. The event occurred most providentially but a day or two before the arrival of a fleet in Dingle bay, sent by the king of France to relieve the city. It amounted to eighteen ships of the line, or frigates, six fire-ships, and twenty large transports, with ten thousand stand of arms, two hundred officers, and three thousand soldiers. The result would have had for its least consequences another campaign, with a winter of extreme distress to both parties, and a vast amount of added loss, slaughter, and suffering, through the entire country. The event, indeed, can hardly be pronounced with certainty. The historical interest, attached to the civil portion of these articles, leads us to insert them here without any mutilation: the military articles, to the number of twenty-nine, may be seen in Harris's appendix,† as well as in many other works of extensive compilation.

"In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said lieutenant-general Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army, it is agreed, that,

"First, The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such further security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

"Secondly, All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those au-

* De Ginckle's letter. Harris.

† No. 63.

thorized by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them. And all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are now prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; and their and every of their heirs shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of king Charles the II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of king Charles the II., and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or in the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quitrents, and other public charges incurred, and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof; and all persons comprehended in this article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them, belonging, or remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any person whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them. And all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade or calling soever they be, shall, and may use, exercise and practise, their several and respective professions, trades and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles the II., provided that nothing in this article contained, be construed to extend to or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

" Thirdly, All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article in the same manner as if they were present: provided such merchants do repair into this kingdom in the space of eight months from the date hereof.

" Fourthly, The following officers, viz., colonel Simon Lutterel, captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, submit to their majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

" Fifthly, That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles shall have a general pardon of all attainders,

outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of king James the II., and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords-justices and generals will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing clerks' fees.

"Sixthly, And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last; for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding these inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded, at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for arms, horses, goods, money, chattels, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

"Seventhly, Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third article, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

"Eighthly, The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

"Ninthly, The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

"Tenthly, No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

"Eleventhly, The lords-justices, and general, do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

"Twelfthly, Lastly, the lords-justices and general, do undertake, that their majesties do ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

"Thirteenthly, And whereas colonel Brown stood indebted to several

protestants by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel, and lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army; for freeing the said lord Lucan of his engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords-justices, and the said baron De Ginckle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the same debts, as the said lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown; shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said John Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof;

“For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,”

CHAR. PORTER.

THO. CONINGSBY.

BAR. DE GINCKLE.

Present

SCRAVENMORE.

H. MACCAY.

T. TALMASH.

“And, whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since in pursuance of the said articles surrendered unto us,—Now, know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz:—‘And all such as are under their protection in the said counties,’ should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said justices, and general, or one of them, did promise, that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation and inserted in the foul draught thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the same omitted words, viz:—‘And all such as are under their protection in the counties,’ hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein

concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy, the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake, in the said second article, notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c.. Witness ourself at Wesminster, the twenty-fourth day of February anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. ad requisitionem Attornat. General. domini regis et dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus presentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto."

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos { S. KEEK,
LACON WM. CHILDE, } *In cancel. Magistros.*

By the military articles, there was secured a full permission for such Irish officers and soldiers as might be so inclined to go beyond seas into any country they might think fit (England and Scotland excepted) with their families and moveable property of every description. And by several distinct and specific articles, all the essential provisions to facilitate such a removal were for the time secured. It next became a matter of anxious effort on the part of Sarsfield and the French officers, to bring away with them the greatest number they could of the Irish soldiers, while on the other side, De Ginckle had to exert a vigilant superintendence to prevent the application of constraint. The Irish generals contrived to lock up these men, who were carefully guarded: and large distributions of money, brandy, and other articles of value were made to induce their consent. A lieutenant-colonel who was confined for refusing to go to France, wrote a letter of complaint to De Ginckle, who thereupon commanded a battery to be planted on Ball's Bridge, and in his resentment declared that "he would teach the Irish to play upon him." On this Sarsfield came out to the camp to expostulate, and concluded by saying that he was in De Ginckle's power. "Not so," replied the general, "but you shall go in again and do the worst you can." Sarsfield put a reasonable face on the matter, and showed that they had simply exercised military control over their own officers for misdemeanours. It is not, however, improbable, that the accusation was true. It is also asserted by historians, that at this very time, one of the strong incentives made use of in working on the Irish, was the promise of return in the following year to revenge their defeat: a suggestion so adapted to excite and keep alive a pernicious spirit of disaffection and turbulencé, and so opposed to the principle of the treaty just concluded, that if true, we cannot conceive treachery and deception carried much further. Sermons in accordance with the principles of their priesthood in that day of bigotry, were preached, to assert the duty of adherence to the French, and the "certain damnation which would be the consequence if they joined with heretics."

A course of proceeding, which, we must say, converts into the most impudent mockery all the complaints of party-writers, on the assumed infringements of the treaty of Limerick.

On his part the general put forth a counter declaration, assuring them "how willing he was to indulge and provide for such, who, remaining in the kingdom, or serving their majesties abroad, had rather promote the British and Irish interest, than the designs of France against both. He therefore promised, that all officers and soldiers, who were inclined to return home, should have leave to do so with all their goods and effects, and should be permitted to live quietly under the protection of the government. That though by the capitulation all the troopers of the Irish army (except 600 that had license to go abroad), were to deliver up their horses without payment, yet he gave to the troopers and dragoons leave to sell them to whom they thought fit, and promised to pay them for their arms, upon their giving them up to the artillery officers, either in the Irish town of Limerick, or in the camp; and the same to the foot-soldiers: That those officers and soldiers who were willing to serve under their majesties, should have quarters immediately assigned them, and subsistence till their majesties' further pleasure: and as it has been industriously reported that such of the Irish as should enter into their majesties' service, were to be sent into Hungary, and other remote parts, contrary to their inclinations, he concluded by assuring them, that they should not be obliged to serve in any place against their wills, nor be constrained to take service in Ireland, or to return to their homes, they being at full liberty to choose what side they would take; but if once they went to France, they must never expect to return home again."

This declaration was distributed among the Irish, who were drawn together by their commanders. They amounted to 14,000 effective men. Adjutant-general Withers was commissioned to lay before them the advantages in favour of the English service, and to point out that it was unnatural to serve France against the independence of their own country. The whole body were reviewed on the county of Clare side, and De Ginckle with his generals crossed over to see them. They were then ordered to march, and a point was marked where those who were inclined to stay at home, were to file off from those who were to depart. The royal regiment to the number of 1400, went on for France, with the exception of seven men: "which," says Harris, "gave general Ginckle much concern, for they were the best corps in king James' service." Some regiments and several parties of regiments also declared for France. But lord Iveagh's regiment of Ulster Irish, colonel Wilson's, about half lord Louth's, and great numbers out of nearly every other regiment, came out and filed off for the English service. These latter were then mustered, and provision was made for their subsistence.*

Some efforts were made to diminish the ill effect of the articles which thus permitted such numbers of the Irish to enter into a foreign and hostile service. The lords-justices contrived to dismiss the prisoners who were kept at Lambay, to their homes, without inform-

ing them of the treaty. This step was unquestionably as much for the advantage of these men, as for that of the state: nor can we admit that the treaty demanded more than the absence of compulsion: the government was not bound to second, in any way, the gross delusion of which so many unhappy poor people were made the victims. Yet on the other side, it must be admitted, that it is so easy to find specious reasons for the violation of every political principle, that if public faith is of any moment, there should be no excuse admitted for the slightest deviation from the strict and literal observance of treaties. Less equivocal in its character was the obstacle which Count Nassau threw in the way of this embarkation for France, by preventing the wives and children of the emigrants from being shipped. This was a direct infraction of the first article of the treaty: on which Sarsfield wrote to De Ginckle to remonstrate, and represented, "that as hitherto they had proceeded on both sides with sincerity, so relying on his Excellency's honour, and the public faith, they expected to be dealt withal without forcing or wresting any meaning out of the articles, contrary to agreement and the general sense of them; which candid manner of proceeding," says he, "will add to the reputation of your arms, that of your justice."* On this De Ginckle consulted with the lords-justices, and they agreed that the desire of Sarsfield was just and should be conceded.

It remains to mention the fate of these men. They were embarked for France in French and English vessels during the month of November. On the return of the English ships after landing the Irish at Brest, they reported that they had received every assistance they wanted in the French port; but that the Irish were not so well treated as they expected to be. They received a congratulatory letter in the name of the French king, full of splendid promises of pay, clothing, and quarters: but the crippled performance limped far behind these liberal words. They were quartered in lanes and hedges under the wintry air of December, and excluded, to a man, from the city of Brest. Nor was their treatment confined to mere bodily suffering and privation, which the Irish know well how to endure; their pride, the tenderest point with Irishmen of every degree, was insulted. It was perhaps quite inconsistent with the conventions of the polished and refined school of the French service, that soldiers, such as the Irish actually were, by the accident of a party-war and utterly untrained, perhaps too somewhat behind in point of manners and education, should take rank in the French service according to their casual elevation at home. But the most exquisite malice could not have invented a more unlucky blow to the pride of these brave and high-minded, though rude men, than the order which degraded every officer, from the general down to the corporal, one step in military rank. The effect of this mixture of slight and neglect was quickly shown: numbers of these men endeavoured to obtain their passage back, and such as had the means offered large sums; so that guards were soon set over them, and the masters of vessels forbidden on pain of death to receive them. Their letters were however not stopped, and soon

* Harris.

spread a strong reluctance among those who had not yet embarked: great desertions took place from the troops still remaining with Sarsfield at Cork, and three regiments turned out together and peremptorily refused to embark:

This caused Sarsfield and Waucop to determine against any further delay, and on the 22d of December, they hurried all that remained under their charge on board. On this occasion it has been noticed that they themselves had recourse to a mixture of force and fraud, to deprive these unfortunate dupes whom they led, of the benefit of the very article, for which they had so recently contended; "having," says Harris, on the authority of a correspondence to which he refers, "published a declaration, 'giving liberty to as many of the Irish as pleased to transport their families along with themselves.' Accordingly, vast numbers of all sorts came to the waterside, when Waucop pretended to ship the soldiers in order, according to their lists. They first carried all the men on board, and when the boats returned for the officers, the women catching hold to be carried to the ships, many of them were dragged off, others through timorousness losing their holds were drowned, while those who held faster had their fingers cut off and perished in the sight of their husbands."* No excuse can be made for this awful scene of fraud and cruelty.

By these events a final period was put to the war. Ireland was reduced to her usual state of unprogressive stagnation, occasionally broken by the cry of discontent, the murmur of rising disaffection, and the terror or the reality of popular risings, at intervals corresponding nearly with the successive generations of Irishmen. Of the causes of this hapless and anomalous constitution, we shall abstain from the notice, so far as the honesty of our purpose admits. We have already, in the progress of our labour, arrived at that point which most Irish historians have justly viewed as the termination of their task. Some have chosen to pass down to modern times. With us (from the nature of our undertaking) this is no matter of choice, but of necessity; but when the few lives worthy of mention, which have relation to some one or other of the preceding events shall be exhausted, which cannot require many pages, we consider that the nature of our task will be in many respects changed. Our memoirs will become more strictly biographical, and less historical; and literature will begin to occupy the place of primary importance, hitherto assigned to politics.

We may now pass briefly through the remainder of De Ginckle's career. He was honourably entertained in Dublin, and also in London. There he received the thanks of the house of commons by the mouth of their speaker; and said in answer, "I acknowledge this distinguishing honour done me by the house of commons, which I value above a triumph; the success of their majesties' arms in Ireland, was owing to the valour of the English, and I will take care to communicate this vote of the house to the officers that served in Ireland, &c." As a reward for his services he received a grant of the forfeited estates of lord Slane, and the earl of Limerick, to the amount of 26,000 acres, and was created earl of Athlone, and baron of Aghrim. These grants were however revoked by the act of Resumption.

* Harris.

In 1692, he attended the king to Flanders where he had the command of the Dutch horse. In the following year he was president of the court-martial for the trial of the chevalier Grandval, a French captain of dragoons, who undertook to assassinate William in Flanders. The first conception of this vile plot failed, from the irresolution or absence of Du Mont, who was the only party to the design. But after the death of Louvois the French minister, a minute of it was found among his papers by his worthy son, who resolved to carry it into execution. In this Madame Maintenon concurred, and the care of it was committed to the duke of Luxembourg. The proceedings of Du Mont, in the mean time, awakened suspicion: but more precise information was obtained from Monsieur Morel, a French protestant, who was a famous medallist, and had formerly the charge of the king's medals, but was shut up in the Bastille for seven years, and at the time we speak of, just released. Intending to leave Paris, he had the curiosity first to visit the ex-king James, with Grandval, whose conversation was significant and mysterious, and such as to an old courtier's ear, practised in the language of intrigue, could not fail to excite the suspicion of a plot: and the more to guide this suspicion, Grandval talked of the sensation to be raised through Europe, and that the prince of Orange would not be alive in a month. This was too broad to be easily mistaken; and Morel was further confirmed by his conversation with Grandval on their return. Upon this Morel wrote to England, and means were promptly pursued to fathom the whole affair. Baron Leefdale, a Dutch papist, was sent over with instructions to enter into the plot and obtain all attainable information: Leefdale readily succeeded, became apparently a principal party, and was intrusted with a share in the design. To forward it he was sent from Paris with Grandval to Flanders in the spring; on their journey, between Antwerp and Eyndhoven, he brought his companion into a party prepared for his reception, by whom he was taken. He was immediately brought to his trial, and as the evidence was clear against him, and the accusation confirmed by his own confession, he was condemned and executed. By this confession it is proved, that James, as well as the French king, was privy to the plot. The paper itself would occupy several pages here, and may be found at full length in Harris' life of king William.

De Ginckle was present at the celebrated battle fought near Landen in Brabant, in 1693, between king William and the French, commanded by Luxembourg. When this battle was evidently lost, and the king had ordered a retreat, a tremendous confusion soon commenced in the camp of William: all who could not succeed in reaching the bridge or the fordable passes of the river, plunged confusedly into the torrent. On this occasion the earl of Athlone, in vain endeavouring to secure order and prevent the waste of life, narrowly escaped being drowned. He also took a distinguished share in the military affairs on the continent in the year 1696. He was raised to the principal command of the Dutch armies, under the title of Veldt Marshal, in the year 1702, but died a few months after, in February, 1703, at Utrecht, after two days illness. He was a commander, as remarkable for his sagacity improved by experience, as for his caution and presence of mind in sudden emer-

gencies. He died at a time when his loss was deeply felt by his own country, then ill supported by their ancient allies and menaced by numerous enemies. He left two sons, of whom his successor attained high and honourable military station in the Dutch service. But the Irish rank of the family has been confined to the page of history, and the lists of the peerage.

John, Ninth Earl of Clanricarde.

DIED A. D. 1722.

THE ninth earl of Clanricarde commanded a regiment of foot in the service of James II., and was taken prisoner at the battle of Aughrim; he was outlawed and attainted—a proceeding which, we are bound to say, was equally harsh, impolitic and illegal. As we have little else to swell this memoir, we may take the opportunity to record our opinion on this point, apart from the consideration of other topics with which it has been entangled, for the purposes of party-writers, who, on this as on other periods of Irish history, have dealt out such sweeping distortions of every incident, that it becomes difficult to state an opinion which may in any degree seem to warrant their views, on account of the complication of distinctions with which it becomes necessary to qualify it, for the purpose of avoiding the reproach of chiming in with unhappy prejudices, too sedulously kept alive by recollections as fallacious as they are pernicious. A caution the rather to be observed, in a popular work of the present day: when, in addition to the misrepresentations of honest but prejudiced historians, like Leslie and Curry, more recent books, written in a pleasing style and at a low price, of which it is not too much to say that every page, often every sentence, contains some direct falsehood, on no other authority than the writer's own brain, are industriously circulated and referred to.

We quite agree with those writers who have protested against the forfeitures of this war: in the first instance and up to a certain point, the support of James was not rebellion. We think, however, that this argument is carried beyond its legitimate application, when it is applied in favour of any Jacobite lord or gentleman who held out after the capitulation of Limerick. They who strain the laws of inference so far, overlook the fact, that the country must then have been considered as reduced to a state of submission to William, either by *treaty* or *conquest*. And in either case all further abnegation of his right, either by resistance, or by emigration, was according to the strictest rules of national equity, liable to the same consequence; in one case as *rebellion*, in the other as a *renunciation of the rights with the duties* of a subject. When the kingdom submitted by a treaty which if at all binding was equally so on either side, they who still held out were either rebels, or subjects to a foreign prince at war with king William. To suppose that they should still be allowed to maintain together the rights of these two contrary conditions is absurd. To admit it would be a self-destroying act, inconsistent with the most elementary principles of civil government. The wretched and mis-

chievous mistake, of assuming that rights wholly irreconcilable with the civil constitution of a country have any just claim to the sanction of its laws, is one of those monstrous prejudices which seems to have taken root in Ireland, where it has lain like a venomous reptile in the fountain, distilling bitterness through all the streams.

The forfeitures which can be questioned on fair grounds, are in point of fact but few, and insufficient to characterize the policy of the government of this period: although it cannot be denied, that, as ever has occurred, the administrators of the laws are not to be exonerated from much perversion of justice. To make the jobbing and speculation of commissioners, so far removed from our time, a matter of party-clamour, is simply useless but for the *purpose of irritation*: it is also absurd, as the same accusations can be substantiated with far more force against the opposite party. It should only be used in a general argument, against all commissioners invested with powers over the property of private persons.

The children of the earl claimed their estates in retainer before the trustees of the court of forfeitures: their claim was affirmed. On the accession of queen Anne, the attainder was reversed; but guardians were appointed to the children, to secure their education in the protestant religion.

This earl married a lady of the family of the Talbots, earls of Shrewsbury. He died in the year 1722, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was succeeded in title and estate by his eldest son.

Henry, Eighth Viscount Dillon.

WE have already had occasion to state the main particulars of the origin of this lord's ancestry,—of his life we have few particulars to offer. But we introduce him here, as being governor of Galway for James, when it was besieged by De Ginckle.

In 1689, his father being yet living, he sat in James' parliament as member for Westmeath: and was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Roscommon. Three years before, he had married a daughter of the countess of Tyrconnel,* a connexion which may have materially aided in determining his political path. Some time in the same year he was raised to the command of a regiment of foot, and shortly after appointed governor of Galway. During his government, the city was invested by De Ginckle.

From the field of Aughrim De Ginckle moved by short marches to Athenry, within eight miles of Galway. At Athenry he left his camp, and went on to Oranmore Castle, to ascertain how he might best bring up his battering train. On his return he learned from a Mr Shaw, a merchant, that the garrison was composed of seven regiments, which were ill armed and numerically defective; that Dillon commanded; but that there was a French lieutenant-general, M. D'Usone, in the town. He was also informed by Mr Shaw, that the main

* By her first husband, Count Hamilton.

reliance of the citizens was upon Baldearg O'Donel, who was confidently expected to arrive there with a numerous body of men from the mountainous tracts lying west of Galway.

This Baldearg O'Donel had been recently imported by his countrymen from Spain, under the influence of one of those ancient predictions, which, in despite of experience, retain a sort of cyclical existence in Ireland; departing and deluding, and returning to delude a people too tenacious of the past to derive from it its only fruit of experience. It was an old prophecy that a scion of the ancient stem of Tyrconnel, distinguished by a red sign, should some day liberate them from the sceptre of the English kings. Baldearg O'Donel possessed the fortunate recommendation of the fatal sign, which was contained in the syllable "dearg," which signifies red: an invitation soon brought him over to the land of his fathers, and the portentous arrival took place in September, 1690. Numbers crowded to his banner; but historians say, he disappointed their expectations. It may be so; but we shrewdly conjecture that the disappointment was mutual. Baldearg, though no great general, was a man of some observation and common sense, living in a less romantic period than the glorious days of his heroic ancestors, and accustomed to weigh matters in a foreign country, by a different scale from that of his enthusiastic countrymen. He saw quickly how hopeless was a resistance which could only protract and aggravate their miseries, and perhaps concluded that the best he could do for himself and them, was to assist in hastening the event which could not fail to arrive.

With such views, aided perhaps by some feebleness of character, or by the vacillation of a selfish spirit, or from a combination of all these influences, Baldearg hung back. During the battle of Aughrim, he was in Tuam doing nothing. On the present occasion he gained time for deliberation by cautious delays: he detached a strong party against Tuam, under pretence that it was preparing for the reception of the English; he then directed his march into the county of Mayo—and on the way, was, probably by his own management, relieved of the more intractable portion of his followers.

The report of his near vicinity and of his reputed strength, of seven or eight thousand men, was one of the strong reasons which had determined De Ginckle not to leave Galway behind unattacked. The other reason was, the apprehension that they would be reinforced from France, and De Ginckle's army was, after the necessary garrisons, reduced to 17,000 men.

On his advance to Galway, De Ginckle experienced no interruption from any hostile movement: yet, as he drew near, signs were not wanting of a determination to resist. The garrison had set fire to the house of lord Bophin, within a mile of the city, and to the suburbs beyond the north-western gate. The city lay upon a narrow ridge, washed on the S. and S.W. by the waters of a spacious bay: and at the mouth of a large river from Lough Corrib, which, entering north of the town, empties itself into the sea on the other side. On the east, a deep but narrow branch of this river ran through a bog; between this bog and the bay, in an easterly direction, there lay a narrow ridge of elevation, which was capable of being strongly

fortified, and of which the possession was essential to the defence of the town. On this the French had begun to repair the defences, while the Irish were employed on a fort near the S.E. corner of the wall. They had also levelled the hedges and shrubs about the east gate. But the event demands no lengthened description of these defences.

De Ginckle summoned the garrison: he offered the benefit of the government's recent declaration, if they would give up the town without resistance. Dillon returned for answer, that "Monsieur D'Ussone as well as himself and the rest of the officers, were resolved to defend the place to the last."*

In the same evening, as soon as it was dark, six regiments of foot, with four squadrons of cavalry, under the command of Mackay, were carried over the river on pontoons. On landing, they were fired at by a small party of horse, who immediately retreated. De Ginckle had been made desirous to forward the attack, by the information he received from captain Bourke, who, having escaped from the town, told him that the south-east fort was not finished yet, but in a rapid state of completion. As this fort commanded the whole wall on that quarter, the importance of a speedy attack upon it was evident. To perform this service, count Nassau was detached next morning with some companies of grenadiers, and two regiments of light infantry, and conducted by Bourke. This party met a faint resistance, and after the exchange of a few shots, the Irish retired by "a line of communication" within the walls, and left the fort to the assailants. The capture of this fort seems to have decided the conduct of the garrison: a show of resistance was kept up, but about ten o'clock a parley was beaten from within. Lord Dillon sent out a letter, demanding a safe conduct for some persons, whom he would send to capitulate. This was complied with, and the usual forms succeeded; but so many small difficulties were raised by the emissaries of the garrison, that De Ginckle became impatient and pressed that they would come to a conclusion. Lieutenant-colonel Bourke, one of the Irish hostages, was permitted to return into the walls: as he was departing, he was accosted by Talmash, who desired "that when they were ready to begin again, they would give a signal by firing a gun in the air;" Bourke answered, that "they would not fire a gun from within, till they were provoked from without." The articles were agreed to on the 21st, and the town surrendered on the 26th of July.

The following were the articles:—

Articles granted to the town and garrison of Galway, by lieutenant-general Ginckle, commander-in-chief of their majesties' forces, the 21st of July, 1691.

1st. That the town and fort of Galway shall be given up to his Excellency, or such officer as he shall appoint, on Sunday morning next by six of the clock, together with all the stores of ammunition and provision, and magazines of all sorts, without embezzlement, and that immediately upon the signing these articles, such person as the general shall appoint, have leave to inspect them.

2d. That all deserters that are in the town shall be given up.

3d. That immediately after signing these articles, all the out-works of the town shall be delivered up to such officers as the general shall appoint to take possession of the same, and that the governor shall withdraw all the cannon from the wall.

4th. Till the town is surrendered, as aforesaid, the general may order such works and batteries to be made, as he shall judge convenient; provided he doth not bring them within three yards of the wall, nor the guns within ten yards of the batteries; and that in the town they shall not proceed to work to fortifie the same any further.

5th. In consideration of the said rendition his excellency gives leave to lieutenant-general D'Ussone, Monsieur Metlet, commissary at war, and the rest of the French officers and soldiers, and others of that nation now in Galway, to go to Limerick, with their arms, bag and baggage, whither they shall be safely conducted the nearest way; and in case that the said lieutenant-general D'Ussone shall want horses to carry his equipage thither, the general will furnish him with them.

6th. That such of the garrison as desire it, may remain in town, or go to their respective homes, and enjoy the benefit of this capitulation; and the rest shall march to Limerick with their arms, six pieces of cannon, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted, bullet in mouth, and as much ammunition and provisions as each officer and soldier can carry with him; and that they shall be furnished with draught-horses, and harnesse for their guns if they want them, which said guns they shall have liberty to chuse, provided they take none above twelve pounders.

7th. That the wounded and sick officers and soldiers may stay in town till they are cured, and that then they shall be sent to Limerick with a safeconduct, and in the mean time shall be provided in town with necessaries for their cure and subsistence.

8th. That the governor, constable, mayor, sheriff, aldermen, burgesses, freemen and natives of Galway, and the inhabitants thereof, or the reputed ones by any former charter, (or reputed charter) of king James II. granted before his abdication, or any of his ancestors, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, premunures, and all manner of offences committed since the beginning of the said king James's reign to the date hereof.

9th. That all and every of the garrison, officers, governour, constable, mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, burgesses, freemen, and inhabitants aforesaid, shall enjoy and possess their estates real and personal, and all other liberties and immunities, as they held, or ought to have held, under the acts of settlement and explanation, or otherwise, by the laws of this kingdom freely discharged from all crown-rents, and all other charges, to the date hereof.

10th. That the names of the Roman catholick clergy of the town of Galway, be given to the general on or before Tuesday next, and that they as well as the laity of the said town, shall have the private exercise of their religion, and that the said clergy shall be protected in their persons and goods.

11th. That the gentlemen of estates now belonging to the town and garrison of Galway, shall have liberty to keep a gun in their houses

for the defence of the same, and to wear a sword and case of pistols if they shall think fit.

12th. That the Roman catholick lawyers of the said town shall have the free liberty of practice that they had in king Charles the Second's time.

13th. That such of the officers belonging to any of the regiments that are now in Galway, and not present at the signing of these capitulations, shall have the benefit of the same, provided they shall submit within three weeks to the governor of Galway for the time being, who shall be appointed by the general, or that they shall have a safe-conduct to go to Limerick, in the same manner as the said garrison hath.

14th. That such other persons now in town, as desire to go out with the garrison, or such part thereof, as goes to Limerick, shall have liberty to do so, and carry their families and goods along with them: and that such officers' wives belonging to the said garrison, as are there, or in any part of Conaught, may at the same time depart with their goods, or at any other convenient time afterwards, particularly colonel Reily's wife, mother, and family; the lady Eveagh and her daughter; and lieutenant-colonel Luke Reily, his brother Philip Reily, their wives and families.

15th. That immediately all acts of hostility shall cease on both sides. and that if it shall happen that any provoking language shall pass between the soldiers, they shall be punished by their respective officers for the same, and not be permitted to fire one upon another.

16th. That for the due performance of these articles, the governor shall immediately give the persons undernamed for hostages.

EARL OF CLANRICKARD,
LORD INNISKILLEN,
COLONEL DOMINICK BROWN,

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BODKIN,
MAJOR DILLON.

Lastly. The general promises to have these capitulations ratified by their majesties within the space of three months from the date hereof or sooner, if possible.

Signed and sealed the day above mentioned by the Commander-in-chief of their majesties' forces, and the constable and governor of the said town interchangeable.

The other part by

BARON DE GINCKLE,
DILLON,

CLANRICKARD,
INNISKILLEN.

Signed and sealed in presence of

DOMINICK BROWN,
JOHN BODKIN,
THOMAS DILLON,
JAMES SKELTON,
JAMES O'BRYAN,
HUGH DOGHERTY,
JOHN STEVENSON,

OLIVER O'GARA,
WILLIAM BOURKE,
ANTHONY O'DOGHERTY,
ROBERT LINCH,
BRYEN O'NEILE,
HUGH O'NEILE,
JOHN DOGHERTY.

On the 26th, at ten in the morning, lord Dillon marched out at the head of the garrison, which amounted to 2,300 men, badly armed and clothed, with six pieces of cannon. The same day, captain Bryan O'Neile, with most of his company, came over to De Ginckle and took the oaths of allegiance to king William. Baldearg O'Donel took the occasion to submit with his followers, and was received into the English service.

Sir Henry Bellasyse was placed in command of Galway, and a thousand pounds were expended on its defences. Soon after Bellasyse obtained by treaty from colonel T. O'Riordan, a surrender of the castle and island of Bophin on the Mayo coast. The place was considered important, as affording a dangerous harbourage for privateers, in periods of war with France.

In the remainder of lord Dillon's career there is little to interest the reader, or demand protracted notice. His father, who was at this time in the service of James, was outlawed; but the outlawry was reversed, 6 William and Mary, in favour of the son. He took his seat in the Irish parliament, and led a life unmarked by any peculiar incident deserving of record, till the year 1714, at the beginning of which he died.

Colonel Mitchelbourne.

UNDER this head we shall endeavour to include the chief historical facts, not already mentioned, relative to two brave men of opposite parties, principles, and characters, who are to be found in 1691 as agents in one of the main transactions of that year; the siege of Sligo, which city was held in the Jacobite cause by Sir Teague O'Regan, and besieged and taken for king William by colonel Mitchelbourne.

Of these two able officers, Mitchelbourne may be honourably introduced to the reader, as one of the illustrious brotherhood of heroes and patriots, whose courage, patience, and faith, made the walls of Londonderry impregnable to the worst that the powers of James and his generals, French and Irish, could do, while yet they had all the field to themselves: and are thus inseparably connected with the noblest recollections of that great era, when they made the first stand upon the ramparts of the constitution, against the supporters of civil and religious slavery.

Sir Teague O'Regan has been already mentioned in these pages, as governor of Charlemont fort, which he held against Caillemotte, until he obtained honourable terms. He was a man distinguished for both craft and courage, and, had we fit materials, would, we doubt not, well grace a separate memoir. But the authentic personal traditions of this time are but scanty, and it is only as they pass before us in the field or siege, that many persons eminent in their day, can be seen.

During the war of the revolution in Ireland, Sligo had seen several changes of masters, and been quietly won and lost as often. In the year 1689, it was taken by a stratagem from Sarsfield by colonel Gore;

in the same year, Sarsfield recovered it again by another not dissimilar manœuvre, favoured by the treachery of colonel Lundy. It was considered by the Jacobites an important post to keep up their communication between Connaught and Ulster. After the surrender of Charlemont fort, O'Regan was sent as governor of Sligo, to take the chief command in the immediately surrounding counties. Soon after, lieutenant-colonel Ramsay was detached with 100 regulars, and 400 of the militia, to observe the force and position of the Jacobites in the same districts. As he advanced to Ballysadare bridge, Sir Teague appeared with a party of 80 horse and 200 foot, posted to great advantage. Ramsay at once attacked, and a tough struggle ensued; this was, however, decided by the arrival of another party of English, on which Sir Teague's men gave way, and were pursued nearly up to the fort of Sligo.* In this pursuit O'Regan was closely followed by an English sergeant of dragoons, and nearly seized as he entered the town. The sergeant, however, laid hold of another person of the name of Mulholland, who was a storekeeper† in the town. "Who," said Mulholland, accosting his captor, "do you think that crooked-back fellow is who rode on before me?" "I thought it was your servant," replied the soldier; "He was Sir Teague O'Regan," said Mulholland. "Then," said the other, "that is twenty guineas out of my pocket, for I would have got that sum for bringing him to the general."‡

Colonel Mitchelbourne was at this time posted at Ballyshannon with his regiment, and a strong body of north-country militia, to intercept any communication with the Jacobites of Donegal and Tyrone. By a masterly line of posts, he managed to invest Sligo at a distance, according to the expression of Harris, so that all relief by land was shut out, unless by mastering some of those posts which were well defended by breastworks and other fortifications.

Within the city there was, however, a strong and select garrison, besides the regiments of Sir Teague and colonel Scott. The city was exceeding strong, both in its position and its defences, and of the last importance as one of its forts commanded the only pass from the north of Connaught into Donegal, and other parts of Ulster. This fort, north-east of the town upon a high hill, was called Sir T. O'Regan's fort: it was square, occupied an acre of ground, and was guarded by strong bastions, with platforms at either end; the gates were defended by a half-moon, and the whole enclosed by a deep and wide fosse, from which the hill fell abruptly, so as to form a natural *glacis*. It commanded the town and river, and contained a deep draw-well which supplied the garrison with water; this fort was of sodwork, and had been recently repaired and strengthened by lord Kingston. Another strong fort of stone, with four bastions, stood upon the quay, and was the work, it is thought, of the same nobleman.

Mitchelbourne kept up so rigid a discipline among the soldiers under his command, that his protection was sought and found effectual by some high and many respectable families about Sligo; by means of this resort he was supplied with the best intelligence, and obtained instant posses-

* Harris.

† Harris says "a lieutenant;" both may be true.

‡ Graham.

sion of every rumour. He soon became acquainted with the fact, that the town was suffering the greatest distress from the interruption of all supplies. From this he was led to the premature inference that a surrender was likely to be the immediate result; but he had not sufficiently allowed for the iron temper of O'Regan, who, as Harris says, "could fast as well as fight." Three weeks elapsed in unrelenting and vigilant leaguer on the one side, and unrelaxing obstinacy on the other, when on the 6th of August, Mitchelbourne acquainted the government that O'Regan had offered to surrender on the 15th, but the terms were "so large," that the lords thought it necessary to apply for consent to De Ginckle. It is not precisely known how it occurred that this negotiation became protracted, and the treaty frustrated. A dispute which arose between Mitchelbourne and the militia under his orders, or a difficulty about £800 which was to have been paid to Sir Teague or his friends, by whom he was influenced, and of which the levy was retarded by some informality, were assigned as reasons:* the latter is not unlike the truth. O'Regan was more accessible to an appeal of this nature than to fear or hunger, and the government feeling the expediency of saving time, were content to pay the price. But the matter having ended abruptly, it was thought fit to send a fresh force from Dublin, to prevent the possibility of the town being left to afford winter-quarters to the Jacobites. This was the more imperatively necessary, as the arrival of relief from France was anticipated by the fears or wishes of either side, and it is not improbable, as Mr Graham observes, that O'Regan had been merely negotiating to gain time.

Sir Albert Conyngham was ordered from Loughrea, where he was posted with his dragoons to join Baldearg O'Donel, and both had orders to move towards Sligo. A thousand foot, with five hundred cavalry, and three guns, were detached from Dublin in the same direction, all of which, with the small body of troops under Mitchelbourne, were to complete a force of 5000 men for the reduction of Sligo under lord Granard.

When Conyngham joined O'Donel, he found him seriously embarrassed by a mutiny in his brigade, a large division of whom had been seduced, by one of his officers, into a declaration for the Jacobite cause. By prudent remonstrance, and the combination of persuasion and authority, the leader of the mutineers was brought back to his duty, and the other officers followed with their men.† On the 5th September, O'Donel having received orders to march nearer to Sligo, Conyngham took post at Colooney with a party of his dragoons, intending to re-join O'Donel on the following day. On the same night, however, colonel Scott, of the garrison, marched out with 500 chosen men, and proceeded to the place: the distance was but five miles, and by day-break he approached under cover of a thick fog; and, without alarming the outposts, surprised the party, altogether unprepared for resistance. They slew twenty, and possessed themselves of all their tents and baggage. Conyngham had at first been taken as a prisoner, but was immediately after slain by a sergeant, who, as he pierced his body with his halbert, insulted him with a coarse and brutal jest, "Halbert

* Letter of Sir C. Porter cited by Harris.

† Harris.

is your name, and by a halbert you shall die." The few who escaped of this party took refuge at Boyle. But the party of Scott were driven next day back into the town by O'Donel.

On the 10th September, lord Granard arrived at Athlone, and was joined by the principal bodies under his command, with the exception of Mitchelbourne, who was busily engaged in driving the garrison from their outworks; and before he marched to Sligo, lord Granard had the satisfaction to learn, that the garrison had been forced to retire into the fort of sodwork which we have already described. There during the recent cessation, they had collected large stores of corn and cattle: relying on their numbers, and encouraged by the disaster of Conyngham, they were flushed with confidence at being enabled to hold out against every effort to reduce them.

Having detached Baldearg O'Donel to take Ballymote, a service which he easily performed, lord Granard advanced to Sligo. On his way he experienced much difficulty in passing the Carlin mountains, from the want of horses of sufficient strength to draw his artillery; so that this service was effected by the men, who placed themselves with ready alacrity in the harness, and dragged the train over the most difficult steep. On his arrival at Sligo, lord Granard probably found his work nearly concluded by the persevering efforts of Mitchelbourne. He began, however, by ordering a battery to be raised, and a fire to be opened on the town. Here, according to Harris, (from Clark's correspondence,) the garrison, intimidated by the appearance of lord Granard's artillery, beat a parley the next day, and surrendered on the 15th. But Mr Graham notices, that Mitchelbourne's correspondence, published in London the year after, represents the town as taken some days before lord Granard's appearance. We must say that we are inclined to suspect, that each party in question was in some degree willing to obtain the credit of the transaction. The accounts are reconcileable enough, insomuch that in reading over the statement of Harris, and before looking into Mr Graham's account, we passed in our mind a comment, amounting to the statement as alleged to be given by Mitchelbourne. For Harris tells us, that Sir Teague and his garrison were driven into the sodfort, and Mitchelbourne says no more. The difference, in reality, lies in the substantial value which each narrator seems to place on the same fact. The work cited by Mr Graham says, that Mitchelbourne represented to lord Granard, that the "surrender might be considered in a manner as concluded," as the garrison, consisting of twenty-eight companies, were pinned up within so small a compass.* Now, to decide upon the merits of either party concerned, we think it unnecessary to object to any of the allegations made by either statement. Mitchelbourne had virtually reduced the garrison to the necessity of a surrender; but the surrender does not appear to have occurred until the time, or otherwise than in the manner stated by Harris. It appears to us evident, that lord Granard opened his fire unnecessarily, for the purpose of obtaining the formal credit of an achievement which he was commissioned to effect; and it is not in the nature of things, that Mitchelbourne did not, on his part, feel that the chaplet which he

* Graham.

had dearly won, was thus unfairly transferred. But the fact seems to be, that the town was taken, and the garrison held the fort which commanded it. Nor, can it be said what further struggles might have followed. The sight of lord Granard's strong array and formidable train completed the effect of Mitchelbourne's valour and skill. A parley was beaten, and on the 15th the fort was surrendered; on condition, "that the garrison should march to Limerick with their arms and baggage, and all the little garrisons thereabouts, in the hands of the Irish, should have the benefit of the capitulation."* Mitchelbourne was appointed governor of the place. Large stores of food and ammunition were found in the fort.

Of the remaining circumstances of Mitchelbourne's life, we have not as yet ascertained anything. But in the calm which so soon followed the events of the stormy summer and autumn of 1691, it is probable that he reposed in quiet under the shade of the laurels he had won. The small transactions in which we have been tracing so much of his career as belongs to our political history, have clearly manifested much of the higher qualifications of war. Skill, caution, promptness, and indefatigable activity, are perceptibly combined in the conduct of his first line of operations, as well as in the masterly manner in which a brave and not unskilful enemy was reduced from line to line into his inner defences.†

James, Second Duke of Ormonde.

BORN A. D. 1665.—DIED A. D. 1745.

THIS nobleman, who succeeded his illustrious grandfather in his title and estates in 1688, was born in the castle of Dublin, April 29th, 1665, and was sent to France at ten years old, under the superintendence of Mons. l'Ange, for the purpose of acquiring the French language, along with the fashionable accomplishments of the day: the tutor, however, proving unworthy, his pupil was quickly recalled to England, and placed by his grandfather in Oxford, where he continued until the death of his father, lord Ossory, in 1680. About two years after this event, when he was only seventeen, he was married to the daughter of lord Hyde, afterwards earl of Rochester. She, dying early, left him a widower in his twentieth year. He had previously commenced his military career in France as a volunteer, and was, in 1685, appointed a lord of the bedchamber. He served against the duke of Monmouth in the west, and had a share in the victory over that unfortunate nobleman at Sedgemore. He shortly after entered into a second marriage with the lady Mary Somerset, daughter to the duke of Beaufort, which union had been contemplated by the members of both families, previous to his former marriage. He was elected chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1688, in the room of his grandfather,

* Harris.

† We here conclude the series of memoirs having relation to the events of the Revolution.

and about the same period took possession of his house in St James's Square.

He strenuously opposed the fatal and despotic measures of James, and joined in the petition against a free parliament; receiving, however, a sharp rebuke for his interference, he suddenly left the court, along with prince George of Denmark, and was one of the first of the English nobility who publicly joined the prince of Orange. He was accordingly attainted the following year, and his estate of £25,000 per annum seized by the king.

On William's coronation he was appointed high constable of England, and colonel of the second troop of guards, being also made gentleman of his bedchamber, and installed a knight of the Garter. He accompanied William to Ireland, and was present at the battle of the Boyne; shortly after which he was despatched with his uncle lord Auverquerque, and nine troops of horse, to take possession of Dublin. On William's proceeding to Kilkenny, the duke entertained him splendidly at his castle, and afterwards accompanied him both to England and Holland. In the battle of Neer-landen, when charging the enemy, he received several wounds, and had a horse shot under him, when a soldier being about to stab him, he was rescued by an officer of the French guards, and taken prisoner to Namur. Here he expended a large portion of his own revenues in relieving the wants of his fellow-prisoners, through the instrumentality of the governor, count Guiscard. He was shortly after exchanged for the duke of Berwick, whom Churchill had made prisoner. On his return to England, the king created his brother Charles, lord Butler, baron of Weston in the county of Huntingdon, and earl of Arran in Ireland. He again accompanied the king to Holland, and was exposed to a most destructive fire at the taking of Namur from the French. The king being determined to reduce the exorbitant power of France, and to sustain the claim of the house of Austria to the throne of Spain, against the assumed right of the grandson of Louis the 14th, planned, with the duke of Ormonde, and the prince of D'Armstadt, the attack on Cadiz, both by sea and land at the same moment. The duke was selected by him as commander-in-chief of the land forces; but the king dying before it could be effected, the appointment was confirmed to him by Anne, who, resolving to continue the same line of policy adopted by William, despatched a fleet of a hundred and sixty ships on the first of July, 1702, for the accomplishment of this project; and at the same time appointed Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England, and commander of the naval forces in the expedition. He was neither so sanguine as others respecting this undertaking, nor very zealous in promoting its success; it seemed as if he had undertaken it merely in compliance with the queen's command, and was predetermined to give it as little personal aid as possible. Whether this was owing to any private understanding between the ministers and himself, or to a jealousy at sharing the command with Ormonde is still a question; but it is certain that the duke was impressed with the opinion that Sir George never lent it his hearty concurrence, and that its failure was mainly attributable to his slackness. Its failure, however, was chiefly attributable to the opposite and divided councils of the sea and land

commanders, and to the rapacity and want of discipline in the troops. After their first successes, they proceeded to the work of plunder and spoliation, notwithstanding the public declaration of the duke, in which he set forth that he came "not to possess himself of any place in the Spanish monarchy in the name of her majesty or the states-general of the United Provinces, or to introduce therein the usual troubles and calamities of war by way of conquest; but rather to defend the good and loyal subjects of the said monarchy, and to free them from the insupportable slavery to which they were brought by being sold to France by some disaffected persons; wherefore the design of her majesty and the states-general being only to assert the rights of the house of Austria, his Grace declared that all good Spaniards, who should not oppose his forces, should be protected in their persons, estates, privileges and religion." Unfortunately the forces under Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles Hara, after the capture of Port St Mary, broke through all these regulations, and took and destroyed property to the amount of three millions, besides sacrilegiously breaking into their churches and nunneries, which so enraged the Spaniards, that those who before were favourable to the views of the confederates, and intended siding with them, instantly took a hostile part; and this, joined to the delays caused by opposite opinions amongst the commanders, as to the moment for attacking Cadiz, gave the garrison time to take effective means for their defence; the most decisive amongst these was their sinking three galleons at the entrance of their harbour, by which they put an effectual bar to the descent of the fleet. After the failure of the confederates in taking the fort of Matagorda, which was in part caused by their battery, which had been raised on a morass, suddenly giving way, it was determined that the fleet should return home for the winter; and it was on their passage that intelligence was received of the French and Spanish fleet being off Vigo. The bold and prompt determination of the allies to attack this combined fleet, was crowned with the most signal success, and the loss both of money and ships to the enemy, great beyond precedent. The duke valiantly and successfully led on his forces of about 2,500 men, and landed them within two leagues of Vigo; one portion of these he detached under lord-viscount Shannon and colonel Pierce, to take possession of the fort that guarded the entrance to the harbour, and marched on foot over craggy mountains to attack the fort of Rodondella, and support the advance of the first detachment of the fleet by dividing the attention of the enemy. The grenadiers, led on by these commanders, advanced with such cheerfulness and resolution, that they quickly made themselves masters of thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and pursued the French to the very gates of their fortification, when Mons. Sorel, the commander, perceiving the impossibility of retaining the fort, attempted to cut his way through the English, sword in hand. The grenadiers, however, profiting by the momentary opening of the gates, rushed impetuously forward, gained possession of the building, and took three hundred French seamen, with fifty Spaniards, prisoners. Close to this fort or castle, a strong boom was placed across the river, composed of masts, cables, and chains, while within, in apparent security, lay the Spanish and French vessels under the shelter of the town. A

heavy fog having favoured the advance of the English and Dutch ships, admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, broke through the boom, notwithstanding a heavy fire being opened upon him by two of the French vessels which lay within. He was quickly followed by his own division, and that of the Dutch admiral, Vandergoes; but these ships, with the exception of that of Vandergoes, having missed the passage made by admiral Hopson, had to cut their way through the boom. The admiral and his crew had almost fallen victims to his heroic daring; for immediately on entering the river, he nearly came in contact with a fire-ship, and would inevitably have been destroyed, had it not prematurely exploded. As it was, his vessel was greatly burned and otherwise injured, and many lives were lost. The French admiral, seeing the boom cut in pieces, the castle and platform in the hands of the enemy, and the confederate squadron ready to bear down upon them, ordered his own ship to be set on fire; which desperate resolve was but too faithfully imitated by the fleet under his command. It was with the greatest difficulty that the English could rescue even a portion of these ships and their self-devoted crews. The loss of property was immense, the cargo of this fleet being computed at twenty millions of pieces in gold and silver, besides merchandise, valued at twenty millions of pieces more. About one-fourth was removed by the enemy, a large portion sunk and destroyed, and the remainder was secured by the confederates, along with eight or nine of the enemy's ships. The duke also took a great quantity of plate and other valuables, which had been removed to Rodondella; a large body of the Spaniards hovered in his rear, but did not attempt to come to action, so that this brilliant and important victory was obtained with little sacrifice of life on the part of the confederates, not above forty of the landsmen being killed, and but very few of the seamen. The duke proposed leaving a good squadron of ships with the land-forces to winter at Vigo, but this judicious plan was opposed and over-ruled by Sir George Rooke, who alleged that he had already sent home the victuallers with the stores, and could not spare either ships or provisions: its vicinity to Portugal would have secured the latter, but it was impossible to remain without ships to protect the harbour, and over these Sir George held undisputed control. On the duke's return to England he was received with acclamations by the people, and with every demonstration of favour and respect at court, after which he received the thanks of the two houses. The duke complained openly of the conduct of Sir George at Cadiz, and seemed resolved to carry the matter to a public accusation: this however he was persuaded to abandon; but a committee was appointed by the house of lords, to examine both the sea and land-officers, as well as the admiral himself, as to his instructions and the management of the whole affair. Tindall observes, that he was so well supported by the ministers and his own party in the house of commons, that he felt little uneasiness at the investigation, and took much pains to show, how improper a design the descent upon Cadiz was, and how fatal the attempt must have proved; and in doing this he arraigned his instructions, and the designs upon which he was sent, with great boldness, and showed little regard to the ministers, who took more pains to bring him off than to justify themselves. The lords of the committee pre-

pared a report which was severe upon Rooke, and laid it before the house; but so strong a party was made to oppose every thing that reflected on him, that though every particular in the report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favour, wherein it was declared, "that Sir George Rooke had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation." He subsequently received the thanks of the two houses for his services. Shortly after, the duke was appointed to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, where he was received with enthusiasm, and governed the kingdom for four years, with greater popularity and splendour, than had ever been known on any former occasion. In 1707 he was appointed colonel of the third troop of horse-guards, and in 1710, when queen Anne so suddenly displaced her whig ministers, he was again made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the place of lord Wharton. In the year following, when the members of the new cabinet were more firmly established in power, and their shameful intrigues had at length effected the downfall of Marlborough, the duke of Ormonde was appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief of the land-forces in England, as well as commander-in-chief to the army abroad, and successor to all Marlborough's military appointments. He was in the council-chamber at the time of Harley's assassination by Guiscard, when St John, and some of the other members, thinking Harley killed, rushed at the assassin with their swords, and wounded him so severely, that he called upon Ormonde to despatch him at once; to which it is said, the duke replied, "that it was not work fit for a gentleman."

On the 9th of April, 1712, the duke set out on his expedition to Flanders, accompanied by a great many of the nobility and persons of distinction; and on arriving at the city of Tournay, he was received with a triple salute of the artillery, and entertained by the earl of Albemarle, along with prince Eugene, and the deputies of the states. The troops were greatly discontented and disheartened at the removal of their old and victorious general, under whom they had begun to consider defeat impossible; and the Dutch were equally discontented and distrustful of his successor. The late shuffling and disingenuous conduct of the queen and her ministers had excited their suspicion, and they refused to place their forces under the direction of the duke. They accordingly nominated prince Eugene to the command, who bitterly lamented the removal of his former friend and colleague, and drew a most disparaging comparison between the two commanders. The prince was an acute observer, who quickly saw the want of moral energy in the duke, which made him an assured, though reluctant tool, in the hands of a corrupt and intriguing ministry. Mackay designates him justly when he says, "he is certainly one of the most generous, princely, brave men that ever was, but good-natured to a fault; loves glory, and consequently is crowded with flatterers; never knew how to refuse anybody, which was the reason why he obtained so little from king William, asking for everybody. He hath all the qualities of a great man, except that one of a statesman, hating business." Harley and St John calculated too accurately upon the high points of his character, to make him aware of the mean and crooked policy they intended to pursue;

and, knowing his profuse and generous habits, they accompanied the high and honoured command with which they invested him, with all the emoluments and *perquisites*, for the receiving of which Marlborough had been removed and disgraced. His instructions were "to repair with all possible diligence to the Hague, and to acquaint the Pensionary, that he had received her majesty's orders to see him before he went to put himself at the head of her majesty's troops, and to express to him her resolution of pursuing the war with all possible vigour, until the enemy should agree to such terms of peace, as might be safe and honourable for herself and allies."*

The English forces had for many weeks been in the field, and lay cantoned along the road between Tournay and Lisle. It was agreed between the duke and prince Eugene that they should pass the Scheld near Bouchain, and encamp at Avesne le Sec, for the purpose either of making a sudden attack upon the enemy, or of investing Quesnoy, which from its size could not hold out many weeks. All was arranged for the uniting of their respective forces, when two secret expresses arrived from Bolingbroke, urging the duke for the present to remain inactive; as, that a battle lost might disadvantageously prolong the war, or entitle the enemy to obtain better terms, in case of the projected treaty for peace being perfected. He also threw out base insinuations against the prince, falsely asserting that the Dutch were jealous and suspicious of him, and had given their generals private orders to use more caution than he (the prince) might probably approve. The duke returned a simple and natural answer to their communications, and one that entirely exempts him from the charge of being in any degree privy, at this period, to the duplicity of the ministers, or their intended breach of faith with the allies. He writes, "that he was entirely of the secretary's opinion, that a battle either lost or won would at this time make very great alterations in the treaties now on foot; but that the secretary might remember, that in his *instructions* he was ordered to act in conjunction with the allies, *in prosecuting the war with vigour*; so that should there happen a fair opportunity to attack the enemy, he could not decline it, if proposed by the prince and states: but he hoped to hear from him by a messenger before the armies were formed, which would be on the 21st." † He adds in a second letter, May 20th, "that, if there were a good opportunity to attack the enemy, and get into France by the way of Champagne, he was sure the prince and the states would press it, unless they heard from England that the peace was near being concluded: that he wished it very heartily; but if it were delayed, he hoped he should have the good fortune to force the prince to comply with the queen's demands."† On the appointed day the two armies advanced towards the enemy, the duke taking up his quarters at Marchiennes, and the prince at Neufville; three days after, another blighting letter came from the secretary, containing the queen's "positive command, that he should avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle till he received further orders from England," and adding, "that the queen would have him disguise the receipt of this order; and that she

* Tindall.

† Ibid.

thought he could not want pretences for conducting himself so as to answer her ends, without owning that which might at present have an ill effect if it was publicly known." The plea for the delay was the expected arrival of a courier sent from the court of Versailles to Madrid; but the moment it was indicated to him that he should commence acting a double and treacherous part, in which his honour and character were deeply compromised, should have been the moment for sending in his resignation. Unfortunately, however, he wanted the moral courage for such an emergency, and, while he fully appreciated the disgrace and difficulty of the course suggested, he promised implicit obedience. It was also communicated to him, that a copy of the instructions sent to him had been forwarded to the court of France; so that if he received any underhand amicable communication from the French general, Marshal Villars, he was to answer it in the same spirit. It is needless to enter into the various difficulties, vexations, and inconsistencies, into which he was betrayed by his present equivocal position; but when at length, Eugene finding all his appeals, representations, and reproaches, vain, and that he came to the resolution to attack Quesnoy himself, the duke was compelled to allow some of the mercenaries, who were in the joint pay of England and the states, to assist at the siege. This brought a letter of expostulation from Marshall Villars, who had before communicated with him in an amicable and complimentary tone, on the secret understanding that existed between the two courts. The duke's difficulties and mortifications daily increased, and he wrote to St John, "that things were now come to an extremity: that he could not avoid seeing every day fresh marks of ill blood and dissatisfaction, caused among the allies by the measures he was obliged to observe; that many of them did not scruple to say *we were betraying them*; and this ferment seemed rather likely to increase than diminish; and that considering the circumstances they were in, it was hard to say what might be the consequences of it." The close of his letter was in these words: "By this and my former, you may guess how uneasy a situation I am in; and if there is no prospect of action I do not see of what use I am here; and if it suit with her majesty's service, I should be glad I might have leave to return to England;" yet, adding the neutralizing clause—"but in this, and all other matters, I shall readily submit to her majesty's pleasure."*

The Dutch plenipotentiaries at Utrecht made long complaints to the bishop of Bristol, the English envoy, respecting the duke; he, however answered that he knew nothing of the matter, but would represent it to the queen. In the course of the conference, he mentioned that he had received a letter stating that the queen complained of their "high mightinesses" not having responded in the way she thought they ought, to the advances she had made from time to time to the states, in order to engage them to enter with her upon a plan of peace; and he added, "that therefore they ought not to be surprised, if her majesty did now think herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, in order to obtain a peace for her own convenience." They represented that "they thought they had merited otherwise, by the deference, which, on

all occasions they had showed to her majesty; and that they knew nothing of the advances, which the bishop said her majesty had made towards the states on the subject of a peace." On the substance of this being communicated to the states, they immediately, in conjunction with the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, took private measures for maintaining troops independent of England, while as yet, no ostensible separation was allowed to take place between them.

In parliament, the present campaign was discussed at much length, and while the duke's conduct was severely commented upon, a motion was made for an address "humbly desiring her majesty, to lay before the house the orders she had sent to the general, and to order him to act offensively in concert with the allies." Harley, in an equivocating speech, declined revealing those instructions; and, on the subject of a separate peace, independent of the allies, said, "that such a peace would be so *base*, so *knavish*, and so *villainous* a thing, that every one who served the queen, knew that they must answer it with their heads to the nation." He also affirmed that the allies knew of it, and were satisfied with it.* The ministers knew they had a large majority in the house, and these glaring falsehoods were allowed to pass.

The duke was desired by St John to make a show of assisting the prince in the siege of Quesnoy, but this only subjected him to fresh mortifications, as marshall Villars wrote under great irritation to him, accusing him, or else his sovereign of perfidy. Ormonde's aid was little better than nominal, and some time after, when he perceived the prince prosecuting the siege with great vigour, and calculating that its reduction might impede the peace for which both he and his employers had made such degrading sacrifices, he sent to the prince to say "that his troops should continue in the army, provided he would give over the siege of Quesnoy;" to which the prince replied, "that, instead of relinquishing the siege, he would cause it to be prosecuted with all imaginable vigour, and would let his Grace be eyewitness to another expedition, immediately after the taking of that town." From this time, says Tindall, "all correspondence ceased between the prince and the duke; and the prince perceiving that frequent expresses went between the duke and the French army that might prove detrimental to the confederate cause, held private conferences with other generals, in order to separate their forces from the English; and insinuated, that he would be glad if the English would march off, they being only a burden to the Netherlands, since they had declared, that they would not fight against France."

The prince quickly realized his boast, and Quesnoy was in the possession of the confederates.

Shortly after, Ormonde received orders to demand from Villars possession of the town and fort of Dunkirk, as a pledge that France would perform all she had undertaken, and as a necessary preliminary to any cessation of hostilities. It was required on the side of the French, that the artillery-troops under Ormonde, should be bound by the projected truce as well as the English, but both they and their princes

* Tindall.

felt that it would be base and cowardly to desert the Dutch at such a juncture, and neither threats nor promises could shake their brave resolve. Villars accordingly refused to give up Dunkirk; and the detachment sent there by Ormonde, suffered the mortification of having the gates shut in their faces. The old veterans wept over the insult they were not allowed to revenge, and cursed the duke as "a stupid tool, and a general of straw."

The difficulties, however, as to the delivery of Dunkirk, were quickly removed, as this complying ministry promptly engaged that their mistress, on obtaining possession of that town, should at once break all remaining ties with her allies, and sign the ignoble peace that so quickly followed.

Sir John Leake was sent with brigadier Hill and a fleet from England to take possession of Dunkirk, whither Ormonde subsequently detached six battalions, and a portion of his artillery and ammunition. He himself proceeded to Ghent, having been rudely refused admittance both at Bouchain and Douay, towns conquered by the English arms, and then in possession of the Dutch. This conduct, though afterwards apologized for by the states as being the act of individuals, and unsanctioned by themselves, was not the less mortifying to the naturally susceptible feelings of Ormonde, one of whose chief weaknesses was a love of popularity. He now felt that he had not only forfeited that, but his own self-respect, as well as the position his rank entitled him to hold, which was quite inconsistent with being made a pliable tool in the hands of unprincipled intriguers. On his marching to Ghent and Bruges, and placing garrisons in each town, a report was spread and believed, that before Ormonde had declared the cessation of arms, the earl of Stafford had had a private interview with the French marshall, when it was arranged that the British troops should take possession of these towns, and thus command the navigation of the Lys and Scheld, by which means, if the French generals could not relieve Landrecy, then invested by prince Eugene; the duke might intercept the further progress of the confederates. "That this was the design of the duke of Ormonde, (writes Tindall) in bending his march towards Ghent, is highly probable; but whether or no the same was concerted by the earl of Stafford and marshall Villars, it is certain that the earl suggested that counsel to the duke of Ormonde; nor is it less certain, that the states-general were extremely alarmed at it."

The duke has been much and justly censured for insisting on the pontons he had lent to the earl of Albemarle, and which were necessary for the defence of Denain, being returned to him on the day the cessation of arms was proclaimed, "nor could all that the earl, prince Eugene, or the states-deputies say, prevail with him to leave them but for eight days." On the fall of that place, his enemies did not hesitate to accuse him of having been privy to its attack. The exaggerated tone of Oxford's letter to the duke on the taking of these towns, would seem to imply that some ulterior object was contemplated.

"MY LORD,

"No pen, nor tongue, is able to express the great pleasure I took in your Grace's successes; it was a very great satisfaction to see

so much done for the public; to see such an example of steady conduct, in so great a nobleman, and, so courageous a heart is what has made you envied by some, dreaded by your enemies, and applauded by all men of learning and understanding. Your Grace's march to Ghent, &c., is a *coup de maître*; it is owned to be so in France and Holland; and I must own I take a double pleasure in it, because it is done by the duke of Ormonde, to whose person I have such an entire friendship, and in whose success I take so particular an interest. Monsieur Torey wrote a very just compliment on the affair of *Denain*, that the allies now might see what they had lost by her majesty withdrawing her forces, and what value they ought to put upon a nation, which everywhere led victory with it. I am with the utmost respect and attachment, &c.,

“ OXFORD.

“ August 5th, 1712.”

On the return of the duke to England he was received most graciously at court; and early in the following year he was made governor of Dover and warden of the Cinque-ports, while his son-in-law lord Ashburnham, was appointed deputy-governor and deputy-warden. The duke was also given a pension of five thousand a-year, out of the revenues of Ireland, for the space of fifteen years, and his duchess made lady of the bed-chamber, which post she held till the queen's death. His interest was the means of promoting Swift to the Deanery of St Patrick's, who, though he had been so long prostituting his pen in the support and defence of that corrupt ministry, had until then, remained unrewarded.

The duke's honours, however, were not of long continuance; as on the accession of George, it was notified to him that the king had no longer occasion for his services as captain-general, but would be glad to see him at court. His name was also included among the members of the privy council.

Although it was evident the duke was not in favour, yet, it was also plain that the king had no personal dislike to him, and was not inclined to show him any slight; so that if he had acted with common prudence, the storm that was then brewing against the guilty heads of the late ministry, would have been likely to pass by, and leave him unharmed; especially as there was a very general impression that he had most reluctantly acted in opposition to the dictates of his own higher feelings, and simply in obedience to the queen's commands.

But the Jacobite and high-church party, at this time, acted in a most daring and reckless manner, and published and industriously dispersed numerous seditious libels, one of which was entitled “The Duke of Ormonde's vindication;” while riotous mobs were either assembled, or permitted to be assembled, on such days as they thought most congenial to the expression of rebellious feeling. On the day of the coronation, the cry of the rioters was, “*Sacheverel and Ormonde*,” “*Damn all foreign governments*,” &c., &c., and on the several anniversaries of the late queen's birthday, of Ormonde's, and of the restoration of Charles the Second, great disorders were committed in the city. That love of popularity which, during the duke's entire life, had been his

bane, and which attended him even to its close, long after higher and better feelings had asserted themselves, was now destined to become his ruin. In place of at once discountenancing these turbulent indications, and protesting against his name being made the watchword of a party; it is evident that he at least gave the sanction of a silent permission to those in his immediate employment, and who would necessarily have been influenced by his opinions, to hold communications with the Pretender, and actively to forward his interests. There is also great reason to think, that Swift, who owed his advancement to the duke, and whose political integrity was not of the highest class, was made an agent for this party in Ireland, and it is not likely that his proud mind would have held intercourse with the subordinates, if he had not been well aware that there was a higher spring setting them in motion. "About the middle of May," writes Tindall, "there was an intercepted letter returned from Ireland, written by Wight, a reformed officer of Windsor's regiment, to his friend in that country; and by a mistake, carried to a person of the same name, in which were these expressions, 'The duke of Ormonde has got the better of all his enemies; and I hope we shall be able in a little time, to send George home to his country again.' A warrant was issued from the secretary's office for apprehending captain Wight, who, absconding, a reward of £50 was offered by government to any one who should discover him. Not many days after, Mr George Jeffreys was seized at Dublin, upon his arrival there from England; and being examined before the lords-justices, a packet was found upon him directed to Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's. This packet Jeffreys owned he had received from the duke of Ormonde's chaplain; and, several treasonable papers being found in it, they were transmitted to England. Jeffreys was obliged to give bail for his appearance; of which Dr Swift having notice, and that search was made after him, thought fit to abscond."

The duke took a different course at this time from either Oxford or Bolingbroke, and seemed rather to defy danger than to shun it. "By the magnificence of his mode of living, and the public levees which he held, he seemed arrogantly vying with royalty itself. He held a sort of opposition-court at Richmond, where he openly connected himself with the most ardent Jacobites, and showed no displeasure at having his name coupled with high-church," &c.;* but notwithstanding all this, observes lord Mahon, (had he gone no farther) "ministers would have shrunk from touching a man with so many friends in the country, and in the house of commons, and have feared that, however easily they might lop off the smaller branches, so great a bough could scarcely be hewed down." At length, however, the mob began to call out *an Ormonde*, in opposition to king George, and in place of discountenancing it, he too plainly took pride in the degrading adulation of "the manyheaded monster-thing;" and, "instead of behaving himself submissively, he had the vanity to justify his conduct in a printed piece, which in reality exposed him to added censure."† About the middle of June, the following advertisement was dispersed with great industry.

* Lord Mahon.

† Tindall.

"On Tuesday the 7th of this month, her grace the duchess of Ormonde, in her return from Richmond, was stopped in her coach by three persons, well mounted and well armed in disguise, who inquired if the duke was in the coach, and seemed to have a design upon his life, if he had been there. It has been observed, that many persons armed and disguised in like manner, have been watching by day and by night upon that road, on each side of the water, and it is not doubted with a design to assassinate him." "This," says Tindall, "being evidently calculated to excite the fury of the populace against the duke's supposed enemies, the rest of his conduct could not but alarm the government, and perhaps provoked the House of Commons to proceed against him sooner, and with more rigour than they would otherwise have done." On the 21st of June, Mr Secretary Stanhope stood up and said, "he wished he were not obliged to break silence on that occasion, but, as a member of the secret committee, and of that great assembly, which ought to do the nation justice, he thought it his duty to impeach James duke of Ormonde of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors." A large phalanx of friends stood up successively in his defence, amongst whom were Mr Hutchinson, general Lumley, Sir Joseph Jekyll, &c., &c., and set forth at great length the important services which both he and his ancestors had performed to the crown and nation, the high estimation in which he was held by king William, the noble manner in which he had expended the best part of his estate in the wars, and his undoubted personal bravery, having so often and so fearlessly exposed his life for the honour and benefit of his country. Sir Joseph Jekyll said "That, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shown to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who for many years had exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country. That if of late he had the misfortune to deviate from his former conduct, the blame ought not, in justice and equity, to be laid on him, but to them principally, who abusing his affection, loyalty, and zeal for the service of his loyal mistress, had drawn him into perfidious counsels. He added that, in his opinion, the house ought to drop the charge of treason, and impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors." Hampden, Lyddal, &c., strongly supported Mr Stanhope's motion, and when the question was put, it was resolved by a majority of forty-seven—"That this house will impeach James duke of Ormonde of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors."

It was the general opinion, says Tindall, "that the rash and unadvised behaviour of the duke's pretended friends, of whom bishop Atterbury was chief, greatly promoted this vote." It was said upon very good grounds, that a relation of the duke's (the duke of Devonshire) had prevailed upon him at that time to write a submissive letter to the king, desiring a favourable interpretation of his former actions, and imploring his majesty's clemency; which had so good an effect, that he was to have been privately admitted to the king in his closet, to confirm what he had written. But, before the time came, bishop Atterbury had been with him, and the consequence was, that he left England "never to return to it more;" it should however be added,—as a loyal subject; for the duke made two descents upon the country in the

service of the Pretender, whose cause, when he had once espoused it, he sustained conscientiously and consistently. It was very contrary to the wish of his Jacobite friends, that he left the country at the time he did; for it was their earnest desire that he should lull the suspicions of government, and remain in England, a spy on its proceedings, until their own plans should be fully matured; or, if he was determined on immediate action, they had projected a sudden insurrection in the west, which would have given exercise to his military powers, and might have advanced the interests of the Chevalier into whose service he had been so unhappily seduced. But Ormonde, says lord Mahon, "who combined very honourable feelings with a very feeble resolution, could neither stoop to the dissimulation of the first project, nor rise to the energy of the second." It has been said that before he went, he paid a visit to lord Oxford in the Tower, and advised him to attempt his escape; that, finding his arguments ineffectual, he took leave of him with the words, "Farewell, Oxford without a head!" and that Oxford answered, "Farewell, duke without a duchy!"

Immediately on the flight of Ormonde, acts of attainder were passed against him and Bolingbroke, the latter of whom, on receiving the intelligence, says he felt the smart of it tingling through every vein. The duke kept up a constant correspondence with his party in England, and arrangements were made for an insurrection in the west, which was to be headed by Ormonde, who sailed from Normandy to Devonshire for that purpose, expecting to find all his partisans in arms; but owing to the treachery of Maclean, one of his principal agents, the rising was happily prevented, the leading insurgents were arrested, and on the duke's arrival not a man was found to receive him, and he was even refused a night's lodging in a country of which he believed himself the idol. He accordingly at once steered for St Maloes, where he met the Pretender in October, and in the December of the same year, made a second unsuccessful attempt to land in England, the arrangements connected with it being ill-planned, and worse followed up.

The Chevalier, on his return from Scotland, 1715, was impressed with the idea that the failure of many of the enterprises, undertaken by himself and others, had been caused by the remissness of Bolingbroke (whom he had appointed as his secretary of state) in forwarding supplies of arms and ammunition; for which impression there certainly appears strong ground, as large supplies of each were lying in Havre and various French ports "rotting," as Bolingbroke himself admits; though he still delayed sending them on various flimsy excuses, such as waiting for an order from the French government, &c., while he took no active means to procure one, and while the Pretender was able on his return to send off a large portion without one, and that the duke of Ormonde, about the same time, procured fifteen thousand arms without the aid or knowledge of Bolingbroke.

Whatever cause of discontent, however, the Chevalier had with Bolingbroke, he did not act wisely in so summarily dismissing the only able minister he possessed; he also proved his *paternal* descent by the duplicity and hypocrisy with which he received and embraced the man he was determined to disgrace. Three days after his parting

from him with every appearance of cordiality and confidence, he sent to him, by the duke of Ormonde, two orders written in a very summary style—the one dismissing him from his post as secretary of state, and the other requiring him to deliver to the duke the papers in his office: “all which,” adds Bolingbroke, “might have been contained in a letter-case of a moderate size. I gave the duke the seals, and some papers I could readily come at. Some others, and indeed all such as I had not destroyed, I sent afterwards to the Chevalier, and I took care to convey to him, by a safe hand, several of his letters which it would have been very improper the duke should have seen. I am surprised he did not reflect on the consequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have shown his general what an opinion the Chevalier had of his capacity. I scorned the trick, and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry.”* The note on this, extracted from the Stuart papers, quotes the following passage from one of James’s letters: “Our good hearty duke (Ormonde) wants a good head with him. I would have sent Booth, but I could not persuade him.” Whatever the duke wanted in head, he made up in zeal and honest attachment to the cause to which he had bound himself. On the negotiation between Charles XII. and the Czar in 1718, the duke hastened to Russia, under the name of Brunet, as plenipotentiary to the Pretender, when it was agreed that both monarchs should combine for the restoration of the Stuarts in Great Britain. Amongst the Stuart papers is the original passport given to Ormonde, in Russian and Latin, and signed by Peter the Great.† Ormonde also endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between the Czar’s daughter, Mottley, and the Pretender, but this was counteracted by the interference of Gortz, the Swedish minister, who had long before intended her for the duke of Holstein, to whom she was ultimately married.

The good understanding that had existed between the English and Spanish courts for some time after Alberoni’s rise to power had now entirely ceased, and the cardinal, desirous of promoting intestine commotions in England, resolved to assist the Pretender with an expedition, and to make his cause a weapon for furthering both the ambitious and resentful views of Spain. He accordingly gave orders for the equipment of a large fleet at Cadiz, the command of which he offered to the duke of Ormonde. The Pretender accordingly was invited to Spain, where he was received by Philip and his queen as sovereign of England. On his arrival at Madrid, orders were immediately despatched to Cadiz for the sailing of the armament: it consisted of five ships of war and about twenty transports, with 5000 soldiers, partly Irish, on board, and arms for 30,000 more. Several also of the chief exiles of 1715 joined themselves to this undertaking. The duke remained at Corunna, from whence he was to embark, and assume the command as captain-general of the king of Spain, from whom he received a proclamation which he was to publish on landing, declaring “that his majesty had determined to send part of his forces as auxiliaries to king James; that he hoped Providence would favour so just a cause; but that the fear of ill success should not hinder any

* Lord Mahon, p. 287.

† Ibid.

person from declaring for him, since he promised a secure retreat in his dominions to all that should join him; and in case they were forced to leave their country, he engaged that every sea or land officer should have the same rank as he enjoyed in Great Britain, and the soldiers be received and treated as his own."

Immediately on the news arriving in England of this intended invasion, a proclamation was issued offering £10,000 for the apprehension of Ormonde on his landing, and about the same time his house in St James' was put up to auction and sold, clearly indicating that the time for possible reconciliation was past.

With the strange fatality that attended, or rather the evident super-human control that restrained and overthrew all the enterprises undertaken for the restoration of this prince to the throne of England, the fleet had scarcely lost sight of Cape Finisterre, when the most terrific storm set in, which lasted for twelve days; it seemed as if, in the words of the Psalmist, "the very foundations of the earth were out of course," and while the ships were violently separated from one another; and that in their extremity the crews threw overboard horses, guns, stands of arms, &c., &c., it appeared doubtful whether they could even retain the provisions necessary for the support of life. Only two of the ships reached Scotland in safety, and the rest returned to their own ports shattered and dismantled.

The unfortunate result of this expedition of course annihilated all hope of immediate help from Spain, and Alberoni seeing that he could make no further use of the broken fortunes of the Pretender, was anxious for a specious pretext for his removal from the court of Spain. This was speedily supplied by the escape of the princess Sobieski from Inspruck, on which James immediately set out for Italy, where his nuptials were celebrated.

The duke still kept up an active correspondence with the Jacobites in England, and in 1722 a formidable conspiracy was carried on under the auspices of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, lord North, and Grey, bishop Atterbury, &c., &c., all of whom were sent to the Tower on the discovery of the plot; which was communicated to the king by the duke of Orleans. A young barrister of the name of Sayer, who was one of the most active of the agents, and from whose papers the largest portion of documentary evidence was obtained, was executed; the bishop was banished, and the rest ultimately pardoned.

About the same period, Bolingbroke also received a pardon, and returned to England. He and Atterbury arriving in Calais on their different destinations, the bishop merrily said, "*Then I am exchanged.*" His daughter, Mrs Morrice, and her husband, accompanied him in his exile.

In 1726, we again find the duke of Ormonde, with a pertinacity and fidelity worthy of a better cause, engaged, with the duke of Wharton, and earl Marischal, at Madrid, in organizing another attempt upon England, which was suddenly frustrated by the dismissal of the duke de Ripperda, the Spanish minister, who was zealous in the furtherance of their objects.

The duke resided chiefly at Avignon, and was remarkable for his benevolence and hospitality. His house was open to Englishmen of

all parties, and twice every week he held large assemblies of the first society in the neighbourhood. His charity knew no bounds; and his servants had frequently to conceal the numerous applications made to him, or he would have exhausted his own funds to relieve the exigencies of others. He was highly esteemed at the court of Spain, from which he received a pension of 2000 pistoles; and notwithstanding the many failures of the expeditions in which he was engaged, that court had so much confidence in his powers and capabilities, that they offered him a command so late as the year 1741, which he declined on account of his age and infirmities. He was a man of the most amiable natural disposition, and possessed many accomplishments; but yet his married life was not happy, no attachment existing between him and his duchess. He is described by St Simon, who saw him in 1721, as "short and fat in person, but yet of most graceful demeanour, and most noble aspect; remarkable for his attachment to the church of England, and refusing large domains which were offered to him as the price of his conversion." Macky in describing him, at an earlier period, in common with all the great men of England and Scotland, for the amusement of the princess Sophia of Hanover, says, he loves and is beloved by the ladies, is of a low stature but well shaped, of a good mien and address, a fair complexion, and very beautiful face. He lost his duchess in 1733, and but one of his children survived him, the lady Elizabeth Butler, who died unmarried. All the rest, with the exception of lady Mary, who married lord Ashburton, and died at twenty-three, were lost in infancy. He was deeply impressed with the truths of religion, and strict in its observances. He had the liturgy of the church of England performed twice every Sunday in the presence of his family and protestant servants, and also on Wednesdays and Fridays; and before receiving the sacrament, which he had regularly administered, he secluded himself for a week, admitting only the society of his chaplain. Though remarkable for his cheerful courteousness of manner, he was latterly observed to appear absent, even in the midst of company, and one of his intimate friends, who was much with him at this period, traces it to his deep and frequent contemplations of that futurity to which he was hastening. In October, 1745, he complained of want of appetite, every thing having become distasteful to him. His physician seeing his strength daily decrease, called in two more of the faculty, who adopted the strange remedy of bleeding for the recovery of his strength. He of course immediately sunk, and expired two days after, on the 14th of November, when his body was embalmed and conveyed to England as a bale of goods. It was deposited in the Jerusalem-chamber, and was afterwards interred in Henry VII.'s chapel, in the vault of his ancestors, the bishop of Rochester performing the funeral service. He died in his eighty-first year, having spent thirty of them in exile.

His brother, lord Arran, had been permitted, in 1721, to purchase the family estates; but he died childless. And thus terminates the male line of the first illustrious duke.

The present marquess derives from Walter, the eleventh earl of Ormonde; and represents the three families of Ormonde, Kilcash, and Garryricken.

William O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin.

DIED A. D. 1692.

THIS nobleman was son of Murrough, first earl of Inchiquin, the friend and companion in arms of Sir Philip Perceval, by whom the subject of our present memoir was educated, along with his own son, in London; the military occupations of lord Inchiquin, joined to his duties as president of Munster, making it impossible for him to direct or superintend his education. He accompanied his father to France when following the fortunes of the exiled king, and served under him in Catalonia, and afterwards in Portugal, when he went to assist that country in its revolt against Spain. They had not proceeded far when they were taken prisoners by an Algerine corsair, to whom lord Inchiquin had to pay a large sum for the ransom of himself and family. The young lord lost an eye in the engagement, and nearly his life. In 1674, he was appointed "captain-general of his majesty's forces in Africa, and governor and vice-admiral of the royal citadel of Tangier, and of the adjacent ports; in which government he continued six years."* He afterwards returned to England, where he was made colonel of a regiment of foot, and member of the privy council. His stanch adherence to the protestant interests did him little injury in the court of Charles; but in the succeeding reign he was attainted, and his estate sequestrated. In Ireland he joined the oppressed party, and headed a numerous body of protestants in the south, when they were unfortunately surprised and disarmed by major-general M'Carthy. After the revolution he was appointed governor of Jamaica, and vice-admiral of the seas. The climate disagreeing with him, he lived only sixteen months after his arrival there; dying at St Jago de la Vega, January, 1691, and was buried in the parish church. He married twice: first, the lady Margaret Boyle, daughter to Roger, first earl of Orrery, by whom he had three sons and one daughter; and secondly, Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of George Chandos, and widow of the infidel lord Herbert of Cherbury.

William, his eldest son, was also attainted by king James' parliament, and served under king William both in Ireland and Flanders; after which he had a long and prosperous life. The hairbreadth escapes of this nobleman's grandson, Edward, who seems to have borne "a charmed life," are worth recording. The paragraph is extracted by Lodge from the *Dublin Chronicle*:—"Few men have been more unfortunate, and yet few so fortunate; his first misfortune was on the coast of India, where his ship was wrecked, and all on board, but Mr O'Brien and four other persons, perished. On his return to Europe, he was cast away near the Cape of Good Hope, but providentially got to shore; the Dutch governor finding him of high birth, supplied him with necessaries for his voyage, and a cabin in one of the Dutch homeward-bound Indiamen; but an Asiatic governor, then on his way

* Lodge.

to Europe, requested the governor of the Cape to leave the vessel to himself and suite. Solicitous to oblige his countryman, he prevailed on the passengers to accept accommodations in another Indiaman which sailed at the same time; and in twenty-four hours after they had left the Cape, Mr O'Brien saw the ship he had quitted, foundered, and every soul perish. He was afterwards on board the Dartmouth of fifty guns, which, falling in with the Gloriosa, a Spanish ship of war of superior force, gallantly engaged her; and whilst Mr O'Brien was in his station between decks, the gunner ran to him, and, with despair in his looks, exclaimed, 'O, Sir, the powder room!' The ship instantly blew up; but Mr O'Brien was found floating on the carriage of a gun, with his clothes torn and burnt to tatters: hence it was conjectured that he had been blown out at a porthole with one of the guns. He was picked up by the Duke privateer, and treated with every possible attention. On coming to himself, he was introduced to the captain, whom he thus gravely addressed: 'Sir, you will excuse me for appearing before you in such a dress, for I left my ship with so much precipitation, that I had not time to put on better clothing!'

Sir John Norris.

DIED A. D. 1749.

SIR JOHN NORRIS, who was descended from a respectable Irish family, was early promoted to the command of a vessel in consequence of his gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle off Beachy Head, and, in 1695, he again distinguished himself under captain Killebrew, in an action with two French ships of war. He was subsequently appointed to the Orford, a ship of seventy guns; but the natural impetuosity of his temper, which so often led him to victory and honour, now betrayed him into a quarrel with captain Ley, the commander of the Royal Sovereign, which, had it not been for the powerful interposition and friendly offices of the duke of Ormonde, might have had serious consequences. He had gone on board captain Ley's ship, when some casual disagreement took place, and, high words succeeding, he drew his sword, on which the bystanders interfered, and he was put under arrest by the admiral. His former high and gallant conduct, however, now told in his favour, and through the duke's interference the affair terminated. In 1704, he was stationed as assistant to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the engagement off Malaga, where he gained such additional renown, that queen Anne, on his return, knighted him, and presented him with a thousand pounds. He was also, some time after, made rear-admiral of the blue, and again served under his friend Sir Cloudesley, in the Mediterranean. He was despatched by the commander-in-chief to force a passage over the Var, though the works on that river were considered impregnable. He accordingly sailed with four British and one Dutch ship of the line, and with a determination to overcome all obstacles. On arriving at the entrance of the river, he landed six hundred seamen and marines in open boats, and advancing himself within musket shot of the fortifications, he kept

up such an incessant fire that the French had at length to give way, and Sir Cloudesley arriving at the moment, and seeing the confusion and disorder upon shore, directed Sir John at once to land and flank the enemy. This was effected with so much skill and resolution, that the French precipitately evacuated their works, of which the English took immediate possession. Thus was a pass opened to Toulon, by which the French had their magazines blown up, their shipping damaged, and a hundred and sixty houses burned, besides the devastation committed in Provence by both armies. He served under Sir John Leake, in the Mediterranean, after having been advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the white, and, shortly after his return, he was made vice-admiral of the red, and subsequently admiral of the blue.

As a commander, he was less successful than as a subordinate, though the failures in his enterprises were not in the least degree attributable to himself. However, as the populace are not very accurate in investigating causes, he latterly acquired the *sobriquet* of "Foul-weather Jack," in consequence of the frequent wrecks and disasters which befell the ships and squadrons under his command.

He died after sixty years service, July 19, 1649.

END OF VOLUME III.

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